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EDITED BY
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE
FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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WHOLE NO. 101.

I.—THE COLLEGIUM POETARUM AT ROME.

Among the many reminders of the continuity of human culture in the city of Rome no insignificant place may be claimed by the guilds and corporations, many of which still have their official abode on the Capitol itself, such as the Università dei Albergatori¹ and others whose specific names I cannot readily recall at this distance of time. As a matter of fact this Italian expression has faithfully preserved the technical term current in the ancient Roman Civil Law. There indeed it has for synonymous companions *collegium* and *corpus*,² as e. g. in Gaius, Digest, 3, 4, 1. In the latter passage we read of the corporate treasury, the *arca*, and the president or executive member. The corporation is conceived as a miniature commonwealth, and was probably so viewed in a legal sense. Gaius says: "Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii societatis sive cuiusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum reipublicae habere res communes, arcam communem et actorem sive syndicum per quem tamquam in re publica, quod communiter agi fierique oporteat, agatur fiat". And it is just this chronological segment of imperial history, just this age of Gaius of Berytus, that furnishes in the main Orelli-Henzen with the multitude of epigraphical data, by which this particular feature of Roman social life is fully illumined and exemplified. But in Henzen's Index X (*Collegia Sacra, Publica, Privata*, p. 170 sqq.)—Liebenam has but two pages, viz., 64–65, on

¹ Cf. the *Collegium tabernaculariorum*, Orelli-Henzen, 6101.

² Thus too in Th. Mommsen: *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis*, 1843, p. 37. Cf. Liebenam's monograph, *Römisches Vereinswesen*, 1890.

the Republican era—we look in vain for some guild or club analogous or comparable to the Collegium Poetarum of the republican era.¹ There is an exhaustive enumeration of the Collegia in Rome by Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *collegium*; but one does not expect in a cyclopaedia a detailed essay on the Collegium Poetarum, however significant and important a body it might have been in the history of the earlier stages of Roman letters. Lucian Müller has something to say on the Collegium Poetarum in his *Quintus Ennius, Eine Einleitung in das Studium der römischen Poesie*, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 30 sqq., but after a close examination I am still convinced that not all the ore has been extracted from this bed.

The *hymnus* in honor of Juno Regina² (which Livius of Tarentum composed in the anxious and critical time before Hasdrubal's defeat at Sena, 207 B. C.) is called by the historian Livy 27, 37 "laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur"—words which seem to suggest that the hymn actually existed in Livy's time. A reproduction of course would have called for some form of accompanying music. But supposing this *carmen* existed in Livy's time, where was it preserved? Perhaps among the *acta* of some sacerdotal corporation, perhaps among the family records of the Livii Salinatores,³ perhaps in the Palatine Library, perhaps in the Collegium Poetarum. Verrius Flaccus probably had no direct knowledge of this *hymnus*. As for the historian Livy, his ear was hardly more inclined to favor Archaic Latin than that of his contemporary Horace, though he may not have had any similar motives for complaining of excessive appreciation of the earlier or earliest Roman literature. It is true Verrius has told us (Festus 333) how Livius Andronicus was rewarded, but it is more probable that Verrius here copied Varro de Poetis. We cannot help feeling that the gloss as preserved by Festus is based substantially on the phraseological sense of the Augustan time: "Scribas proprio nomine antiqui *et librarios et poetas* vocabant. *At nunc* dicuntur scribae equidem librarii, qui rationes publicas scribunt in tabulis," itaque cum Livius Andronicus

¹ It would hardly do to cite the "Commune Mimorum", Orelli, 2625 or the Collegium Scaenicorum, 4916; or the "Corpus Scaenicorum Latinorum", 2619.

² V. also M. Hertz, *Schriftsteller und Publikum in Rom*, p. 6, sq. 1853.

³ Or of same *cognati*, for the male descendants seem to have been extinct in the time of Augustus.

⁴ We may think of the unpleasant experiences which the younger Cato had with this guild; also, of the membership held by Horace.

bello Punico Secundo scribisset carmen, quod a virginibus est cantatum, quia prosperius resp. populi R. geri coepta est publice attributa est et in Aventino aedis Minervae, in qua liceret scribis histrionibusque *consistere et dona ponere*, in honorem Livi quia hic et scribebat fabulas et agebat". The association of *scribae* and players need not detain us. Rather may one be inclined to ask what *dona* these were, which were to be placed or might be placed in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine. This matter, as well as the right of regular meetings,¹ so essential for an actual collegium was the main privilege, we may well believe, in the S. C. of autumn 207, a practical consequence of the victory of the Metaurus 207; perhaps directly accomplished by the Consul M. Livius Salinator, to whose house probably the old poet stood in relation of *libertus* (that the *ius patronatus* passed to heirs is well known, Justin. Instit. 3, 8); for that the victor of Sena himself was the poet's original master or owner, as Teuffel thought, would seem to have been impossible, on chronological considerations; more likely it was the father of the Consul of 207 who had the same name.

But to return from this little digression to Verrius or rather to Varro—what *dona* were these? Lucian Müller, p. 31, calls them (as did Hertz before him) in a somewhat off-hand manner "Weihgeschenke". But what person outside of the Collegium had any occasion to "consecrate" such gifts, at least in the older time; certainly not those persons themselves who gave scenic games, whether they were praetors or aediles or the heirs of senators, who, in the Latin-Etruscan manner adorned the funeral celebration with games or some other form of popular largess. Very properly, then, we ask: Could the poor *poetae* and *scribae* consecrate such gifts? Or has Varro here, with his mania for discovering parallels with Greek literary history in the development of Roman letters, been tempted to see something analogous to the dramatic prizes at Athens?² As a matter of fact Verrius-Festus

¹ It would not have been necessary for Lucian Müller to go so far afield to explain *consistere* in Festus. In the post-Clodian time, when Verrius made his extract from Varro, governmental license was very essential. Our epigraphical parallels, it is true, are all from the imperial era: we find also, e. g. *coire, licite coire, Lugduni consistentes*, etc.

² Cf. Fr. Leo, in *Hermes* vol. 24, p. 67 sqq., Varro und die Satire. While unable in the present place to enter into Leo's suggestions in detail, I would like to publish here an emendation of the passage in Liv. 7, 2, so much treated from Ritschl downward: "Livius post aliquot annos, qui ab saturis <orsus> ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, etc.

says merely *dona*: and if we proceed without prejudice, we are not justified in designating these gifts off-hand as *Weihgeschenke*, as L. Müller does or as Fr. Marx (in his Accius in Pauly-Wissowa) thus calls the portrait-statue of Accius in the temple of the Camenae. A *donum* it clearly was, and we may assume that such portraits, especially busts of dead or living members of the Collegium were not rare in their meeting-place. If this was so, it was not very difficult for Varro in his *Hebdomades* to secure portraits, authentic ones too, of a considerable number of Roman poets of the Pre-Ciceronian periods of Roman letters.¹ As for the prose-writers, who in the main belonged to the aristocracy, *imagines* in abundance were extant in the *atria* of Roman mansions. As for *dona* then, in the Collegium Poetarum, they must in the main have been gifts of the members themselves: and we may well ask, is it not intrinsically probable, that among these *dona* there were MSS of the members, deposited there for safe keeping; for neither had the socially humble *poetae* any *tablina* of their own, nor was there any public library in Rome before Asinius Pollio.²

The earliest contemporary reference to the C. Scribarum or Poetarum if I am not mistaken, is in the *Asinaria* of Plautus. The parasite of young Diabolus has drawn up for the latter (v. 746 sqq.) a regular civil contract, a contract with the *lena*, to secure possession of the *meretrix* Philaenium for one year. The youth turns to the parasite expressing the desire to hear the several stipulations of the contract: "*leges pellege* (Goetz and Schoell's text).

"*Nam tu poeta's*³ *prosus ad eam rem unicus*": i. e. "a *scriba* you are of unparalleled excellence"—and the contract is seen to be soundly drawn. The Collegium Poetarum cannot have been in existence very long when Plautus wrote his *Asinaria*, and still, in current parlance *scriba* and *poeta* must have been fair equivalents. Forcellini indeed thought that in the *Asinaria* passage the word *poeta* was=*artifex*, *architectus*; but this word *poeta* must have come into Latium at a pretty early time (from Campania, I think) nor is it likely that Plautus could have tried to use

¹Cf. Ritschl, Urlichs, Brunn, Merklin etc., in Ritschl's *Opuscula* III, p. 508 sqq.

²See the final note on the *Fasti* of Fulvius Nobilior.

³J. H. Gray, the English editor of the *Asinaria*, has probably missed the sense of the passage.

it before the Roman populace in its etymological and original sense, Plautus, whose words and turns of phrase, and coinage of words appealed to the *ear* of his public, and that, too, with directness and immediateness of effect. No, the scribae-poetae as notaries or composers of current forms of civil law probably constituted a kind of shyster lawyer. Thus, too, we may take the passage in the *Casina* 860: *Nec fallaciam astutiozem ullus fecit | Poeta atque ut haec est fabre facta ab nobis*. Further cf. *Pseudolus* 401: *Sed quasi poeta tabulas quom cepit sibi quaerit quod numquam gentiumst, reperit tamen*. At first sight it seems as if Plautus (or his Greek original) was speaking of the poet's composition specifically, but a more intense examination I believe will make us think of a *writer* in the widest sense.¹

I said above: the *poor* poetae and scribae. As they, most of them, were, without doubt *libertini* or the sons of such, and were dependent upon the practical use of the *stilus* for their living and material support, we may well look round for other forms of *quaestus* than this of writing MSS for *ludi scaenici*, whether the fee came from magistrates or private patrons. For as for the training of actors and rehearsals, that probably was done by the *dominus gregis* such as Ambivius Turpio about 166 sqq. B. C. or the two coryphaei of the Roman stage in Cicero's time, Roscius in comedy and Aesopus in tragedy, ancient Garricks who indeed in their generation gathered great wealth by producing over and over Plautus, Caecilius, Terence, Accius, Pacuvius, etc., while original dramatic production had sunk down to the level of the *mimus*.

But to return to the older time, i. e., to the precarious position of the *scribae* and *poetae*, we cite Cato de moribus in Gellius II 2,² "Poeticae artis honos non erat; si quis in ea re studebat, aut sese ad convivia adplicabat", grassator "vocabatur". I do not believe that in the time of the Hannibalic war the type of the Attic parasite was at all current in actual Roman society; or anything like the *umbrae* of Horace's time or the recipients of *sportulae* in Pliny's or Juvenal's time. How then the *poetae* of the

¹ The *scribae-poetae* gloss in Verrius-Festus 333 has a very lexical flavor. Perhaps Varro (whose personal language seems to have been steeped in Plautinisms) had this note on scribae-poetae in his 28 books de Lingua Latina. For of all Varronian books none would seem to have lent itself so readily to the practical ends of Verrius as the de L. L. That Verrius names Varro so rarely is no proof, of course, against this particular utilization.

² I owe the passage to Hertz.

elder Cato's youth sought and found access to the tables of men of rank, unless as *liberti* to the table of the *patronus*, it is difficult to understand. Perhaps they furnished *carmina* on domestic occasions. But that is a mere conjecture. Closer to facts I believe we are in assuming that members of the Collegium Poetarum furnished funeral inscriptions. Who, e. g., wrote the metrical inscription C. I. L. I p. 218, which Mommsen himself calls a "scite factum epigramma"? (no. 1007 ed. 2). While Mommsen seems to suggest that he does not place full confidence in Osann's attempts to construct smooth iambs, Mommsen's own editing furnishes iambs which, line for line, are—metrically—at least as smooth as by far the greater number of Plautine *senarii* in our actual tradition. Bücheler's edition is subjoined (*Carmina Latina Epigraphica* I, no. 52, p. 25):

Hospes, quod deico, paullum est, asta ac pellege.
 heic est sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrai feminae.
 nomen parentes nominarunt Claudiam.
 suom mareitum corde deilexit souo.
 gnatos duos creavit. horunc alterum
 in terra linquit, alium sub terra locat.
 sermone lepido, tum autem incesso commodo.
 domum servavit. lanam fecit. dixi. abei.

Bücheler thinks it may have been of the age of the Gracchi. *Asta, pellege, deico, mareitum*, but much more the trick of *paronomasia*,

"sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrai"

remind us of Plautus's time and manner. We may therefore safely see in the author a professional *poeta*, to whom the sorrowing husband has given the data. The virtues of the excellent housewife and consort who has departed too early, are named in the two last lines; and the reference to her charm of conversation and her graceful gait point to a husband who has not yet ceased to be a lover (cf. also v. 4.) and v. 3. is evidently the paraphrase of a professional versifier, who spins out the *e gente Claudia* into a whole verse. In Bücheler's collection and elsewhere there are very few *epigrammata* so old; but we may safely conceive that senatorial and equestrian society constantly and extensively called upon the services of the professional *poeta* not any less than upon the professional *libitinarii* themselves.

I have above given expression to the conjecture that among the *dona* presented to the Collegium Poetarum there were perhaps

also MSS. Before the founding of the libraries of Pollio and Augustus in the Apollo temple on the Palatine—where should the original MSS of Ennius's *Annals* have been preserved? Or are we to think that they passed into the possession of the Scipios? That it was possible in Cicero's day¹ to inspect the old MSS seems evident from Brut. 160: *Burrum* semper Ennius, nunquam *Pyrrhum*

Vi patefecerunt Bruges,

non *Phryges*: ipsius ANTIQUI declarant LIBRI. The context clearly shows that Cicero desires to adduce an irrefragable authority; and an unprejudiced examination of the passage seems to point to the fact that Cicero could and did inspect the original MSS of Ennius himself. Records of some kind must have been preserved by and in the Collegium. The guild which pursued scrivening and literary composition too, would, naturally, have made and preserved records which told of the entrance or of the exit of members. And here I append a further inquiry: What were the *veteres commentarii* to which Cicero is more inclined to give credence than to the authority of his literary friend Varro, whom elsewhere he esteemed so highly? Compare Brutus 60: "his enim consulibus, ut in *veterebus commentariis* scriptum est, Naevius est mortuus; quamquam Varro noster, diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis, putat in hoc erratum vitamque Naevi producit longius". Varro therefore himself inspected these *commentarii* and subjected them to criticism. Otto Jahn thinks of "die verschiedenen chronikenartigen Aufzeichnungen". Which? Certainly not any governmental ones. These *commentarii* it seems had no specific author, they were no *libri* or *libelli* but looser *chartae*. We must not think of the Didascalica of Accius, nor of the literary-historical writings of Porcius Licinius. Rather, if we proceed without constraint or prejudice it would seem the most facile act of transition to think of the official records of the Collegium, and that they noted the withdrawal of Naevius from the Collegium caused by his arrest in 204.

Let us take one more step forward. I will not now enter upon the question, whether the so-called funeral inscriptions of Naevius and Plautus (Plautus and Pacuvius Gellius 1, 24) were actually intended for this commemorative purpose on their tombs; I do not think so. Even in 1867 O. Jahn (*Satura*, no. 12, *Hermes*

¹ And in Quintilian's: I 7. 22. *Hec nunc E littera terminamus, at veterum comicorum adhuc libris invenio Heri ad me venit*, etc.

vol. 2. p. 243 sq.) considered it as most improbable, while Bücheler, an eminent critic of sepulchral forms, has claimed genuineness for the Pacuvian lines. Jahn thinks of "epideiktische Gedichte, nach dem Vorbilde der Alexandriner, wie schon die Anthologie zeigt, leicht erklärlich bei der Vorliebe der Römer, literar-historische Fragen metrisch zu behandeln". Well, as for the Alexandrians, it would hardly be necessary to go so far afield, though we must freely concede that, from the beginning, the modelling and formative influence of Greek literature was very great.¹ Think of the Greek equipment *ab ovo* of Andronicus of Tarentum, of Ennius of Rudiae, of the constant handling of Menander, Philemon, Diphilos by those members who worked for the Ludi Scaenici, or the introduction of metrical forms from the Old Attic Comedy into these very Latinizations. Is it not very probable, that the members of the Collegium Poetarum themselves composed such verses in honor of their dead fellows and perhaps put these verses on the bases of busts placed in the Collegium itself? What caused remark in the case of Accius (whose *amour propre* was strong in itself), was not that he had a statue of himself placed in the temple of the Camenae² at all, but that the undersized author endowed himself with so tall and stately a figure. (Plin. N. H. 34. 19.)

A great, perhaps an important step in advance is made when we pass from the time of Naevius and Plautus to that of Terence. For the brief and brilliant career of Terence our authorities are the Vita of Varro-Suetonius and the *prologi* of the plays themselves. As for Varro he knew of no better material for his studies than to make extracts from Porcius Licinius, appending, it is true, a criticism based on data derived from another source. Jealousy and ill-will were the elements of adversity with which the favorite of Scipio Aemilianus had to contend, and that too not only in the course of his authorship, but even after his death. Why may not the unmeasured attacks made upon Terence have been due to the fact that Terence did not belong to the *Collegium*? No ideal standard of professional ethics is to be assumed. The potent factors in the aspersions directed against Terence were envy and jealousy, jealousy concerning income or corporate jealousy, or both. Even Caecilius, as Terence in He-

¹ Long before the profession of the *γραμματικός* began in Rome, through the visit of Krates of Mallos, Sueton. Grammatici 2.

² I. e. of Hercules Musarum.

cyra Prol. 14 sqq. makes Ambivius Turpio¹ say, suffered severely in the production of his first two plays. They failed: but why? What were the forces active in the Roman public? Who set them in motion? It was the (v. 22) *iniuria advorsarium*, the wrong inflicted by his opponents. What opponents? Clearly such as had an interest in the failure of the plays written by the former slave. Did they organize a hostile *claque* among the spectators themselves? Ambivius Turpio at least says that Caecilius' opponents caused the failure. But if they practically succeeded they must have been able to avail themselves of the means. Now then, what motives had these 'advorsarii'? Clearly no other than rivalry concerning income and fees—the fees which these intruders such as the Insubrian freedman Caecilius, or later the African freedman Terence, received, the fees which were after all the main concern of the poor *poetae*. Think of Horace's delineation of the fecundity of the Plautine Muse and the motives thereof: Epist. 2, 1, 175—

Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.

When once he has pouched his fee, he is indifferent as to whether the play can maintain itself, (when subject to mature literary judgment,) or not. For the *poetae* clearly had no copyright for further productions of the same play, though this very thing would have been to the interest of the professional writers. The very item of the fee which Terence received for the *Eunuchus*, 8000 sesterces (about \$352) proves what a strong interest was roused by this very matter: something unheard of, i. e., in the Collegium. But when the second effort of the beardless newcomer met with such material reward, how must the professional jealousy of the older *poetae* in the Collegium have been roused! If the hated favorite of fortune belonged to the Collegium in the preceding year when he entered the professional market with his *Andria*, he probably would have read his MS there or submitted it in some way, perhaps privately, and received a recommendation to the Aediles. But the tradition is much more simple, much more natural and evident if we assume that he did *not* himself really belong to the Collegium, when poorly attired (*contemptiore vestitu*) he called on the prosperous Caecilius, having been directed to him by the Aediles, in order to read his MS to him. I am greatly inclined to doubt that Luscius of

¹ Teuffel, L. G. 110, 5, 4.

Lanuvium, the *malivulus vetus poeta* in the prologue of the *Andria* (166 B. C.) was the *only* one to envy young Terence and set in motion his *maledicta* against him (i. e., with the Aediles after they had accepted the MS); perhaps he was only the most active or the most prominent. Besides, Terence points to an entire class of *poetae* with pronouncedly contemptuous words: "istorum obscuram diligentiam", though those jealous fellows never attained a real position and estimation comparable to that of Ennius, Naevius, Plautus. That Luscius, particularly in his treatment of the *Φάρμα*, furnished to Terence a welcome opportunity for technical criticism does not permit us to conclude that Luscius was the only one jealous and envious of the youth whose rapid success had been so dazzling.¹

In the prologue of the *Heauton Timorumenos* (v. 16) there is a plurality

nam quod rumores distulerunt malivoli

though the plural would more easily veil the person of Luscius. In fact the word *tum* (in v. 22) *tum* quod malivulus vetus poeta dictitat indicates an orderly taking up of the several charges made by Luscius; note also the specific 'poeta vetus' in the prologue of the *Phormio* where the aims and motives of the opponents are designated even more clearly. What they really want is that Terence simply stop writing altogether; then they will be content. Nor does the young freedman himself move in the ideal regions of a literary Parnassus. The fees are indeed a very essential matter. They are *the* essential point in the entire controversy. Live and let live (v. 16 sqq.) if you please. It was his bread that Terence defended: v. 18

"Ille *ad famem* hunc ab studio studuit reicere."

And thus the *iniqui* and the *aduorsarii* persecute the friend of Scipio and Laelius with bitter hatred up to the production of his last play, pose as captious critics and bespatter his last MS, though we may doubt whether Luscius and his crew found a ready audience with the gentlemen who paid the fee, for one of the two sons of the victor of Pydna was the particular friend and patron of the young translator of Menander. It is not easy to understand exactly how *rapere in peiorem partem* (Adelph. Prol. 3.) was at all possible or practicable in this case.

¹I read with Ritschl, Opp. 3. p. 211 nondum quintum atque vicesimum ingressus annum.

But a new problem arises. How are we to explain the fact that even after his death Terence was persecuted with a hatred so intense, a hatred that ignored or distorted the facts? We observe that Porcius Licinius¹ in his metrical history of Roman poetry—as his work may be called—speaks of the sudden death of Terence in an odious vein which is not far from positive delight. This is made sufficiently evident by the trochaic tetrameters cited by Suetonius (Varro): And what then—this is characteristic of the Roman spirit—is the most disgraceful thing in the story of Terence's death? *That he did not leave any estate at all.* Not even a hired tenement was there to which the slave who had accompanied Terence to Greece could carry the report of his master's death. This statement of Porcius is corrected by Suetonius-Varro from whom we learn that Terence had the deeds of an estate of twenty iugera on the Appian road, and that, in consequence his daughter was in so high a degree *locabilis* that she wedded a Roman knight. The inference lies near that Porcius cherished personal hatred of Terence. Or was it rather a hatred fomented by the guild? But where were Terence's noble friends? Scipio Aemilianus must have been dead when Porcius wrote these lines, for the poor *poeta* would not have dared to use the name of Aemilianus thus, and if he had dared, still he writes as of the dead:

Tres per idem tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillume.

Further proofs of hatred are to be found in the abominable suggestion *ob florem aetatis suae*, etc. and in the explanation of Terence's departure for Greece. Post sublati rebus (entirely impoverished, v. Ritschl, opp. 3, 327=*re familiari* 'perdita' vel 'pessumdata') ad summam inopiam redactus est. *Itaque* a conspectu omnium abiit Graeciam in terram ultimam. He was ashamed of his utter poverty, a poverty so utter that he could no longer maintain his social position among the aristocracy: *therefore* he went far away, to the ends of the earth. The phrase *terram ultimam*, geographically absurd, may be easily explained psychologically. A person who really knew Scipio and Laelius, could not very well write of them in the vague general manner in which Porcius did:

'Dum lasciviam nobilium et laudes *fucosas* petit,

'Dum Africani vocem divinam inhiat avidis auribus,

'Dum se ad Furium cenare et Laelium pulcrum putat—'

¹ Ritschl, Parerga, in three passages wrote Licinius, v. p. 637.

These are the utterances of a man who never enjoyed such social privileges, of a man whose words were dictated by envy. Orelli and Ritschl¹ after him have placed the time in which Porcius flourished 640-114. B. C. The chronological argument by which the time of Porcius is evolved, viz., the fact that Gellius (19, 9, 10) names him *before* G. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102 B. C.), this chronological argument is not very decisive or significant, although Madvig, too, (Opusc. 1834 p. 107) avails himself of it. I would beg to say in dissenting from scholars so eminent, that we may be justified in believing that the elegiac distich in question is one of the earliest efforts in this form of metre.

At all events we are safe in saying that 129 B. C., the year of Aemilianus' death, was the *terminus post quem* of Porcius' didactic poem on the history of Roman poetry, a history which, if Terence be a fair sample, must have had a pronounced biographical character.²

Now as the initial portions were composed in trochaic tetrameters,—for the familiar lines (Gell. 17, 21, 45) clearly deal with the beginning :

Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram,—

and as the lines on Terence were composed in the same metre, we may well infer from these two specimens, that the *whole* didactic poem was written in this measure. If Greek models had been followed, one would have expected the didactic hexameter. The trochaic measure is probably due to the fact that Porcius also was one of the comedy-writers and followed the tradition and usage of the Collegium Poetarum.³ The aim was metrically to outdo New Attic Comedy from which the *poetae* derived pretty nearly all their subject-matter. But why did Porcius place the *incunabula* of Roman poetry in the period of the Hannibalic war, and thus pass over, in the main, the production of Andronicus? Perhaps because he began his history with the institution or rather the official governmental recognition of the Collegium Poetarum of 207 B. C. In fact, we may safely assume that in this Collegium Poetarum minutes or records were kept, anniversaries were observed, busts were set up, often in consequence of testa-

¹ Parerga, p. 243, 540 is a misprint for 640.

² Thus it was said of Ennius, that he *coluisse Tutilina loca*, Varro L. L. 5, 163.

³ As Lucian Müller l. c. p. 30 sqq. briefly sets forth.

mentary directions and supplied with inscriptions by members of the corporation, above all other things record was made again and again and survey was had of the history of the art of poetry in Rome. It was clearly *this* interest that evoked performances such as the poem of Porcius; and this historical poem was probably recited in the Collegium on some anniversary or corporate celebration and afterwards deposited as a *donum* in the archives of the guild, where scholars such as Varro could inspect it. Hence the extraordinary acrimony with which Terence was treated in that poem. The fact seems to be, that Terence never belonged to the Collegium, and that the attitude and the feeling with which he was judged in the guild, soon became a tradition and norm of appreciation from Luscius' times downward.

Another step forward will bring us to the much discussed "canon" of Volcacius Sedigitus. This table assigns a very peculiar rank indeed to Terence, Gell. 15, 24, 1, and it is highly probable that this metrical survey of the performances of Roman poets was also written *within* the guild, if not directly *for* the guild. There was no literature of erudition before Varro. There was no public for such a performance. The metrical form shows that it was intended for recitation and, presumably, to the guild.

Porcius himself was dead. Otherwise Volcacius would scarcely have ranged him among the comedy-writers. As a matter of fact, Porcius actually receives the fourth place, while Terence must be content with the sixth. We may assume the date of the poem to have been about 100 B. C. The enumeration of Porcius himself does not permit us to place the time much earlier and it remains almost inexplicable that half a century or so after the death of Terence any unprejudiced literary judgment should have assigned to Terence so mean a place as is here done. We still have to do, I believe, with the actual tradition of the Collegium which remained permanently unfriendly to the favorite of Scipio Aemilianus.

Nor can it be a mere accident that we possess both of Cicero and of Caesar the well-known metrical appreciations of Terence. What was the occasion that evoked verses like these?

Making full allowance for the precocity of these two types in the history of the decadent republic, one would not dare seriously to suggest that as youths or boys they wrote such lines under the direction of some *grammaticus*, for their own particular grammatici were men of specific *Greek* training. At least we may

assume that about 90-80 B. C. the *poetae* in the guild had to make a living to some extent as *grammatici*, for after Accius there was substantially no further literary production of plays proper. And at the same time they had to compete with the Greeks residing in Rome. Of the *grammatici* enumerated by Suetonius, Laelius, Archelaus and Vettius Philocomus were probably Campanians and semi-Greeks, Lutatius Daphnis, *libertus* of C. Lutatius Catulus, was a Greek, as was Saevius Nicanor; Aurelius Opilius (Epicurei cuiusdam *libertus*, Sueton. Gramm. 6) probably was nothing else; M. Pompilius Andronicus (natione Syrus) a Greek from the East, Ateius Philologus a native of Athens, literary assistant of Sallust and of Asinius Pollio.

Such and similar men were the owners and directors of the 'super viginti celebres scholae', which according to Suetonius l. c. 3 flourished in Rome about 100-90 B. C., and it is natural that the guild which had dealt with letters and in a measure had had versification in its control should have not abstained from teaching letters and literature.

Thus Accius particularly had been active in a two-fold manner. Not only was he a playwright—we know of more than forty of his plays—but he also undertook to exercise a decisive influence on Latin orthography, and thus made himself the butt of the satire of Lucilius who as a Campanian was probably more versed in Greek than Accius and therefore in grammar; and it is altogether likely that Accius presented his rules in the Collegium, of which he was an eminent, nay the most eminent member. Why should he have followed Greek analogies so closely? It may simply have been the vanity of old age, the desire to shine not only as a poet but as a grammaticus or a literary dictator. But it seems to me that there is a better, a more practical reason. All this grammatical knowledge may have been contained in the nine books *Διδασκαλικῶν*. Now this work was a kind of encyclopedia. It began with Homer and Hesiod and described the course of Greek literature or the development of the different types of literary form, and then passed over to the *Fasti* of Roman poetry and also contained an index of genuine Plautine plays. But why was it called *Didascalica*? We must not overlook the objective character of this title which corresponds to the *Pragmatica* of the other work. Scholars have long observed that Accius' work was much more comprehensive than the dramaturgic chronological collections of Peripatetic erudition. Such

a work at some point must have had a connection with the practical vocation and livelihood of the *poeta* who had grown gray in the Collegium Poetarum. But why, Gronov asked, did Suetonius not even name Accius or did not even mention him in passing, among the Roman grammatici? Gronov, we must remember, went so far as to abjudicate the *Didascalica* from Accius and adjudicate them to Ateius Philologus. The point is even now to gain a clear idea (though since Madvig's essay¹ no one entertains any doubts as to Accius' authorship) how the D. were connected with the person and profession of Accius. Accius was an older contemporary of L. Aelius Stilo the teacher of Varro. But the latter dedicated the work of his early manhood, *de antiquitate literarum*, not to Stilo, but to Accius. And this he did because Accius impressed that generation as a great authority in the domain of the *grammaticus*. Is it not simple and natural that Accius *taught* those things or such things as were contained in the *Didascalica*? The latter, we may assume, contained everything which a grammaticus *Greek or Latin* could teach a Roman boy. As to the history and appreciation of Roman poetry it was preëminently the chosen province of the man who, in the Collegium Poetarum had so lively a consciousness of his own worth (according to the familiar story in Val. Max. 3, 7, 11) that he utterly ignored the aristocratic position and birth of Julius Caesar Strabo, and that not on one occasion only, but regularly.

It was the professional competition of grammatici (perhaps mainly the Greek ones) who were outside of the Collegium Poetarum that in my judgment evoked the cyclopedic work of Accius.

But I return from the master in the guild to the guild itself. The above-mentioned Julius Caesar Strabo, whom Cicero, de Oratore II, chose as exponent of Wit and Fun, came frequently into the Collegium, came frequently, for (Accius) 'in collegium poetarum venienti *nunquam* adsurrexit'. In all probability the young aristocrat did not enter the Collegium before he was eighteen or twenty years old, and Accius, who was about forty years older, could maintain his dignity without causing much remark. Still, some remark there was, and it would be interesting to know why Caesar Strabo visited the Collegium Poetarum at all.

¹ De L. Attii didascalicis commentatio, opusc. 1834 no. 4.

He was born about 120 and, in 92 when he was twenty-eight, was already famous through the vein of wit and humor which marked his court speeches. Therefore his tragedies were probably mere *parerga*, mere exercises in versification; and he wished to use the Collegium in order to produce his plays by *recitatio* or gain the benefit of competent technical criticism. That he *belonged* to the club as Lucian Müller (Ennius 31) infers, in the sense of being a member, I do not believe. It is more likely that he was *patronus* of a regular member. Young Cicero, too, had conversations with Accius as the accepted master of literary theory and practice. The precocious youth was filled with a glowing and passionate desire to discover by every possible means the secret of the power of form as wielded, e. g., by Antonius and Crassus; and in his frequent talks with Accius (ex L. Accio poeta sum audire *solitus*, Cic. Brut. 107) his aim was doubtless to learn as much as possible about language and literary power from this other master of Roman speech. The time must have been about 90, for Cicero must have taken the *toga virilis*. And the place was probably the Collegium Poetarum itself where the venerable author could be found at regular times. And now at last I am able to return to the verses of Caesar and Cicero on Terence. Cicero was Caesar's senior by six years. Cicero's *Δειμῶν* was clearly nothing but the collective title given to his youthful essays in versification. But if the piece on Terence was in this collection, how are we to explain the puzzling resemblance in the initial verse of both Cicero and Caesar?

Cicero: Tu quoque qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti—

Caesar: Tu quoque tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander—

It is hard to assume a rivalry in such *lusus* between Caesar at eighteen and Cicero at twenty-four, and we must grope our way in the darkness of tradition, and that way leads to the Collegium Poetarum, the character of which is given in the reasons that Valerius Maximus assigns for the demeanor of Accius toward young Caesar Strabo: non maiestatis eius immemor, sed quod in comparatione communium studiorum aliquanto superiorem se esse confideret. Quapropter insolentiae crimine caruit, *quia ibi voluminum non imaginum certamina*. Nor are these words to be set down as a mere rhetorical antithesis of the rhetorical Valerius. The Collegium Poetarum flourished still in the reign

of Tiberius and down at least to Martial's time: cf. 3, 30, 8 sq.

An otiosus in schola poetarum
Lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?

It was evidently a good place for the leisure hours of witty talkers and the description reminds one of the modern club. Add. 4, 61, 3 sq.

Quartus dies est, in schola Poetarum
Dum fabulamur, etc.

The guild was alive not only with the rivalry of *recitationes*, but also with pleasant conversations of members with one another, or with patrons or with younger men who desired to recite their productions before this, the most competent available tribunal of versification. And so I consider it very probable that the literary appreciations of Terence ascribed to Caesar and Cicero were originally recited in the Collegium, though not at the same time. The theme of the relative rank of Roman poets was a standard one and we may believe that young aspirants in letters and versification treated the same theme again and again metrically and tried their wings so that many hexametrical phrases may thus have become mere formulae. And the parallelism with Greek authors doubtless soon became a stock theme in the training of youth, especially since the appearance in Rome of the Greek γραμματικοί.

In conclusion a number of observations remain in connection with the literary era of Horace and Vergil. Vergil probably did not belong to the Collegium Poetarum if we may judge by the data of his literary biography. Who had an interest so strong as the members of the guild¹ to know or to publish what sums the poet received from his patrons, how much, e. g., he received per hexameter from the sorrowing Octavia for his lines on her son Marcellus in Aen. VI, dena sestertia.² They were as jealous of him as they were of Terence, for his eclogues had been put upon the boards as a kind of *mimus*. Through the normal operation of the civil law (bonorum possessio) it may be that the sum total of his estate reached the public and the *poetae* of the corporation were sure to make a note of it: Donatus § 24 Possedit prope centies sestertium (ab. \$440,000, a vast fortune for a recluse and celibate) *ex liberalitatibus amicorum*. The same humble

¹ As Bavius and Maevius, the stars in the classic Dunciad.

² Donatus vita § 47.

professionals of the guild probably also made a note of the stupendous fee which Vergil's friend and house-mate Varius received from Octavianus Caesar for his Thyestes, deciens sestertium.

Where are we to look for Vergil's *obtretractores* (Don. 61) if not in the Collegium? On this theory the parodying author of the "Antibucolica", Carvilius Pictor and his *Aeneidomastix* (Don. 62), also the critics named further on, Herennius, Perillius, Faustinus, Q. Octavius Avitus, grammatici, would have been not only *grammatici* but also members of the Collegium Poetarum. Professional jealousy and the spirit of carping even after Vergil's death, as it could not be otherwise in the case of the Aeneid, must have been more active with practical versifiers than with mere *grammatici*.

When we read in Donatus 20 that Vergil made of Cebes a *poeta* and of Alexander a *grammaticus*, we are to interpret the statement to mean that he advanced them so far by technical training that as freedmen they could make a living by these professions. *Poeta* is used without qualification just like *grammaticus*, and we may well believe that, as far as a living was concerned, the *poeta* entered upon a well-defined profession no less than the *grammaticus*. Think of the carmina made to order for birthdays, marriages, funerals and sepulchral inscriptions, metre being the main thing for the public at large.

Horace concludes our survey. To his guild of the *scribae*, differentiated for some time from the *poetae*, he may have remained faithful, at least so far as formal membership was concerned: 2 Sat. 6, 36—

de re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses Quinte reverti.

His criticism of Lucilius had provoked counter-criticism; perhaps mainly among the friends of the older classics—perhaps in the Collegium, too. Clearly, however, in Sat. 1, 10, 36 sqq.—as we can gather from Porphyrio—when the friend of Maecenas turns his keen stilus against Furius Bibaculus whose turgid heroic verses were declaimed in the abode of the corporation, his ridicule is meant for the guild as well and for its president Tarpa:

Turgidus Alpinus (i. e. Furius) iugulat dum Memnona dumque
diffingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo
quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa
nec redeant, etc.

In which passage *certantia* reminds one of the later phrase of Valerius Maximus: *voluminum certamina exercebantur*. It is most probable then that at these readings pairs of poets, wherever feasible, appeared who had written in the same metres, and that after both had been heard, Tarpa gave his verdict. For as for the metrical form itself, we may well believe with Lucian Müller that the ears of the *poetae* in the Collegium must have been quite acute through the long practical and living tradition of technical execution and technical judgment. Tarpa was known even to Cicero. In 55 B. C. he selected plays for production, by order of Pompey. Even when Horace wrote *Ad Pisones* 387, he was still in vogue as a competent critic through the ear, as is clear from Horace and his commentators.¹

Horace indeed probably not only strolled about the Campus Martius at eventide, and priced vegetables, but also listened with supreme delight to the resonance of the lines declaimed in the club-house, the temple of the Camenae. To him the whole guild was a body of which he stood in no awe and for whose critical good-will he felt but very slight concern. Conversely indeed it was not so. Whether the bore of I Sat. 9 was of the guild we cannot tell, nor whether by *profanum vulgus* (Carm. 3, 1, 1) he meant the versifiers of the club. Still he could hardly have meant the poor *plebs* of the street, the common poor folk who merely tried to exist. Why should *they* have envied the poet who had risen with such dizzy rapidity, why should they press upon him? Perhaps the *carmina non prius audita* are designed to form a contrast to the *carmina* of the Collegium Poetarum. A professional *poeta* certainly could not live from the *recitationes* in the temple of the Muses, readings or declamations which were meant in part to recommend their authors to the public, i. e. to the public of patrons who ordered poems. In 2 Ep. 2, 102,

Multa fero ut placem *genus irritabile vatum*,

the very considerable degree of consideration implied forbids our thinking of the despised declaimers of the guild: Kiessling specifically thinks of the "Roman Kallimachos", Propertius.

¹Kiessling on Hor. I Sat. 10, 36 sqq. has doubted Porphyrio's "in aede Musarum" but this is clearly in accord with Pliny's N. H. 34, 19 *in Camenarum aede*.

Bentley's suggestion to write (Hor. 2 Ep. 2, 92) instead of

caelatumque novem Musis opus
sacratumque novem Musis opus

has not found definite acceptance with the editors. But the astounding wealth of learning which the great critic of Cambridge brings to bear on this point contains some clues also for problems connected with the present inquiry. Kiessling has doubted Porphyrio's note on Hor. I Sat. 10, 38: "in aede Musarum." Could he have believed that the abode of the Collegium Poetarum had still been in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine and that "Musarum" (Camenarum) was only a poetical paraphrase? This blunder is palpably committed by Sellar, *The Rom. Poets of the Republic* p. 145 "into the place of meeting of the 'Poets' Guild" *on the Aventine*, where he tells of the anecdote of Accius and Caesar Strabo.

The *Aedes Musarum* (Camenarum) the meeting-place of the Collegium Poetarum according to Bentley was the temple of *Hercules Musarum*: See Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.* II. 298: "Welchem letzteren M. Fulvius Nobilior in der Nähe des Circus Flaminius einen mit schönen Kunstwerken aus der Beute von Ambrakia verzierten Tempel gestiftet hatte, den L. Marcius Philippus, der Stiefvater des Augustus erneute". For there was also a *Ἡρακλῆς Μουσουργίας*, as Preller shows in the foot-note. Now this item which Bentley already had recorded probably affords us, at least approximately, the period of time in which the Collegium Poetarum removed from the Aventine to a site much more favorable from the point of view of income and livelihood. M. Fulvius Nobilior triumphed in December 187 B. C., *de Aetolis et de Cephallenia* Liv. 39, 5, 13. Among the 785 bronze figures and the 230 marble figures which Fulvius brought over there were most probably not only the Nine Muses, but also, if we consider the strong literary interests of the friend and patron of Ennius, portrait-figures of the great Greek poets. The literary interest of the victor of Aetolia must have been a strong one, as he took Ennius along, for which Cato censured him. Here, in the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* Fulvius himself (Macrob. Sat. I 12, 16) deposited his own *Fasti*, his History of Rome. Perhaps the transfer to the new abode of the Collegium Poetarum was an act of consideration towards Ennius himself. The symbolism of *Hercules Musarum* was transparent: Fulvius wished to commemorate both his victorious movement and his devotion

to literary culture. That in the course of time the name *Herculis* was generally omitted in naming the temple was partly due to the habit of abbreviation current with the practical Romans, partly due also to the numerical preponderance of the Nine Muses, partly also due to the fact that later on Mummius consecrated a temple of Hercules Victor. That the figures of the Muses were part of the original loot from Greece seems to be implied in Plin. N. H. 35, 10, 66: (Zeuxis) fecit et figlina opera quae sola in Ambracia relictæ sunt, cum inde *Musas* Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret.

Bentley on Hor. 2 Ep. 2, 92, cites also Juvenal 7, 37, and Ovid Trist. 3, 1, 69. J. B. Mayor on the passage from Juvenal adopts the confusion of the Scholiasta Cruquianus on Hor. I Sat. 10, 38: *Tarpa fuit iudex criticus, auditor assiduus poematum et poetarum in aede Apollinis* SEU (sic) *Musarum* quo convenire poetae solebant suæque scripta recitare. It would seem to be risky to leave Bentley unread in any problem of Horatian scholarship.

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II.—A BÂLE MS OF CONSENTIUS.

Though there is nothing to be said for the two short works of the grammarian Consentius on the score of interest, and but little on that of scientific knowledge, still the second of them, the treatise "de barbarismis et metaplasmis" can claim for itself some little importance, partly for the details it gives of the barbarisms in the pronunciation of Latin indulged in by the Greeks, Gauls, and Africans, and partly for its information on the ancient methods of scansion. Not that too much stress need be laid on Consentius' suggestions as to scansion, for he seems, like Humpty-Dumpty, to have possessed the faculty of explaining any verse that ever was written and a good many that weren't and never would be. At any rate, finding in his copy of Vergil a verse which read

ad soceros atque auo puerum Astianacta trahebat,

he never stopped to think that there might be a mistake—scanning, not thinking, was his business just then, so he scanned through it all. 'scandimus enim sic, rostquea, ex quo apparet inter duas consonas a uocalem perisse'. There are several other things that are still more apparent: but that is neither here nor there. There is, however, some little importance in the work; and as it was formerly in the pitiable condition of being preserved in one solitary MS, Prof. Lindsay is to be congratulated on unearthing another and older one at Bâle. It is at his suggestion that I have undertaken a collation of it, and I have to thank him not only for that suggestion, but also for kind assistance on grammatical points.

The MS comes originally from Fulda, and is now numbered F III 15 in the Library at Bâle. It consists of but two quires, one of 9 the other of 6 leaves, and is written in a pointed Irish minuscule hand of the 9th century. Ff. 1-8 contain 'hissidorus iunioris spalensis de uitiis liber' (i. e. Isid. Orig. I. 34-36); f. 8^r Explicit Issidori Iunioris Episcopi. Incipit ars consentii .u. c. de bar. et solo. which ends on f. 14^r, where it is succeeded by a short treatise of one page entitled simply 'uictō'. This is appar-

ently identical with the excerpt from the 'codex Vossianus 37' (Keil V 327), beginning 'Soloecismus quid est?'; but it continues further, ending on f. 15^v with the words 'et appellatur grece μεταπλasmus'.

That B, though older than M, in any way supersedes it one cannot, I think, contend; nor indeed could one reasonably expect it. But that it is quite M's equal, and that no edition is complete without considering its variants, is incontestable. For example, in the most important part of the work, the details about pronunciation, B introduces two valuable alterations. 392 3 'temporis, ut quidam dicunt piper producta priore syllaba, cum sit brevis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est'. In B we find the words 'uel pius' after 'piper', and as the words are not likely to be an after-insertion, we may take it that Consentius regarded the well-known late Latin lengthening of the 'i' in 'pius' as a specially African fault. The evidence of inscriptions supports this view, though hardly so conclusively as one would wish. Christiansen in his work, 'De Apicibus et I longis inscriptionum Romanarum' quotes 1 instance from the 2nd volume of the Corpus, 2 from the 9th and 4 from the 10th, whereas I find 13 in the African volume (vol. 8¹). It must be admitted that Christiansen quotes besides the instances mentioned no less than 14 from the Roman volume (vol. 6), but then the length of that volume and the fact that all nationalities would be represented in it must be taken into account.

395 3 ecce ut in tali uerbo ita pingue nescio quid sonat ut dicunt etiam nihil de media syllaba infringant. Graeci contra, ubi non debent infringere de sono eius litterae infringunt, ut cum dicunt optimus, mediam syllabam ita sonant, quasi post t z graecum ammiscent. The beginning of the sentence is emended by Keil to 'ecce in littera t aliqui': but B offers a much better contrast to the 'Graeci contra' by reading 'ecce ut Itali ita pingue nescio quid sonant ut cum dicant ita etiam'. But the more important variant is at the end of the sentence, where B in place of the impossible z reads .x., the very letter to which the debatable i or u in optimus is often compared by the grammarians. (v. Lindsay Lat. Lang., p. 25.)

The quotations from former authors are unfortunately not of much importance, as most of them are from Vergil: there is,

¹ Corpus Inscr. Lat. VIII 236, 320, 777, 4196, 4595, 7964, 9436, 9460, 10253, 11335, 12228, 12741, 14792.

however, one exception, the passage from Ennius mentioned by Prof. Lindsay in his notice of the MS (Berl. Phil. Woch. 27 Febr. and 26 March, 1904). The MS there reads 'dempsit enim unam litteram r per metaplasum: et Ennius huic statuum statui maiorum orbatur Athenis (morbo *in marg.*) per metaplasum quoque et hic dempsit litteram .r(s *supra*).¹ In the other quotations B reads rightly 'fuit Ilium et ingens' (401. 20, 402. 5) and 'excusaque pectore Iuno' (402. 30): and considering the number of Vergilian quotations, there is no doubt that the reading 'coniugio eacidae pirri' (401. 5, cf. Verg. Aen. III. 296) is correct.

Of the conjectures received in Keil's text or recorded in his 'apparatus criticus' B confirms several. 385 15 barbarismus est 387 2 prouenit (Buttmann) 388 20 ut-faciat (Buttmann) 389 18 duarum syllabarum 391 1 lucius M, Lucilius Cramer et Hertz, luci(li *supra*)us B 391 25 barbarismus fiat 392 37 barbarismus fiat 392 37 quod est 394 31 in 32 ut 395 2 in 4 ut cum dicunt (Cramer) 396 13 casuum (Buttmann) 14 eum (Cramer) 19 ex 397 6 fecimus 15 per 28 dicimus) *om.* 399 3 haec exempla sunt huiusmodi. defenditur (Buttmann) 393 27 B reads 'barbarismus uel qualis p p uerris nummos acciperat, cum optima(e *supra*) esset potuisset (*in marg.* est si possuisset) ex trocheo et ione maiore nummos uerres acciperat' confirming Keil's conjecture. 395 27 de gestu et dictione M, Cramer emended dictione to actione, B confirms and betters his suggestion reading de actione, which explains the corruption dictione.

In many other passages B has preserved the right word or phrase where M has corrupted it. Of such cases I select a few of the most important, relegating the rest to the general collation.

387 23 barbarismus uero ab imprudentibus nulla aut ueterum aut consuetudinis auctoritate perspecta assumitur. item inter barbarismum.

B reads 'adsumatur. Ad summum inter,' and seeing how closely 'ad summum inter' resembles the preceding 'adsumitur,' there is little doubt that the copyist of M overlooked it and then repeated the 'item' which begins the last two or three clauses.

391 29 iidem ipsi, et metaplasum et barbarismum eiusdem lectionis utuntur exemplis Keil emended this by inserting 'dicentes' after 'barbarismum' B suggests another solution reading

¹ v. Prof. Lindsay's note on this line in the Journal of Philology XXII. 43 (1893) p. 7: where he suggests that the corruption may lay in "maiorum," which may be a mistake for "mamorum", (= marmorum).

'et ad metaplasum et ad barbarismum.' It also with Clemens reads 'hisdem' which, though possible, is no improvement.

395 18 fortasse sint etiam genitalia quarundam nationum qui suae linguae puritatem uolunt custodire diligenter ut euitare ipsi possint quae obseruare et animaduertere debent.

Keil altered 'genitalia' to 'generalia,' inserted 'uitia' after 'nationum,' and transposed the rest of the sentence placing 'quae-debent' before 'qui.' B supports his insertion of 'uitia,' but for the rest it gives a simpler and quite satisfactory reading 'gentilia quorundam uitia quae qui suae—possint et obseruare et animaduertere debent.'

396 28 porro qui dicit strenuam, dicitur et barbarismum facere et soloecismum per artis regulas, quod strenae singulari numero non dicuntur.

B correctly supplies after 'soloecismum' 'barbarismum quidem per adiectionem literae. soloecismum per'

397 29 quod enim iam per artis regulam a latinitate sumptum est Keil conjectures remotum, Buttmann semotum, but B's reading 'summotum' would much more naturally be corrupted to 'sumptum.'

398 19 magna enim pars scientiae, qua iudicemus, constetne versus, an non constet, ex intellectu metaplasum pendetne an non pendet?

B reads 'deiudicamus' and there seems no good reason for the Indicative. The variant 'utque consistit' for 'an non pendet' suggests that the interrogative form of the sentence may be merely a repetition of the former interrogative: and the correct form may be 'pendetque atque consistit.'

398 hi et alii tales non auctoritate aliqua praerogatiua artis aut consuetudinis defenduntur. B reads 'hii enim' and the first hand omits 'praerogatiua': but in the margin is added 'non praerogatiua aliqua' which may well be right.

400 25 isdem litteris scribetur, plusque intellectus defendendi uorsus ratione inducit metaplasmi potestatem, prout haec ipsa ratio persuaserit.

Keil emends this reading of M by substituting 'ratio' and 'potestate' for 'ratione' and 'potestatem.' B offers a better solution reading 'solusque' for 'plusque' and 'haec aut illa ratio.'

In the collation which follows I omit as a rule mere misspellings.

Incipit ars consentii u. c. de bā. et solō.

386 3 Barbarismus . . distat 4 conueniunt ipsis communes sunt coniuncte 5 est) *om.* 7 ut et 9 in communi sermone 10 quod firmum dixit in 11 pars aliqua orationis 12 est) *om.* 13 nuntiatione hoc ideo nuntiationem habent in reprehensione 15 sui parte 16 adiectionem et inmotationem et transmotationem litterarum et 18 admonere 21 uel temporibus) *om.* 23 ussum pars aliqua cum) *om.* 24 gallorum hastas 25 definitionem metaplasmi 26 una) *om.* 387 2 modis). *om.* 3 tam barbā quam metaplasmi: (=us) hanc(*om.* primam) 4 nuntiatione 6 oblice literarum siriem concidendo 7 duobus) enim 8 aut inmutacione aut transmotacione) *om.* *adscr. in marg.* 10 indubitante 11 fiet uel in sill') *om.* *adscr. in marg.* 12 adspirā. Inter barbaris et metā nunc oportunum et tempestiuum est, ut quae sit distantia proloquamur 14 de) *om.* 14, 15 exempla sua // uius accomodabimus 15 suaui (*corr. in marg.*) 18 est) *om.* 19 a quibusdam (*om.* locis) 20 uetere' scriptorum uel) *om.* praeiudicata(e *supra*) 22 fit poetis 30 manifestis 31 apertis apparebunt exemplis 32 locis 34 ut est penatibus. dixit enim gnato) *om.* 35 contra 36 pro operit coperit barbarismum faciet 37 syllabae ut 38 serius 388. 4 imperatorem est) *om.* quaedam (*corr.* quae eadem). 7 pro magi 9 aut syl' extractione 10 sermo prima 11 motatus sit. līt 12 debuerit syl' 13 mediaꝑ parti(e *supra*) dictionis līt sill' ue subtrachitur 15 mesteus *m* 1, mnestus *m* 2 pro mnesteus 16 manet acita [mentā(e *supra*)re] postum (acita *al. m. in ras.* mente re *al. m supra*). in gurgite uasto) *om.* 19 pro commemorat pro mouerat) *al. m. in marg.* 22 ut est tendit suam do hii 23 uel detractatione) *om.* 25 de eis loquemur 27 censente(v *supra*)r 28 metaplasmi) *om.* 29 iectasis et sistole. ectasis 30 fit 389 2 et nu 3 antiqua e cedro) *om.* propriamque dicabo et) *om.* 6 est a ut est et amore dianaē. sistole est e contrari: 8 castigat 9 et) *om.* 10 ob iram 11 duo) *adscr. supra* 11 qualitate sibi 12 qui(b. *supra*) h. 13 unus dia(e *supra*)resis (*om.* est) dia(e *supra*)risis. 16 phoebo 17 q dicitur 18, 19 ut dicere phe(o *supra*)ton pro phoeton et marciporro puer órph(o *supra*)eus nam (órpheus pro *adscr. in marg.*) 20 orpheus in syluis (in III syllabis *in marg.*) 20-22 metri causa facitur quis et meēt 23 calliopia 24 prothei pro prothei." menelaus ("prothei *in marg.*) 25 idomenēi //ducem (idomenēa *adscr. in marg.*) 25 teyas (*et* 27) 27 ut) *om.* 28 dicat aliquis dissyllabo quod trisyllabo fere nuntiamus 29 barbarismum faciet) *om.* 30 post haec sunt II metaplasmi quos 31 scripturis relinquunt 32 est)

om. 390 1 praebetur 2 ipse - reliquit) om. sed add. in marg. 'ut ipse poet. ita uel scriptis reliquit' 5 penitus) om. 6 ait) om. fuit 7 q: et (in marg. q: ut est) 8 quale est Kart(h supra)ago 9 ei) et accidit et 10 iactatus et alto) om. ipse) idem 11 est) add. supra 12 eam) eadem 13 quale est ille~~t~~ terris hii 14 separatim) om. 15 quorundam longiorum 16, 17 cum litera pro litera ponitur ut motatio sit 17 autem syllabarum 18 quae cum fuerit 21 et per adspirationem 22, 23 pone et ergo et prop̄ per trans-
motationem 24 motaret tum erat ut metaplasum 26 motet 26 ratio est) om. 27 ut uideo 29 inter me(ta supra)plasmum 29 speciem) om. themesin ea(n supra)dem 30 dicunt) om. add. in marg. 31 de) om. partes) om. laborum) om. 32 pos-
sui(t supra) (sui in ras) 33 partem eius) om. 34 parte (i supra) 35 partiunculas 36 pro septemtrioni) om. 391 in metro) om. q. non haec) om. 4 dicunt) om. tris 5 septem trioni 6 enun-
tiata uideris esse unam 7, 8 septemtrioni compositam illam quidem tamen unam partem 10 admonenda 11 adieciatur 12 in ea(o supra) nam et o 14 per) om. 16 atque) idque 17 in (add. supra) erat trissyllabae erat trisyllaba 18 plerum (ae supra)que 19 possit 20 motasse hoc) om. et arbor) om. 22, 23 lapidicinas in neutroque (et lapidicinos add. in marg.) non) om. 25 tempestiu: proferi(e supra)m: 27 quo eorum uitium factum est ut confusse pene barbarismus quid metaplas-
mus sit 29 interdum // idem 392 1 totum cotidie pro (to in ras. al. m.) 2 dicat tutrussit (pro trussit add. in marg.) 4 ut qui dicens 5 acui(a supra)t syllabam enuntia(e supra)t 6 ut qui amens scribens adieciat 9 ut qui dicunt 11 ut si dicat quod et 12 ut si oratorem priorem 13 circumflexo) om. ut si honorem 16 pro ste(a supra)tim diliciosa quadam 16 siquis ta//(r supra)-
tarum pro tartaro dicat 19 thraciam 20 khartaginem 21 siquis 21 ebhro 23 barbarismi sic fiunt 23 literae ut plerum pro praelo reilquum (in marg. leriq(v supra)um) 24 reliquo interpertor (marg. interptor) 25 dis//pli(ci supra)na prodicens) om. 28 thrachiam 29 apparet adspiratione (om. et) 30 alios 32 est) om. 32 diarexis et sistole sed et hos et caeteros 33 uellimus aduertere 34 animaduertimus 35 barbarismo quos 36 dieresin barbarismum facere 37 quod est dissillabam ñ uidetur per sistolen facere qui 393 1 dicit uua (passa supra) 2 dicit induruuit 3 est) om. 5 praeceptores) om. barbarismos adnu-
merant 6 explicabitur (mus in marg.) 8 quod d(c supra)um alii negent aiunt enim 9 sentimus 10 putet 12 interdum ut etiam

syllabarum numero peccet) *om. add. in marg.* 13 nam aut unum detrachit 14 prolatis est 15 incedat probandū (a *supra*)m sufficient 16 ut) *om.* 17 fecit 18 fecerat 19 uult 20 cum q. breb(v *supra*)is 23 uidetur at ille merebitur 26 corripit 27 barbarismus(est *supra*) 30 prius (*corr. in marg.*) 34 barbarum sonent 35 moytacismos et lautacismos 36 uitium) *om.* redigere 394, 2 pinguis 3 literis tribus sed in 4 est) *om.* pauca) *om. add. in marg.* dici(e *supra*)mus 5 aliqua 6 uocalis an ad sequentem) *om.* 9 sonet alia ut et si 12 prolatum sit 13 refferentes 15 aliquantum de priore 16 proferunt ut uidet 17 in h. (tr*supra*)erit sonus eius 18 ire pingior dissint 19 quiddam (*om. sonum*) producta est uel acutior uel plenior 21 autem) *om.* debet) *om.* 22 possunt) *om. add. in marg.* 23 a) *om.* 24 ecferatur 24 re uera insitum alterutrum 25 ecferunt. ut enim dicat 26 11) *om.* 27 est) *om.* 27, 28 iter illud ego 28 eripui) *om.* 28 consonanti 29 quod est romanae linguae 30 habent in hac plenius 31 ut in balbo 32 algam 33 p ut culpe (sulpo *in marg.*) 33 autem(*supra*) 395 1 exempla) *om.* 2 quorundam 3 nationum) *om.* 4 infringat 6 sona(n *supra*)t admiscant 7 in quibusdam) *add. in marg.*) non// (in *eras.*) 8, 9 si dicat 9 orationis parte 14 per: exiliter 15 dicere (eos *in marg.*) aestimes 21 in motu etiam quicquid) *om. add. in marg.* citiore aut quis¹) *om.* 23 ob) *om.* 24 mediocri se 25 in) *om.* 26 sunt maxime haec 27 de actione 28 solō est quidem illa 29 est) *om.* pluribus(*supra*) 30 altius est intellegere. Nam ecce qui dicat nominatiuus cassus fontis 31 dicere fons 34 uel generis 35 ipsum solum 36 discutiatur 396 1 uitium fit) *om.* 2 quae) *om.* 2 singulis partibus sunt imperite facta ibi barbarismus erit 3 et cum 4 est) *om.* 6 quadrigam sordem paces) pln 7¹ est autem 8 nu(a *supra*)mqui casu) *om.* 9 et dentis) *om.* 11 dici melius) *om.* 12 nullo tempore (*corr. in marg.*) 13 qđ non 15 uel syllabae) *om.* 16, 17 in barbarismo et barbarolexi 18 peccet 19 ex) *om.* 20 quia) *om.* 21 dici non potest in) *om.* 22 sit solocismus 22 regularum habita quod prolatio talis peccet 24 una dictio 27 litterae 29 partis dicantur 31 orationum 31 nam et barbarismus 32 pronuntiet 34 et) *om.* 35 item

¹ So too M. In B the cross stroke of the t of peccat, which is at the end of a line, is as often in that position, slightly prolonged and turned up at the end: which rather suggests "peccatur" as the right reading.

² Autem is written in the well known Irish contraction; so this is a clear instance of the confusion of the contracted form of enim and autem.

ad(p *supra*)se pro rē ipsa 35 transmotabimus 397 i coniecimus
 licet et parelicon 2 adesdum (adesteum *in marg.*) 3 tropus
 magis 4 motamus 8 alterius syllā 9 diacope (*marg.* diaere-
 sis) 10 habet 11 satias " titoy pro satietas (*marg.* antiton)
 duae) *om.* 12 subortae 13 couaclam 14 facit barbarismum
 v (*supra*) 15 et per inmotationem 16 motauit item) *om.* 17
 duo barbarismi) *om.* (et duo barb. *in marg.*). 18, 19 cern-
 untur - orationis) *om.* *add. in marg.* (geruntur *pro* cernuntur).
 19 est) *om.* 20 metaplasmus dēprēhēndi quale dicunt esse
 illud 21 quod. fa. syll. quae erat lingua 22 in) *om.* 23 q:
 alioqui plu semper numeri fit 24 itaque ///et 26 maiore uitio
 27 despiciendo 28 dicunt esse 29 corrupta iam) *om.* 31
 habet (*add. in marg.*) 31 dicitur) *om.* 32 ostenda 34 gratia)
 causa 398, 1 plane) *om.* 2 barbarismi (*in marg.*) possis 3
 tirancidas dicant (pro *supra*) 4, hii sed in sensu) *om.* 5 sangui-
 nitos (*om.* pro sanguineis) 7 contra id quod ut agere putent
 10 est) *om.* 23 sua apte (aperte *in marg.*) a) *om.* 26 refugit
 28 aeneae 29 artibus aut consuetudinibus 31 intigri enuntiatii sunt
 33 ex) *om.* 34 et) *om.* 36 nunc poni 399 i sufficient plenius)
om. 2 debeat) *om.* cuncta figurantur 3 et taedet 8 o mihi prae-
 teritos referat si) *om.* 9 magno quod lae dyptongus 10 sit eolae
 11 alexin cum 12 sit cum o alioqui lingua sit 13 cum) *om.* 13, 14
 alibi longa sit ut pecodes 15 auroque refulgere (effulgere *in marg.*)
 18 currus consonis literis sequentibus 19 alioqui hisdem 21 sit
 cum te longum duae consonae efficerint item defenditur hoc erat
 23 consonante 24 alioqui 25 zancitus sequenti duplici z breui
 26 longa habeatur ut exsultat amzon 27 praeteritos refferat si
 ioppiter annos, cur hi ut est 28 ferro) *om.* 30 supradictum dixi
 32 continguet paucis 400 2 positos) *om.* 3 aut) *om.* 5 corruptam
 relinquunt 6 danaum tantum (*om.* et) dixisti 7 1 per meta-
 plasmum item contra lucius atque ore corrupto 11 haec cum
 eueniunt 13 a poeta sic 14 corrumpierint 15 corrumpere
 eam 18 labantes 20 poterunt 22 sistole aut iectasis. similis
 ratio erit in dieresi 23 et quod lucanus 25 uocari et item 27 per-
 suasserit. synaliphe et eclipsis 9 ut) ac 401 1 quibus modis
 2 euenire synalipha (*et sic saepe*) una siue ex uno uocali siue ex
 4, 5 sunt haec 6 femine solum) *om.* 7 diplodit 8 hic (*supra*)
 9 ieciens superfluo duabus ostendit (*corr. in obstant al. m.*)
 11 conseretur 13 est) *ante* ergo 16 mundi sol aureus astra) *om.*
 17, 18 diuersa est item eius potestas 18 dyptongon 19 feminae
 ardentem est. Item eius potestatis ut 20 cum muta 22 potestatis

23 primum) plurimum 23 ut est atque 25 reffert quum excluseris
 25, 26 ea dubitatio euenit 31 eaci transiluisti quae ex gi (*marg.*
ci) putius nos exclusa est (sicut cum scandas coniugi ci ectlimsis
 erit exclusa *in marg.*) diptongos et quasi expressa 402 1
 sic) *om.* 2 accio gnos ectlipsis est talis est feminae 3 potest
 scandere femin arden et erit sinalipha item potes feminaerdentem
 5 incertum est sinalipha 8 manifesto 9 et ex difinitionibus et
 exemplis ipsis qđ hii 11 etiam a scriptoribus 13 ille eterris
 14 si mult. facias 15 dicit ex 16 tanton et tantone 17 magi
 multum ille erit cum muta 18 uelud (*et alias*) 19 est) *om.*
 20 iam pene uno neque id ad 21 sufficit 22 interest quae res
 quo dummodo) dum 23 uelud in manu in dispectione 25
 horum duorum discernit 27 a poetis 28 latinost (*e supra*
al. m.) 29 utique) *om.* 30 fecerimus 30 relinquisset 32 reliqueri-
 (n *supra*)t nobis scandendi potestas 34 ille terris 35 possimus 36
 qđ sum h ut ostenderimus 403 1 corrumpundae 3 relin-
 quetur nunc nobis 4 integra legitur quem 5 possumus animad-
 uertamus metaplasma: sicut 6 aut literam uocalem excludit
 7 ex) *om.* et muta aut 8 ut est hic enim rastra 9 est) *om.*
 9 adieci 11 duae mutae periunt 12, 13 arethusa ut scandamus
 14 rasty. his IIII modis 15 quicquid illud 15-17 positum sit—
 uocales) *om.* 18 diuersa uel consonantem 19 ea) *om.* 21 perit e)
om. inter consonantem 22 et puerum Astianacta) *om.* 23 regit.
 quod puerum Astyanacta trahebat inter 25 rostq. ea duos 27
 enim ghaslacri 31 regin especu 33 peri (a *supra*)t 33 et fit
 la.(ut *supra*) tua 35 adstrictius (ut *supra*) posterior periat
 dardani(o *supra*): 404 1 in syllabam unam (ñ *supra*) coeunt 2
 pluiasque hyadas ut scandamus asquea quam asquhya 3 inus-
 sitatis est post q et uy 7 metaplasma enim quem inuenimus
 ui in qua scribitur intuebimur. Finit.

Among spelling variants one of the commonest is the doubling
 of a consonant, a fault especially frequent in Irish MSS. Com-
 monest is the doubling of s, (e. g. cassus, ussus, possitus, expos-
 sitio, prothesis, sincrissis, conlissionem, excussatio, diernessis,
 dissillabum, siracussas): other instances are 'Terrentius', 'Affri',
 'reffert'. On the other hand molosus, Achilles, litera occur with
 a single consonant. E and i are very frequently confused (e. g.
 i for e in postrimus, siries, intigre, dirigo, difinitio, ditractio, dili-
 ciosa, consuitudo: e for i in cremen, emitior, deffero, accedens,
 perteneo). Communis and muto and its compounds are inua-
 riably spelled with an o (communis, moto) also ioppiter, insola;

potius with an u : traho with a c inserted (e. g. subtrachitur) : uersus with an o, with one exception and then o is written over e by the corrector : pinguius lacks its first u ; and temno, damno, damnum suffer from the insertion of a p. Greek words are of course very hardly treated (e. g. auferesis, sincope, ectlimpsis or ectlipsis, lautacismus). Ad and in are generally if not always left unassimilated when they form part of a compound word.

In conclusion I may mention that I have examined the Naples MS of Consentius' other work 'de nomine et uerbo', which is mentioned but not collated by Keil.¹ The barrenness of the work prevents me from more than cursorily alluding to it. The MS is more nearly related to Keil's B and L than to M, especially to B ; indeed it seems to have been copied from a MS closely akin to B and corrected from one resembling L and the MS used by Sichard : e. g. 354 29 sed et hic euphoniae M, sed et hic etiam euphoniae B, sed et haec eadem euphoniae LS, sed et hi(e-*supra*)c eadem euphoniae N (eadem being added by the corrector in a space left by the first hand).

341 20 aries which is omitted by BM, but occurs in LS, is in N inserted in the margin.

366 26 uerba sunt ut ait Probus S, uerba sunt ut B. In L and M the words 'ait Probus' are omitted ; in N 'sunt ut ait Probus' is added in the margin.

368 27 N reads 'aliter //tonderi ////cura(n *supra*)t uellera non (enim *supra*) posset dici //tonderi ////uellera cura(n *supra*)t', the first reading apparently being closest to B and the correction to S.

367 5 appellata dicuntur B, appellata sunt M, sunt appellata L. N appears to have read dicuntur but it is erased and sunt written in the space.

380 16 N reads 'euenit mihi tibi illi', with L S.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹Since writing this article I find that an older MS of part of this work has been discovered at Milan (cod. Ambros. B 71 sup.). A full collation of it is given by R. Salbadini, Spogli Ambrosiani Latini (Studi Italiani di Filologia classica vol. XI p. 240). It is of the 9th cent.: and like the Naples MS. supports B and L rather than M.

III.—ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE VOCATIVE.

LYRIC POETS.

The *ῥθος* of the interjection with the vocative in the Lyric Poets is much the same as in Homer,¹ and denotes impatience, familiarity, or lack of reserve. The sphere of familiarity is extended so as, rarely however, to include the gods, and the use is wider. Taking the Lyric Poets as given in Hiller, also Pindar, Bacchylides, and Timotheus, the vocative is used with the interjection 184 times, with it omitted, 461 times. That is, the interjection is used with but 28% of the vocatives. In general, those poets who are most familiar in tone use the interjection most. Theognis in the first Eleg. omits the interjection 123 times and uses it but 5; while the coarser Eleg. B has the interjection 17 times and omits it but 7. Alcaeus, Anacreon, the Scholia, and the Carmina Popularia have the interjection with nearly 60% of the vocatives, while Stesichorus with 4 vocatives has no interjection, and Alcman has but one in 11, and that one *ὦ δλε δαίμων*, frag. 79, reveals the tone. Pindar has 65 in 205. Where Pindar is most stately he is very sparing of the interjection. In the First Olympian "Pindar is consciously treading a lofty measure", and so although there are five vocatives, there are no interjections, while the Sixth Isthmian, of a very different *ῥθος*, has the same number of vocatives, each with *ὦ*. Pindar assumes a peculiar attitude towards the Muses, and regards them as his own familiar friends. He is the first Greek poet to say *ὦ Μοῖσα* or *ὦ Μοῖσαι*. Although the Muses are addressed 16 times by others of the Lyric Poets, the vocatives *Μοῦσα* and *Μοῖσαι* are never used with the interjection by them, Pindar is the only Lyric Poet who uses *ὦ* in speaking to the Muses; cf. O. 10, 3; 11, 18; N. 3, 1; I. 6, 57. This presumption of Pindar's did not escape the notice of Aristophanes who in his parody of Pindar departs from his own usual custom and says *ὦ Μοῦσα*, Av. 905. For the proofs that this is a parody on Pindar, see Scholiast and Kock on Av. 905.

A striking proof of the familiar tone of the interjection is the fact that in addresses to the *παιδικά* it is always used.

¹ See A. J. P. XXIV, 192 ff. and XXV, 81 ff.

The single exception to this, among 21 examples, is Theog. 1249, where this vocative coming in a series of vocatives, each with the interjection, hardly violates the rule. Similar is Pindar's & παῖδες, Frag. 122, 6 addressed to the courtesans of Corinth. At the other extreme lie the dignified patronymics which do not take the interjection. Theog. 25, 57, 61, 79, 129, 143, 191, 377, 541, 738, 1197; Alcman 7a; Archil. 7, 1; 76, 1; Sol. 19, 3; Anacreon 103; Pind. P. 1, 71; 5, 45, 118; 9, 30; N. 7, 70; 9, 28; 10, 76. In the four places where the patronymic takes an interjection, the reserve implied in the form of the word is lost in the tone of the whole. Arch. 96, 1, & Κηρυκίδη' ἀχρυμένη σκυτάλη. Alcaeus 76 is of a similar tone. In Anac. 74, & ῥυστοκλείδη, πρῶτον οἰκτίρω φίλων, the patronymic is used in pity, hence the interjection, and the other example, Simon. 98, is in the last words of a dying son to his father, and is certainly familiar.

In the speech of the gods the interjection is not used, cf. Hipponax 25, Pind. O. 6, 62, 13, 67, P. 9, 30. The one exception is where Aphrodite uses the extremely familiar ὦ Ψάπφ', Sappho I, 20.

Taken as a whole, the only conclusion for the Lyric Poets is that the vocative ordinarily does not have the interjection, and that the interjection, when used, indicates a throwing off of reserve, either to denote stress, familiarity, or emotion.

HERODOTUS.

The use of the interjection in Herodotus is strikingly similar to that of Sophocles, and the proportions are exactly the same, as each uses the interjection with 60% of the vocatives. The exact number for Herodotus, omitting the oracles, is vocative with & 171, without & 116. He too uses the interjection with participles, with adjectives used as substantives, and in appeals to the inanimate; and like Sophocles, he does not use the interjection with proper names of persons. The vocative of proper names of persons is used without & 47 times, with it but twice. The rough speech of Adeimantus to Themistocles, VIII, 59, & Θεμιστόκλεες ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπτίζονται. is certainly unusual both in its thought and manner. In I 32, Solon twice uses the interjection in reply to the impatient and vexed Croesus, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεις εἶπε. With no violations of this rule in Aesch. or Soph. and these two out of 49 in Her., it is evident that the omission of & is no accident, and that the familiar tone of the interjection was

out of place with proper names of persons. "Sir Walter" is the English equivalent for the vocative without the interjection, "Walter" for the vocative with it. Exactly in keeping with this is the fact that before such expressions as *ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι*, *ἄνδρες στρατιῶται*, *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* the interjection is not used, while with *ἄνδρες* omitted in names of peoples, the interjection is always used. I, 125, *ὦ Πέρσαι*, but 126, *ἄνδρες Πέρσαι*; VIII, 140, *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι*, but *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*; IX, 26, *ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, but *ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται*. Herodotus has 38 examples of this use of *ἄνδρες*, I, 126, III, 71, 73, 83, 137. IV, 3, 98, 133, 136, 139, 158, V, 91, 98, 109. VI, 9, 11, 85, 97, 130. VII, 8, 13, 135, 150, 158, 172, VIII, 22, 24, 118, 140, IX, 9, 21, 26, 45, 60, 82, 87, 89, 98. The only one of all these that has the interjection is IX, 89, where the fleeing Artabazus says *ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί*. The use of the interjection here may be intended to picture his perplexity, or his coarseness.

Sophocles also always omits the interjection in the use of kindred expressions, Ajax, 565, *ἄνδρες ἀσπιστῆρες*, 719, *ἄνδρες φίλοι* O. R. 512, *ἄνδρες πολῖται*, O. C. 1579, *ἄνδρες πολῖται*.

These two classes, the vocative of proper names of persons, and phrases with *ἄνδρες*, cover about three-fourths of the vocatives without the interjection in Herodotus.

These two following examples from the words of Croesus show well the distinction between the vocative without the interjection, and the vocative with it. I, 30, when Croesus wishes to flatter Solon, and to be flattered by him he says, *Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμίας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης κτλ.* but when the reply provokes him he says, *ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονία οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὥστε οὐδέ ἰδιωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμίας ἐποίησας*; and it is in reply to this that Solon uses the only interjection used with the proper name of a person, except the taunt of Adeimantus to Themistocles quoted above.

Hence also the familiar family greetings such as father, mother, wife, son, and daughter have the interjection; cf. I, 37, 38, 39, 40, 111, 121. III, 3, 50, 52, 53, 69, 119 (bis) 134 (bis). V, 19 bis. VI, 68, 69 (bis). VII, 16, β. No exceptions to this rule.

EURIPIDES.

The percentage of vocatives with the interjection is lower in Euripides than in Sophocles and Herodotus. The exact figures for Euripides are, omitting the fragments, vocatives with interjection 1144, without 971. The interjection is used with 54 per

cent of the vocatives in Euripides, with 60 per cent in Sophocles and Herodotus.

The rules for the use of the interjection are:

I. The vocative of the participle, when used without the noun or when the noun is used in apposition to the participial phrase must have the interjection. As there are about one hundred examples of this use, I shall illustrate from Nauck's first and last plays, *The Alcestis* and *Phoenissae*.

Alcestis, 407, ὦ σχέτλια δὴ παθὼν
625, ὦ τόνδε μὲν σώσας',
697, ὦ κύκισθ' ἡσσημένος
837, ὦ πολλὰ τλᾶσα

Phoenissae, 1, ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
"Ἥλιε.—Here "Ἥλιε is in apposition to the participial phrase.

84. ὦ φαεινὰς οὐρανοῦ ναίων πτυχὰς
Ζεῦ.—Example of the same use as the preceding.

Other examples of the interjection with the participle in this play are 226, 298, 310, 580, 917, 1270, 1436, 1447, 1536. Since the interjection is not used with the unmodified names of persons, and since it is always used with the participle, the translation of such a vocative as is found in *Iph. Taur.* 17:

ὦ τῇσδ' ἀνάσσων Ἑλλάδος στρατηγίας
'Αγήμενον,

is not "O Agamemnon, thou who dost wield the military power of Hellas" but "O thou who dost wield the military power of Hellas, thou Agamemnon". A more intricate example is *Phoen.* 580:

ὦ κακὰ μνηστεύματα
"Ἀδραστε προσθείς,

which is not "O Adrastus, thou who didst press baneful wooings" but "O thou who didst press baneful wooings, thou Adrastus". Liddell and Scott miss the point entirely, by translating it "oh baneful spousals" thus removing the interjection from the participle, and changing an accusative to the vocative.

II. In addresses to the inanimate, especially to parts of the body, as *χείρ*, *χρῶς*, *πούς* and similar words, or in addresses to implements or parts of the house, the interjection is not omitted.

The large number of examples under this rule makes it impossible to illustrate from more than two plays.

Alcestis, 1, ὦ δῶματ' Ἀδμήτει'

177, ὦ λέκτρον

234, ὦ Φεραία χθών, also 569, 837, 861, 895, 911, 1133.

Phoen. 88, 182, 191, 226, 256, 613, 629, 678, 801, 818, 884, 1019, 1290, 1342, 1500, 1595, 1701, 1702, 1764. The only one of these which does not have the interjection is Phoen. 629, καὶ τί σοι, πόλις, where the interjection was not used because of the preceding σοί. The apparent exception in Alcestis 248 is due to the fact that the words are part of an appeal beginning with a name of the god Ἄλκι and so the interjection need not be used, as the initial word of the series gives the tone to the whole. There are but few exceptions to this rule in the other plays.

III. When the first syllable of the third foot in trimeter is a monosyllabic vocative the interjection must be used.

Alcestis 509, χαῖρ', ὦ Διὸς παῖ

539, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦναξ. The last word here is treated as a true monosyllable.

Phoen. 154, εἴη τάδ', ὦ παῖ.

1432, ᾗ μοξεν' ὦ τέκν'

1703, νῦν χρησμός, ὦ παῖ,

Euripides has sixty examples of this use of the interjection. The only exceptions are the following, El. 1238, I. A. 1405, I. T. 1158, 1474, each having Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, Phoen. 532, Φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; Rhesus 669, Λαερτίου παῖ, 916, Φιλάμμονος παῖ. In each of these exceptions the first two feet are made up of a single word, and the insertion of the interjection in the verse is impossible. There are no other exceptions.

IV. An adjective used in the vocative without a noun regularly has the interjection.

Alcestis 144, ὦ τλήμων, 250, ὦ τάλαινα, 258, ὦ δύσδαιμον, 460, ὦ μόνα, 717, ὦ κάκιστ', 741, ὦ γεναία καὶ μέγ' ἀρίστη, 824, ὦ σχέτλι'.

Phoen. 124, 171, 884, 1072, 1671. No exception to this rule in the Alcestis or the Phoenissae. Some of the other plays have rare exceptions.

Repeated vocatives such as τέκνα τέκνα, ὦ δόμος δόμος do not differ in the use of the interjection from the single form. These repeated forms are comparatively rare in Euripides, and as far as the vocative is concerned, do not bear out the note of Weck-

lein to Phoen. 819, "Diese Wiederholung des Wortes ist eine dem Euripides eigentümliche Weise lyrischen Ausdrucks".

Three of the plays have no repeated vocative, viz. H. F. Suppl. I. T., while no play of Sophocles is without them. Sophocles in seven plays has nineteen repeated vocatives, while Euripides in nineteen plays has but thirty. Sophocles not only uses these repeated vocatives more freely than Euripides, but is much bolder in the words used. Euripides has a parallel to O. R. 1403, *ὦ γάμοι γάμοι*, in Androm. 1186, and to O. R. 629, *ὦ πόλις πόλις* in Androm. 1211, but he has nothing to match Trach. 1089, *ὦ χέρες χέρες*, nor Phil. 1188, *ὦ πούε πούε*. About one-half of all these repeated vocatives in Euripides are put in the mouth of Hecuba.

In the Teubner edition of Aeschylus there are twenty such repeated vocatives, so that Aeschylus uses them more often than Sophocles or Euripides. The Agamemnon has more repeated vocatives than any other Greek tragedy.

V. Class terms such as *πρόσπολοι*, *δμῶες*, *ὀπαδοί*, and all words denoting slaves or servants, have the vocative without *ὦ*, unless said by one servant to another.

Androm. 426, *δμῶες*, and also in 715.

Bacchae 1217, *πρόσπολοι*.

Hec. 1282, *δμῶες*.

Hel. 1170, *δμῶες*, 1181, *ὀπαδοί*, 1391, *δμῶες*.

El. 360, *ὀπαδοί*, 394, *δμῶες*, 851, *παλαιοὶ δμῶες*, 960, *δμῶες*, 1135, *ὀπάονες*.

Her. 1050, *δμῶες*, 1053, *ὀπαδοί*.

H. F. 724, *πρόσπολοι*.

Sup. 1115, *ἀμφίπολοι*.

Hip. 108, *ὀπαδοί*, 200, *πρόσπολοι*. 808, *πρόσπολοι*. 1084, 1184, 1358, *δμῶες*.

I. A. 1340, *δμῶες*, I. T. 638, *πρόσπολοι*, also 1205.

Ion, 510, *πρόσπολοι*, 666, *δμῶδες*, 1250, *πρόσπολοι*.

Medea, 1314, *πρόσπολοι*. Orestes 629, *πρόσπολοι*, 1380, *Ἑλένης πρόσπολ'*.

Rhesus 804, *ἡνίοχε*, Tro. 295, *δμῶες*, 880, *ὀπάονες*. While free persons kept slaves at a distance and did not address them with the interjection, slaves could use to each other the familiar *ὦ*. Androm. 64, *ὦ φιλότατη σύνδουλε*, Ion, 1109, *ὦ σύνδουλε*. This rule is not violated by Aesch. Cf. Ag. 908, *δμῶαι*, Choeph. 84, *δμῶαι*.

γυναῖκες. 719, δμῶδες οἶκον. Compare also Soph. Antig. 578, δμῶες, 1108, ὁπάονες. 1214, πρόσπολοι, Trach. 1264, ὁπαδοί.

The use of the interjection in O. R. 945 is a fine touch.

Iocasta. τί δ'; οὐχ ὁ πρίσβυς Πόλυβος ἐγκρατὴς ἔτι;

Messenger. οὐ δὴτ', ἐπεὶ νῦν θάνατος ἐν τάφοις ἔχει,

Iocasta. ὦ πρόσπολ', οὐχὶ δεσπότη τὰδ' ὥς τάχος|μολοῦσα λέξεις;
Iocasta in her ecstasy of joy pays no thought to class distinctions, and so uses ὦ before πρόσπολος, the only example in the extant Greek tragedies.

Sophocles has one example of ἰὼ with the vocative of a word denoting servitude, but the speaker has absolutely renounced himself and his authority.

Antigone 1320. Creon. ἐγὼ γάρ σ' ἐγὼ ἔκανον, ὦ μέλεος,
ἐγὼ, φάμ' ἔτυμον. ἰὼ πρόσπολοι,
ἄγετί μ' ὅ τι τάχιστα, ἄγετί μ' ἐκποδών,
τὸν οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ μηδένα.

Here there can be no thought of class distinctions, and the interjection deepens the tone of self-abandonment and despair. As this rule is not confined to tragedy, but belongs to the common speech also, as will be shown later, it seems to me that the interjection denotes a degree of familiarity beyond that allowed to servants in their intercourse with their masters.

VI. In addresses to persons present the interjection is never added to an unmodified proper name.

Not once in Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides does a single example occur of an unmodified proper name of a person used in the vocative with an interjection. There are 255 examples of this rule in Euripides, and a large number in Aeschylus and Sophocles. The interjection must have added here a certain familiar tone too undignified for tragedy. Euripides gives the very examples needed to illustrate this, Cyclops 539, where the Cyclops addresses Silenus with ὦ Σειληνί, and he himself is addressed as ὦ Κύκλωψ by Silenus 262. It seems that there must be something in the tone of the interjection, and not an accident that Euripides should address none of his characters by an unmodified name with the interjection, save only Cyclops and Silenus. I do not count Silenus and Cyclops as real persons; hence this is no exception. I. A. 573, the chorus say ὦ Πάρις,

but he is not present, and the same applies to Hel. 1220, Phoen. 1494, and Helen is hardly present, Hel. 1120.

These are not exceptions, as an absent person can be addressed in any desired manner without the tone seeming to him too familiar.

VII. The use of several vocatives in succession with the interjection denotes great excitement, the use of a series without the interjection gives a feeling of calmness or composure. Hence a change from vocatives with the interjection to vocatives without them shows that the speaker has fixed his purpose and gained self-mastery, while the change from vocatives without the interjection to vocatives with & shows loss of self-control.

From many examples of this I select two. Hippolytus, 902 ff. Theseus in wildest anger accosts his son for his supposed attempted crime, while the son with perfect calmness answers him, until the depravity and baseness of Phaedra is forced upon him, then from calmness he changes to the wildest passion and despair. During the time when Hippolytus is master of himself, he uses seven vocatives, not one with the interjection, while every one the father uses has &. With verse 1060 the baseness of it all comes to him, and in the verses immediately following he uses seven vocatives, each with the interjection. The shift from vocative without the interjection to vocative with interjection exactly corresponds to the change in his self-control.

The other illustration is Iphigenia in Aulis 864 ff. Here the real purpose for which Iphigenia is brought to Aulis is found out, and the excitement and anguish is reflected in the vocatives, all of which until 999 have the interjection, finally after struggling, Iphigenia resolves to die, and gains complete control of herself, so that she tells her purpose to her mother 1368 ff., and in the speech which follows she uses four vocatives, not one of which has the interjection.

On the whole, in Euripides the interjection adds familiarity or passion, the absence of the interjection gives a tone of calmness, distance, or reserve.

ARISTOPHANES.

With Aristophanes there is a decided increase in the use of the interjection with the vocative. The interjection is used with 1000 and omitted with 252 vocatives, that is, it is used with 80% of the vocatives.

Most of the cases of omitted interjection fall under five heads.

1) Poetic reminiscence or parody, e. g. Knights 1015 and 1030 Ἐρεχθεΐδη, 1055 Κεκροπίδη, 1067 Αἰγείδη. Here, as in Homer and the Lyric Poets, the patronymic is used without the interjection. Peace 736, θύγατερ Διός, 775, 816 Μοῦσα. and often in other plays.

2) Avoidance of cacophony after an "ω" in the preceding syllable. The Acharnians has the following examples, 53, 95, 414, 452, 777, 887; so in other plays.

3) In phrases such as ἄνδρες δημόται the interjection is generally omitted, Achar. 328, ἄνδρες δημόται, Knights 242, ἄνδρες ἱππῆς, Wasps 908, ἄνδρες δικασταί. Peace 9, ἄνδρες κοπρολόγοι. [Here the omission of the interjection adds to the mock elevation.] Peace 500 ἄνδρες Μεγαρῆς, Lys. 1074, 1122. ἄνδρες Λάκωνες. The interjection is used in such expressions but 4 times, Achar. 56, Clouds 1437, Peace 292, Plutus 322. The emotion which the interjection adds to this phrase is shown by the passage in the Acharnians, 56, ὧνδρες πρυτάνεις, ἀδικεῖτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κτλ.

4) In an address to a slave παῖ always omits the interjection, while the interjection is never omitted when παῖ is addressed to a free person, unless modifying words show that the person meant is free.

This use I shall illustrate by the Clouds, as typical of all the plays. Strepsiades calls to the slave, 18, παῖ, λύχνον. but to his son 87, ὦ παῖ, πιθοῦ μοι. to the porter 132, παῖ, παιδίον. 1144, παῖ, ἡμί, παῖ παῖ. Cf. also 614 to a slave μὴ πρήη, παῖ, δῆδ', 1165, ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ, to Pheidippides. In the Frogs 190, when Dionysus calls out παῖ, δεῦρο, Charon at once replies δούλον οὐκ ἄγω, as the use of παῖ alone revealed the slave. Later when the arrival at Hades shifted the relations, Dionysus said, 437, ὦ παῖ. In the Acharnians 1136 after Lamachus has shouted παῖ to his slave ten times, in perplexity he calls ὦ παῖ, which by itself would show his confusion, even if βαβαιάξῃ χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα did not follow. [As this rule is even more striking in Plato, the reason for omitting the interjection in calling to a slave will be discussed in the study of Plato.]

5) The interjection is often omitted to give a certain reserve, dignity, or elevation, either actual or in mockery: e. g. Knights 242, 551, 634, 1253.

The following table will show that those plays which have the least elevation have the lowest percentage of vocatives without the interjection, while those with most parody of tragedy and most mock or actual elevation have the most vocatives without ὦ.

| | Without ὦ | With ὦ | Percentage of voc. with ὦ |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------|---------------------------|
| Knights | 12 | 101 | 89+ |
| Peace | 16 | 129 | 89— |
| Clouds | 13 | 95 | 88 |
| and at the other extreme | | | |
| Frogs | 40 | 72 | 64 |
| Thes. | 40 | 86 | 68 |
| Birds | 21 | 82 | 81 |

The Knights, perhaps, comes nearest to the common familiar speech, and so has the fewest vocatives without the interjection. The 12 vocatives without ὦ are as follows, three patronymics quoted above, three dignified appeals, one to the Knights, 242, one to the heliasts, 266, one to the βουλή, 654, two lofty appeals to the gods, 551 ἴππι' ἄναξ Πόσειδον, 1253 Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον. One epic parody 634, where the mock elevation is made more striking by the omission of the interjection:

ἄγε δὴ Σκίταλοι καὶ Κόβαλοι καὶ Μόθων, κτλ.

One 786, pictures the awe with which the Sausage-seller is regarded:

ἄνθρωπε, τίς εἶ; μὲν ἔκγονος εἶ τῶν Ἀρμοδίου τίς ἐκείνων;

One is a mock dignified appeal to Demos.

1207, τί οὐ διακρίνεις, Δῆμ'. And the last of the twelve vocatives without ὦ is addressed to slaves, 418 παῖδες, so no interjection.

Every time the vocative is used without the interjection in the Knights, it is in an expression of reserve or mock elevation.

For Aristophanes the only conclusion is, the more elevated his style, the less he uses the interjection, while the nearer his language approaches to the common vulgar speech, the more is ὦ used with the vocative.

PLATO.

There is but one important exception to the rule that in Plato the vocative has the interjection. Everywhere a slave is addressed as παῖ the interjection is omitted; while a similar address to a free person never omits the interjection. The slave is addressed Theaet. 143 C. ἀλλὰ, παῖ, λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε, but Socrates always addresses Theaetetus as ὦ παῖ, 145 D. 151 E. 156 A. 158 A. 200 C. Symposium 175 A, to a slave, οὐ σκέψαι, παῖ, καὶ εἰσάξεις Σωκράτη; 213 E, φέρε, παῖ, τὸν ψυκτῆρα, and in the plural 212 D,

παῖδες, οὐ σκέψασθε; 213 B, ὑπολύετε, παῖδες, Ἀλκιβιάδην. Charmides 155 B, to a slave, παῖ, καλεῖ Χαρμίδην. In two places where slaves are not treated as slaves the interjection is used. In Meno, where Socrates is teaching geometry to Meno's slave, he treats him not as a slave but a pupil, hence always the interjection, 82 B, 83 C, 85 B. In Symposium 175 B. Agathon says ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐστιάτε. πάντως παρατίθετε δ τι ἂν βούλησθε, ἐπειδὴν τις ὑμῖν μὴ ἐφέστηκε δ ἐγὼ οὐδεπώποτε ἐποίησα' νῦν οὖν, νομίζοντες καὶ ἐμὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεκλησθαι κτλ. Here the relation of master and slave is abandoned, and Agathon definitely annuls the relation by the use of the interjection. Outside of the drunken discourse of Alcibiades in the Symposium there are too few examples of the vocative without the interjection to change the rule that, with the exception of addresses to slaves, the vocative always has the interjection. Twenty dialogues, including Republic, Protagoras, Theaetetus, Parmenides, have no exceptions.

The slave was excluded from the interjection simply because it was too familiar, and to use it would have violated Plato's own precept, Laws 778, τὴν δὲ οἰκέτου πρόσρησιν χρὴ σχεδὸν ἐπίταξιν πᾶσαν γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαίζοντας μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις.

CONCLUSION.

The use of the interjection increased steadily with each sphere of literature from Homer to Plato. With Plato it became almost universal.

In Homer the interjection was not used in prayers or in passages of dignity and elevation, but was freely used in the scenes at the hut of Eumaeus, and where Odysseus returned to his home in the guise of a beggar. In Lyric Poetry the interjection is most congenial to the drinking songs and the Carmina Popularia. In Aristophanes those plays which are least removed from the common people, as the Knights and the Peace, have the most vocatives with the interjection, and even in these plays the omissions are found in scenes of mock or actual elevation. The nearer literature drew to the language of the common people, the more the interjection was used. Evidently ὦ belonged to the sermo vulgaris and hence was too familiar to be used in lofty scenes by Homer or the Lyric Poets.

The interjection with the vocative was familiar, and was not freely used until the familiar language of comedy, dialectic, and

the law courts became the language of literature, when the vocative rarely appears without the interjection.¹

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¹In the New Testament the interjection has practically vanished. In the four Gospels there are but three examples of *ὦ* with the vocative. *ὦ γενεὰ ἀπιστος*, Matth. XVII, 17; Mark IX, 19; Luke IX, 41. *ὦ ἀνέητοι καὶ βραδεῖς*, Luke XXIV, 25. and *ὦ γύναι* Matth. XV, 28. in each case the words of Jesus. Here the vocative has returned to the strictest Homeric use. No prayers have the interjection.

IV.—SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER AND HIS THEORY OF STYLE.

It has been maintained, ~~and~~ without dissent, that the statements of Seneca on the subject of style cannot be reduced to a system, that they are inconsistent in important particulars with each other, that they differ from the writer's own practice to such an extent as to betray insincerity, and that they give evidence of a lack of settled judgment.¹ The severity of the criticism is intensified by the fact that what is made the object of such extreme censure was written by Seneca in the closing years of a long literary career. This very fact, however, together with the rigor of the judgment in itself, is sufficient to justify misgivings with reference to conclusions not supported by convincing demonstration, and to make it desirable, especially as it is a question in which our estimate of the intellectual and moral worth of Seneca is in some degree involved, to subject the whole matter to a more careful examination than it has hitherto received. In undertaking this we shall attempt in the first place to interpret and systematize the pertinent material in the writings of Seneca and afterwards to consider in detail the criticisms which we have already indicated.

When Seneca characterizes (ep. 114, 7) the faulty style of Maecenas as a monstrosity ("orationis portentosissimae") and in defending the style of Fabianus (ep. 100, 5) calls attention to the fact that the words are not used contrary to their nature ("contra naturam suam posita"), he applies a criterion that lies at the foundation of all his ideas about writing. [It is the principle that excellence of style,—which word we shall use in the simple sense of manner of expression,—results from employing language according to nature. This is only a special application of the fundamental principle of his philosophy. He adopted

¹ Cf. A. Gercke, *Seneca-Studien*, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, 22. Supplementband, Leipzig, 1896, S. 134 ff.; E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1898, S. 307, 310; H. Peter, *Der Brief in der römischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1901, S. 231.

without reserve and never tires of repeating the basic teaching of the Stoics that the highest good is to live according to nature (*de vita beata* 3, 3; *de otio* 5, 1; *ep.* 5, 4; etc.). He defines nature as divine reason implanted in the universe as a whole and in its parts (*de ben.* 4, 7, 1). There is no good, he says, without reason; reason follows nature; it is an imitation of nature (*ep.* 66, 39). Virtue is in accordance with nature (*ep.* 50, 8), all faults fight against nature (*ep.* 122, 5; 50, 8). This, then, the fountain-head of his habitual thinking, was the source also of the controlling idea in his theory of style.]

[Seneca's conception of what it is to follow nature in the use of language is clearly indicated in his criticism of the style of Maecenas, the monstrosity of which is illustrated by quotations and analyzed by an enumeration of the faults exemplified. The words, it is charged, are improperly put together, are flung down carelessly, are employed in a manner that conflicts with general usage. Complicated forms of expression and a wresting of words from their legitimate meaning are mentioned as characteristic of the same style, which is still further described as involved, wandering, full of license, drunk.¹ Summed up in this last epithet we find, as we might have expected, that a failure to write according to nature consists in disregarding the dictates of reason. All the other faults enumerated have the same cause. Even the assignment of a certain authority to general usage is a requirement resulting from the nature of speech, which does not have one fixed rule but changes with the age.²]

[This fundamental principle might be elucidated in one way or another by everything Seneca says on the subject of style. A few additional illustrations of its application will be sufficient. Disapproval of carelessness is further attested by praise of Fabianus, who avoiding this fault chose his words with care and employed them with brilliant effect, though taking them from the stock in common use, while at the same time he was free from

¹ *Ep.* 114, 7 *haec verba tam improbe structa, tam neglegenter abiecta, tam contra consuetudinem omnium posita ostendunt mores quoque non minus novos et praevalentes et singulares fuisse.*—114, 8 *istae ambages compositionis, verba transversa*—;—114, 4 *videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis involutam et errantem et licentiae plenam.*—19, 9 *est ergo tanti ulla potentia, ut sit tibi tam ebrius sermo?*

² *Ep.* 114, 13 *adice nunc, quod oratio certam regulam non habet: consuetudo illam civitatis, quae numquam in eodem diu stetit, versat.*

'anxiety'.¹ He is acquitted also of going to another extreme. It is declared (ep. 100, 8) that his style is not low ("humilia"), as it seemed to Lucilius, and that it should be likened, not to a depression ("depressa"), but to a plain ("plana"). This fault of extremes, of exceeding the proper bound (cf. ep. 114, 14 "plus iusto"), is one in which in greater or less degree control of reason is lost, nature abandoned, and monstrosity produced. It is a fault to which attention is called by Seneca again and again. Thus he condemns a love of the old that revives an ancient and obsolete diction and a love of the new that unnecessarily originates words and forms;² a fondness for what is out of use that makes even the Twelve Tables a model, and a fondness for what is in use that descends even to the low, and over against this again, arising from a distaste for the necessary and common, an exclusive employment of the brilliant and sonorous and poetic, and a too bold and frequent use of metaphor;³ further, obscure brevity in broken-off sentences that require more to be understood than is expressed, leaving the thought to be in part suspected, and the opposite fault of saying more than is fit by dwelling too long upon the same idea, or by overstating it;⁴ on the one hand, bombast and a studied roughness that is mistaken for manly vigor and, on the other hand, weakness and a smoothness

¹ Ep. 100, 5 Fabianus non erat neglegens in oratione sed securus. itaque nihil invenies sordidum: electa verba sunt, non captata nec huius saeculi more contra naturam suam posita et inversa, splendida tamen, quamvis sumantur e medio.

² Ep. 114, 10 modo antiqua verba atque exsoleta revocat ac profert, modo fingit et ignota ac deflectit.

³ Ep. 114, 13 sq. multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba, duodecim tabulas loquuntur, Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimis culti et recentes sunt, ad Appium usque et Coruncanium redeunt. quidam contra, dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volunt, in sordes incidunt. utrumque diverso genere corruptum est, tam mehercules quam nolle nisi splendidis uti ac sonantibus et poeticis, necessaria atque in usu posita vitare. tam hunc dicam peccare quam illum: alter se plus iusto colit, alter plus iusto neglegit.—114, 1 quare aliqua aetas fuerit, quae translationis iure uteretur invecunde?—114, 10 pro cultu habetur audax translatio ac frequens.

⁴ Ep. 114, 1 quare alias sensus audaces et fidem egressi placuerint, alias abruptae sententiae et suspiciosae, in quibus plus intellegendum esset quam audiendum?—114, 11 sunt qui sensus praecidunt et ex hoc gratiam sperent, si sententia pependerit et audienti suspicionem sui fecerit. sunt qui illos detineant et porrigant.—114, 17 sic Sallustio vigente anputatae sententiae et verba ante expectatum cadentia et obscura brevitatis fuere pro cultu.

that resembles a musical composition.¹ The faults of Maecenas and similar writers, who consciously and intentionally abandon a right form of expression, are pictured in general as unnaturalness by comparison with the toilet of those who pluck out the beard all over or in parts, or clip closely and shave the lips only, or wear glaring cloaks or a transparent toga, being indifferent, if they can but attract attention (ep. 114, 21).

Turning from the ideal of expression to possible accomplishment, we discover again a close connection between Seneca's theory of style and his philosophy. The perfectly wise man, the man who follows nature absolutely, is so seldom seen as to be practically a myth (ep. 42). Following nature is an approximation varying in degree and kind with the individual. III, then, excellence in writing depends on conformity to nature, it follows that a man's style is determined by his character. And this is what Seneca teaches. He adopts as an expression of his own view the Greek proverb, modernized by Buffon, that a man's speech corresponds to his life, that the style is the man.² Language, he says, expressing the same thought in another form, is the dress of the mind and the qualities of the one are like those of the other. This agreement of course is not a mere coincidence. The one thing is the cause of similarity in the other. And it is the character of the mind that determines the character of the style, whether good or bad. The drunkenness of speech is due to drunkenness of mind. It is from the mind that words proceed. If this is sound and strong, speech also is sturdy, strong, and manly.³ Even great writers, not having attained perfect

¹ Ep. 114, 1 *quare quibusdam temporibus proveniret corrupti generis oratio quaeris et quomodo in quaedam vitia inclinatio ingeniorum facta sit, ut aliquando inflata explicatio vigeret, aliquando infracta et in morem cantici ducta?* —114, 15 *ad compositionem transeamus. quot genera tibi in hac dabo, quibus peccetur? quidam praefractam et asperam probant. disturbant de industria, si quid placidius effluxit. nolunt sine salebra esse iuncturam. virilem putant et fortem, quae aurem inaequalitate percutiat. quorundam non est compositio, modulatio est: adeo blanditur et molliter labitur.*

² Ep. 114, 1 *hoc quod audire vulgo soles, quod apud Graecos in proverbium cessit: talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita.* —115, 2 *oratio cultus animi est, etc.* —114, 22 *quomodo in vino non ante lingua titubat quam mens cessit oneri et inclinata vel prodita est: ita ista orationis quid aliud quam ebrietas nulli molesta est, nisi animus labat. ideo ille curetur: ab illo sensus, ab illo verba exeunt, ab illo nobis est habitus, vultus, incessus. illo sano ac valente oratio quoque robusta, fortis, virilis est: si ille procubuit, et cetera ruinam sequuntur.*

conformity to nature, may be expected to have faults of style. Seneca points out that such is the case.¹ And, with all his admiration for Fabianus, he did not try to conceal the weaknesses that might be detected in a close examination of the details of what he wrote (ep. 100, 5; 100, 11).

If peculiarities of style result from corresponding peculiarities of character, style becomes an index of character. The relation of the two is more frequently referred to by Seneca under this aspect. The style of Maecenas is that of a drunken man. His loose speech reminds us of his loose tunic and other idiosyncrasies. The faults of his style show that he was effeminate, not mild, and that his head was turned by too much good fortune.² An anxious and polished style points to a mind occupied with trivial things.³ Bedizenment in toilet or language betokens a lack of soundness and strength (ep. 115, 2). Faults, to be sure, are propagated in some instances, he admits, by mere imitation without being an index of the man himself.⁴

The influence of character on style is not confined, according to Seneca, to the individual. When the strict morals of the state break down and give way to pleasure, the speech of the time is marked by an imitation of public manners.⁵ Good fortune spreads luxury abroad. This shows itself first in the care of the body, in furniture, in the houses themselves, in the table, and at last, when the mind forms the habit of feeling disgust for what is customary and regards the usual as low, it also strives after what is new in speech, coming at length, as it wanders away from nature, to love faultiness itself (ep. 114, 8-11). Nor is the cor-

¹ Ep. 114, 12 *da mihi quemcumque vis, magni nominis virum: dicam, quid illi aetas sua ignoverit, quid in illo sciens dissimulaverit.*

² Ep. 114, 4 *videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis.*—114, 4 *non oratio eius aeque soluta est quam ipse discinctus?*—114, 6 *non statim, cum haec legeris, hoc tibi occurret, hunc esse, qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit?* etc.—114, 8 *apparet enim mollem fuisse, non mitem.*—114, 8 *hoc istae ambages compositionis, hoc verba transversa, hoc sensus miri, magni quidem saepe, sed enervati dum exeunt, cuivis manifestum facient: motum illi felicitate nimia caput.*

³ Ep. 115, 2 *cuiuscumque orationem videris sollicitam et politam, scito animum quoque non minus esse pusillis occupatum.*

⁴ Ep. 114, 20 *haec ergo et eiusmodi vitia, quae alicui inpressit imitatio, non sunt indicia luxuriae nec animi corrupti.*

⁵ Ep. 114, 2 *quemadmodum autem uniuscuiusque actio dicendis similis est, sic genus dicendi aliquando imitatur publicos mores, si disciplina civitatis laboravit et se in delicias dedit.*

rupt influence of a time seen in the speech of the uneducated only. It affects all classes, the more highly cultured being distinguished from the rest by dress, not by judgment (ep. 114, 12). Looked at from the opposite point of view, pleasure in a corrupt form of language is a proof that manners have deteriorated. License of speech, provided it is frequent, indicates a decline of public morals.¹

If, now, the general principle that underlies Seneca's theory of style should be applied in any particular case, it would be necessary to take into account three things, the kind of subject-matter, the character of the writer, and the character of the persons addressed. A style that would be in accordance with nature in one set of circumstances would not be in another. Seneca observes this principle. Much of what he says about writing has to do with one particular branch of literature. It is plain that this consideration cannot be left out of sight, if we would judge fairly either Seneca's theory or the style of his own works.

It is not difficult to determine what the specific style is to which so many of Seneca's observations pertain. He compares his letters with public oral address and shows them to be a better means of imparting the principles of philosophy (ep. 38). He discusses at length, with passing reference to style, the manner of delivery of a philosopher (ep. 40). He justifies the style of his letters to Lucilius by reference, not to a model epistolary form in general, but to the right method of presenting the truths of philosophy (ep. 75). In defending the style of Fabianus, while he admits that Fabianus lacks oratorical force (ep. 100, 8), he reminds Lucilius that they are considering the style, not of an orator, but of a philosopher (ep. 100, 1). And he compares Fabianus with Cicero and Livy, and perhaps with Asinius Pollio, as writers of philosophy (ep. 100, 9). Seneca's theory, then, though some of its features pertain to all kinds of writing and though some of his statements, as we have already seen, are made in the most general way, yet has to do primarily with a popular philosophical style.

¹ Ep. 114, 11 itaque ubicumque videris orationem corruptam placere, ibi mores quoque a recto descivisse non erit dubium. quomodo conviviorum luxuria, quomodo vestium aegrae civitatis indicia sunt, sic orationis licentia, si modo frequens est, ostendit animos quoque, a quibus verba exeunt, proci-disse.

The several qualities of style recognized by Seneca as appropriate to philosophical writing may all be considered as growing out of the fundamental requirement of conformity to nature. In the first place, it follows from the nature of language as a means and not an end, that it should be the aim of the writer in any department of literature whatever to exhibit his matter rather than his style, in other words, to make his style unobtrusive. When the matter is philosophy, this quality of style becomes, from the point of view of Seneca, all the more important. He has greater things for Lucilius to attend to than words and the putting of them together. He wishes him in writing to consider the what, not the how. He expresses admiration for Fabianus, because he gave his thought, not to so insignificant a thing as words, but to the importance of his subject; because he constructed character, not sentences; because he wrote for the heart and not for the ear; because he made everything contribute to progress toward virtue and did not seek applause; because, when he received applause, he gained it, not by the charm of his style, but by the greatness of his thought.¹ Philosophy, he maintains, does not have for its purpose to please the people. That is for other arts. The words of the philosopher should be spoken, not for the pleasure, but for the profit of the hearer. Philosophy, unlike other arts, which are concerned with the intellect only, has to do with the affairs of the heart, with character. If it were possible, Seneca would prefer to show rather than to say what he thinks, putting language entirely out of sight.² And this is not merely a matter of purpose on the part of the writer. The style as such should be self-effacing. Its charm, if it has any, should be such as to exhibit the matter rather than itself. Eloquence of expression harms, if it creates a desire for itself rather

¹ Ep. 115, 1 *nimis anxium esse te circa verba et compositionem, mi Lucili, nolo: habeo maiora, quae cures. quaere quid scribas, non quemadmodum.*—100, 10 *vis illum adsidere pusillae rei, verbis: ille rerum se magnitudini addixit.*—100, 2 *mores ille, non verba composuit et animis scripsit ista, non auribus.*—100, 11 *ad profectum omnia tendunt, ad bonam mentem, non quaeritur plausus.*—52, 11 *disserebat populo Fabianus, sed audiebatur modeste. erumpebat interdum magnus clamor laudantium, sed quem rerum magnitudo evocaverat, non sonus inoffense ac molliter orationis elapsae.*

² Ep. 52, 13 *relinquantur istae voces illis artibus, quae propositum habent populo placere: philosophia adoretur.*—75, 5 *non delectent verba nostra, sed prosint.*—75, 5 *aliae artes ad ingenium totae pertinent, hic animi negotium agitur.*—75, 2 *si fieri posset, quid sentiam, ostendere quam loqui mallet.*

than for the thing communicated.¹ Lucilius is praised for keeping his words under control, for not being carried away by the language, for making everything concise and suited to the subject, for saying as much as he wishes and signifying more than he says, in short, for keeping language subordinate and letting it do its proper work of communicating thought and not attracting attention to itself.²

And yet Seneca does not teach that beauty is objectionable in the philosophical style. He approves of the eloquence, elegance, and brilliancy of the style of Fabianus (ep. 58, 6; 100, 5). He is careful to say that he does not wish philosophical discourse, dealing as it does with great themes, to be meagre and dry.³ He makes, however, in this connection a second requirement for the philosophical style: it should have the quality of being easy. If charm of expression can be attained without anxious attention to it, if it is ready at hand or costs but little, it should accompany a most glorious matter. In this very ease of speech there is a characteristic beauty. But a great deal of work should not be expended on the words. Fabianus, though not careless, did not trouble himself about his style; though eloquent, he did not aim to be so but drew his eloquence after him like a shadow.⁴ This ease should also appear in the language itself. The style of the philosopher should not be anxious. Of this, too, Fabianus furnishes an exemplification. He not only wrote easily but he put his thought in a form that pictured this ease. His language is fluent and shows plainly that he did not work at it a long time. The words are well chosen but have not been hunted up with effort. And with reference to himself Seneca, in reply to the criticism that his letters are not written with sufficient care, ridicules an anxious style and declares that

¹ Ep. 75, 5 *sit talis, ut res potius quam se ostendat.*—52, 14 *nocet illis eloquentia, si non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui.*

² Ep. 59, 4 *habes verba in potestate. non effert te oratio nec longius quam destinasti trahit.*—59, 5 *pressa sunt omnia et rei aptata. loqueris quantum vis et plus significas quam loqueris.*

³ Ep. 75, 3 *non mehercules ieiuna esse et arida volo, quae de rebus tam magnis dicentur. neque enim philosophia ingenio renuntiat.*

⁴ Ep. 75, 5 *si tamen contingere eloquentia non sollicito potest, si aut parata est aut parvo constat, adsit et res pulcherrimas prosequatur.*—100, 1 *est decor proprius orationis leniter lapsae.*—75, 3 *multum tamen operae impendi verbis non oportet.*—100, 5 *Fabianus non erat neglegens in oratione sed securus.*—100, 10 *eloquentiam velut umbram non hoc agens trahit.*

he wishes his letters to be unlabored and easy like familiar conversation. Pains-taking polish he does not regard as a manly ornament.¹ This quality of ease follows from conformity to nature. It is the processes governed by right reason that go on without effort.

Reason looked at as virtue demands that the style of the philosopher be sincere. To this quality Seneca gives especial emphasis. It is disgraceful, in his view, for the philosopher to say one thing and think another, and still more disgraceful to write one thing and think another. There should be harmony between thought and word, life and speech. And it is the thought, the character that should receive the greater attention.² The spirit of the man should appear also in his language. The sincerity of his life, as in the case of Fabianus, should be stamped upon his style. This is a quality that Seneca also professes to have aimed at in his own writings.³

Out of sincerity springs another quality of style akin to it. The man who means what he says does not try to cover up his thought but to make it clear. In so doing he conforms to the nature of language, the purpose of which is to reveal thought, not to conceal it. In cautioning Lucilius not to give too much attention to the subtleties in which the Stoics had been prone to indulge, Seneca says, in a general way, it is the things which are clear that become virtue.⁴ And more specifically, with reference to manner of expression, he points out as one of the

¹ Ep. 100, 4 oratio sollicita philosophum non decet.—100, 2 illud plane fatetur et praefert, non esse tractatam nec diu tortam.—100, 5 electa verba sunt, non captata.—75, 1 minus tibi accuratas a me epistulas mitti quereris. quis enim accurate loquitur, nisi qui vult putide loqui? qualis sermo meus esset, si una sederemus aut ambularemus, inlaboratus et facilis, tales esse epistulas meas volo.—115, 2 oratio cultus animi est: si circumtonsa est et fucata et manu facta, ostendit illum quoque non esse sincerum et habere aliquid fracti. non est ornamentum virile concinnitas.

² Ep. 24, 19 turpe est aliud loqui, aliud sentire: quanto turpius aliud scribere, aliud sentire!—75, 4 haec sit propositi nostri summa: quod sentimus loquamur, quod loquimur sentiamus: concordet sermo cum vita.—115, 1 quaere quid scribas, non quemadmodum. et hoc ipsum non ut scribas, sed ut sentias, ut illa quae senseris magis adplices tibi et velut signes.

³ Ep. 100, 11 denique illud praestabit, ut liqueat tibi illum sensisse quae scripsit. intelleges hoc actum, ut tu scires quid illi placeret, non ut ille placeret tibi.—75, 3 hoc unum plane tibi adprobare vellem, omnia me illa sentire quae dicerem nec tantum sentire sed amare.

⁴ Ep. 48, 12 aperta decent et simplicia bonitatem.

faults in the unnatural style of Maecenas, that he avoided being understood, and censures the obscure brevity that was the fashion in the time of Sallust. On the other hand, he regards it as one of the merits of Fabianus that there was much light in all he wrote and that his language though fluent was free from confusion. He approves also of figurative language, when not employed to excess, because it takes the speaker and hearer into the very presence of the object.¹

A prime condition of clearness is another quality distinct from clearness but closely related to it. Seneca himself links the two in a sentence already quoted in part. Things that are clear, he says, and things that are simple become virtue (ep. 48, 12). This is a matter of both thought and language. Referring to the crafty shrewdness and the knotty questions of Stoic dialectics, he demands of the philosopher simplicity of reasoning (ep. 49, 12; 82, 19). As regards language, we find him censuring the involved style of Maecenas, declaring that the style which has to do with truth ought to be simple, likening the style of Fabianus, which he approves, to a plain house of simple beauty as contrasted with one abounding in luxury, objecting to an extreme use of figures of speech, but not to the use of them as employed in the simple style of the ancients, assuring Lucilius that in speaking orally he would be content to present his thoughts plainly without embellishing or weakening them.² [From the point of view of simplicity may also be explained Seneca's fondness for short sentences in preference to long periods, which he disliked.³] According to

¹ Ep. 114, 4 magni vir ingenii fuerat, si illud egisset via rectiore, si non vitasset intellegi.—114, 17 sic Sallustio vigente anputatae sententiae et verba ante expectatum cadentia et obscura brevitatis fuere pro cultu.—100, 11 sed multum erit in omnibus lucis.—100, 2 adeo larga est et sine perturbatione.—59, 6 parabolis referti sunt, quas existimo necessarias, non ex eadem causa qua poetis, sed ut inbecillitatis nostrae adminicula sint, ut et dicentem et audientem in rem praesentem adducant.

² Ep. 114, 4 videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis involutam.—40, 4 adice nunc, quod quae veritati operam dat oratio incompta esse debet et simplex.—100, 6 desit sane varietas marmorum et concisura aquarum cubiculis interfluentium et pauperis cella et quicquid aliud luxuria non contenta decore simplici miscet: quod dici solet, domus recta est.—59, 6 illi qui simpliciter et demonstrandae rei causa eloquebantur parabolis referti sunt.—75, 2 ista oratoribus reliquissem, contentus sensus meos ad te pertulisse, quos nec exornassem nec abiecissem.

³ Ep. 114, 16 quid de illa loquar, in qua verba differuntur et diu expectata vix ad clausulas redeunt?

these examples, the simple style becoming a philosopher has two phases: it is not involved or complicated, whether in arrangement of words or in complexity of parts; and, while it may have ornament, it must not have excess of ornament.

Two other qualities of the philosophical style are touched upon by Seneca. The first is prescribed by the nature of language, the purposes of which are best realized when it is pure. Seneca speaks of his own age as having departed from purity of speech.¹ He justifies the use of a word by referring to Cicero and Fabianus as authorities (ep. 58, 6). And he praises the carefully chosen words of Fabianus (ep. 100, 5). The other quality is one especially appropriate to the matter to be communicated by the philosopher as conceived by Seneca. It is nobility of style. He thought that the style of Fabianus had this quality. There was nothing low in it. His thoughts were noble and grand, and his manner, though not free from defects, was on the whole noble.²

Such were the qualities that Seneca deemed appropriate to the philosophical style. He no doubt thought that they could be combined in different literary forms for the uses of philosophy; and yet he apparently came to regard one of these forms as especially advantageous for promulgating that kind of philosophy which he considered the most important. As we have already seen, his remarks on style are found almost exclusively in his letters and in some cases have direct reference to them. He also expressly points out the superiority of this more quiet form ("summissiora verba") to the philosophical lecture (ep. 38). So far, indeed, as particular qualities of style are concerned, the letter must be regarded as in the highest degree favorable for attaining ease, sincerity, and simplicity.

We find, then, underlying the statements made by Seneca concerning manner of expression the fundamental principle that style should conform to nature. It appears further that the attainment of this ideal is hindered more or less and in different ways by defects and peculiarities of character; that a philosophical style should be distinguished from other types; that the desirable qualities of such a style are unobtrusiveness, ease, sincerity, clearness, simplicity, purity, and nobility; and that a form highly adapted for this combination of qualities is the literary epistle.

¹ Ep. 39, 1 olim, cum latine loqueremur, summarium vocabatur.

² Ep. 100, 5 nihil invenies sordidum.—100, 5 sensus honestos et magnificos habes.—100, 8 sed totum corpus, videris quam sit comptum, honestum est.

Thus far we have been dealing with Seneca's ideas as such without any effort to determine which were borrowed and which, if any, were his own. Looking at this phase of his theory one can see at a glance that many of its details were already common-places of rhetoric, while in the case of other features the question of originality is not so easily settled. Seneca's idea of the natural in writing, that is, conformity to nature in the broad Stoic sense, should not be confounded with the more narrow and more common meaning of the word natural. It is in the latter sense that Aristotle says the orator should have the appearance of using language, not artificially, but naturally (*rhet.* 3, 2, 4). Confusion as to what was natural had begun already in the time of Quintilian. Some thought that only the style resembling ordinary conversation was natural and that the style of the most ancient writers followed nature most closely. Quintilian himself, with nearer approach to the view of Seneca, declares that conversation and oratory differ in nature and that the more effective a man's speech is, the more it accords with the nature of eloquence (12, 10, 40-44), in other words, that it is natural in proportion as it is effective. Seneca's idea is simply a special application of the Stoic principle.

The relation between character and style was in general, as indicated by the Greek proverb, already familiar. But, as has been pointed out by Norden (*I, S.* 306), it received from Seneca a more energetic treatment than from any one else in antiquity. This was due to the close connection between individual character and the adapting of style to nature.

It was only carrying out one of the earliest teachings of rhetoric, namely, that the language should be appropriate to the subject-matter (*Arist. rhet.* 3, 2, 1; 3, 12, 1), to require a distinctive style for philosophy. Cicero, indeed, had done this (*orator* 19, 62-63). He had characterized the styles of the Greek and Roman writers on philosophy (*de orat.* 3, 18, 66; *de fin.* 1, 5, 14-15; 3, 1, 3; *Tusc. disp.* 2, 3, 7-8) and had given his own idea of what the philosophical style should be (*orator* 19, 64; *Tusc. disp.* 1, 4, 7).

Among the special qualities of style clearness and purity were regular requirements. Cicero, in his discussion of the philosophical manner of presentation, takes it for granted that attention is to be directed to the matter rather than to the words (*orator* 16, 51). At the same time, to illustrate the importance of the

how as well as of the what in philosophy, he quotes the remark of Carneades, that Clitomachus taught the same things but Charmadas not only taught the same things but taught them in the same way. Seneca's father had spoken of the style of Arellius Fuscus as too labored and polished for a person preparing himself to teach philosophy, and had also objected to it on the ground that it was too intricate, that is, lacked the simplicity which a philosophical style should have (II praef. 1).

The philosophical letter had been so often used before that it is not easy to ascertain what led to its approval and adoption by Seneca. The most plausible explanation is suggested by Seneca's earliest letters, in which he so frequently quotes Epicurus. When Seneca was writing these letters he seems to have been reading the letters of Epicurus (cf. ep. 9, 8; 14, 17), letters famous in antiquity for their simplicity and clearness (cf. Cic. de fin. 1, 5, 14-16; Laert. Diog. 10, 13), which qualities we find Seneca emphasizing as appropriate to the language of philosophy.

In so far as the details of Seneca's theory are concerned, we have discovered little that was absolutely new. Certain ideas, however, received from his hand a decidedly new emphasis and new prominence, especially the relation of style to character, the recognition of a philosophical style, and the qualities of unobtrusiveness, ease, and sincerity. His combination of qualities for a philosophical style is, also, not found elsewhere. The connection of his views with the fundamental principle of his philosophy and the special emphasis upon the relation between style and character give an ethical tone to the whole discussion.

In this last feature we see in part the purpose that led him to express himself on the subject. It came within the scope of moral philosophy. It had to do with an important element of life, which in all its activities the Stoics sought to bring under the regulations of their system. His purpose had at the same time a practical side. He professes to answer criticisms of Lucilius upon the style of his letters (ep. 75, 1). It is probable that he had others also in mind besides Lucilius. In view of the conflicting literary tendencies of the time,¹ we may conjecture that criticism of his style, so frequent later, had begun already in his own life-time, notwithstanding the widespread popularity (cf. Quint. 10, 1, 126) of his writings.

¹ Cf. ep. 114, 13 sqq. and Norden, l. c., I, S. 257.

Having set forth Seneca's theory in full, we may now examine the contradictions and weaknesses by which it is supposed to be disfigured. [First of all, it has been said that the mention of *abruptae sententiae et suspiciosae* as a fault (ep. 114, 1) does not harmonize with the praise of Lucilius for a conciseness of expression in which he signifies more than he says (ep. 59, 5). When we examine the first of these passages, we find that the fault referred to consists in a brevity that is carried to the point of obscurity. In the same letter farther on Seneca designates this particular fault as *obscura brevis* (ep. 114, 17). But he does not speak of the style of Lucilius as leaving something to be suspected nor indicate in any other way that Lucilius fails to make his meaning perfectly clear. The supposed inconsistency, accordingly, does not exist. Between condemnation of obscure brevity and commendation of pregnant brevity there is no conflict.]

[A still further contradiction has been assumed between the censure of sentences the meaning of which is obscured by excessive brevity and approval of the pointed expressions that are technically called *sententiae*. It is not of the latter but of thoughts that Seneca is speaking in the passage in which he says that faults are not confined to the *genus sententiarum* (ep. 114, 16). His sanction of the *sententiae* in the technical sense, in theory as well as in practice, is unmistakable and uniform.] While he admits that they are lacking in the writings of Fabianus, the excellence of whose style shows itself in other ways (ep. 100, 5; 100, 8), he refers with pride to the frequent use of such expressions by the Stoics in general (ep. 33, 2-3; 33, 6). [But fondness for the epigrammatic sentence is not inconsistent with disapproval of obscure, short sentences, whether they be plain or pointed. A sentence may be brief and epigrammatic and signify more than is actually expressed in words and yet not have the fault of obscure brevity.]

Seneca's emphatic disapproval of the impetuously rapid delivery of Serapio (ep. 40) is supposed to be in conflict with what he says about Fabianus (ep. 100, 1-3). Let us examine the two statements. In the one case Seneca is speaking solely of the delivery of Serapio, whom Lucilius had recently heard. This was so rapid that the word *effundere* did not seem strong enough to picture the torrent of speech, which is described by the words *premere* and *urgere*. In the other case Seneca discusses, not

the delivery, but the style of Fabianus, whose works Lucilius had been reading. The fluency of the style Seneca admits but describes it by the simple *fundere*. Then, granting for the sake of argument the correctness of the criticism of Lucilius, he adds that, if Fabianus had been heard instead of read, his style as a whole would have won the approval of Lucilius, although, had there been time to examine the parts, defects would have been found in them, but, that after all, the man who wins our approval is greater than the one who merits it. Whether the delivery of Fabianus was rapid or slow is not indicated. It is obvious that what Seneca praises in Fabianus is not what he censures in Serapio.

The statements that the philosophical style should be simple (ep. 40, 4) and that it should not be meagre and dry (ep. 75, 3) have been declared to be contradictory. What Seneca means by a simple style has apparently not been seen. For, if with him we understand it to be a style not involved nor overloaded with ornament, we have no reason for assuming that simplicity and charm of speech exclude each other.

Seneca has been criticised for presenting together Cicero, Pollio, and Livy in comparison with Fabianus (ep. 100, 9). But, as we have seen above, he compares Cicero and Livy, and probably Pollio, with Fabianus as writers of philosophy, assigning to each a rank, just as we are accustomed to compare Shakespeare and Milton in a general way with all subsequent English poets.

The alleged contradiction between *composita* (ep. 40, 2) and *incomposita* (ep. 40, 4) disappears when the text is properly constituted by writing with Schultess in the second passage *incompta*.

In regard to the style of Seneca himself only one question is pertinent to our present inquiry: Are there such discrepancies between his practice and his theory as to indicate insincerity in the presentation of the latter? It must be borne in mind that he did not claim to have attained absolute wisdom, to follow nature perfectly (ep. 6, 1; 42, 1). If he was ready to point out some fault in the style of every great writer (ep. 114, 12), he did not think his own free from fault. In fact, he makes no exception of himself in speaking of the diminished purity of speech in his times (ep. 39, 1) and he explicitly acknowledges his occasional shortcomings in respect to propriety in the use of words (nat. quaest. 3, 18, 7). So far as the other qualities are concerned, he

leaves us to judge for ourselves. On certain points there can hardly be a difference of opinion. His style shows plainly enough that he wrote with ease. While he is not always free from obscurity, he is for the most part clear. While his tone is at times too familiar, perhaps, to be called noble, it is not low. Keeping in mind, as we are bound to do, that as conceived by Seneca a simple style is a style not involved nor overloaded with ornament, we must admit that in general his style is simple. Two qualities remain, unobtrusiveness and sincerity. If, as is customary, we proceed in the unjust fashion of Quintilian and, judging Seneca by the usage of an age quite different from his own, measure his style by the standard of Ciceronian prose, we shall not find it unobtrusive, but attracting our attention at every step. If, on the other hand, in reading the works of this man so conspicuously in harmony with the taste of his time (cf. Tac. ann. 13, 3), we could take the point of view of intelligent and unprejudiced contemporaries, we should receive a far different impression. If, finally, we give due weight to the consideration that he composed without effort and that the epigrammatic form was the natural utterance of his acute and unique mind, we shall not be unable to reconcile with his manner of expression the statement that there is one thing of which he wishes to convince Lucilius above all others, namely, that he means what he says (ep. 75, 3). He fell short, to some extent, of his ideal. But a failure to realize fully in practice what he aimed at proves no insincerity in the aim.

It appears, accordingly, that the statements of Seneca on the subject of style, though not put forth in systematic form, can nevertheless be reduced to a system; that they are not, when properly interpreted, inconsistent with each other; that they are not at variance with Seneca's own practice to such an extent as to betray insincerity; that they are not marked by a lack of settled judgment; and that in some aspects they contain an element of originality.

FRANK IVAN MERCHANT.

V.—THE MOODS OF INDIRECT QUOTATION.¹

I. *The Indicative.*

It is natural for the average adult to make a distinction among ideas, between those which are the product of his own observation and thinking, and those which are communicated to him ready-made by other persons. Ideas of the former class are, as a matter of course, allowed to enter the mind without reserve and are accepted as true, while those of the latter class find the mind on its guard, as it were, and are only admitted on equal terms with the former after a more or less careful scrutiny, if indeed they are accepted at all. To be sure, there are exceptions to this rule in particular cases and under special circumstances. A careful and conscientious man will be on the alert against the shortcomings of his own mental and sensual processes, on the one hand, and long or intimate association with another person and uniform veracity on his part will, on the other hand, lead one to grant his ideas the same unquestioning admission as one's own. But if we take into account only the average mind in its ordinary workings, those conditions, namely, which mould linguistic practice, we are obliged to look upon the distinction between the two classes of ideas as a fundamental one. The proof that this view is correct is furnished by the wide extent to which the distinction is recognized in the forms of speech.

From a psychological point of view we can readily see that the two classes of ideas must affect the mind in different ways. For entirely apart from intentional or unintentional falsehoods in the statements of other persons, their ideas must necessarily, in a degree, take us unawares, and appear strange to us, since

¹ The writer is conscious of the fact that the title and headings of this paper are somewhat misleading. Its main object is to assign the Latin subjunctive of indirect quotation to its proper place as a mood, and what is said about the indicative and the accusative and infinitive is intended only as a setting for the treatment of the subjunctive, and as an aid in accomplishing this main object. This will explain the sketchiness of the treatment in the first two divisions of the article, which are not so much coordinate with the third, as preparatory to it.

A preliminary paper which briefly discussed some of the points treated in this article was published in the *School Review* for May, 1902.

they are the result of a preceding mental experience with which we are, perhaps wholly, unacquainted. Besides, the fact that these various ideas come to us each with a stamp of its own, affected as it is, though ever so slightly, by the permanent or temporary peculiarities of its author, contrasts strongly with the uniformity, as it appears to us, of our own mental and sensual activities. And this lack of harmony in foreign ideas, with each other and with our own, even though the evidence of downright falsehood be lacking, will naturally tend to prevent our minds from feeling the same degree of ease and hospitality toward them which we feel toward ideas of our own production.

Natural as all this appears, however, it is nevertheless evident that this distinction between foreign and native ideas as such, has not existed at all times in the history of language. For in addition to those forms of indirect quotation by which this distinction is clearly and consistently made, there are others in which it is not found as an inherent element, but only as an external addition, a sort of afterthought. We find, namely, that not only the subjunctive, optative and infinitive are used in clauses of quotation, but that the indicative is used also. And in the case of the indicative it is not the mood, but the added verb of saying, which indicates in any way that the speaker is not expressing his own thought but that of someone else. If we strip the mood of its accessories, take it back, in other words, to the time when it stood in an independent clause, we have a form of expression for the foreign idea, which does not differ in the least from that which would be used for a native idea. At that stage, if A said "I saw a bear", B would later express the idea he gets by saying "A saw a bear", exactly as if he had obtained the idea by the use of his own faculties, instead of obtaining it from the statement of A. There must have been a time, therefore, in the mental history of the race, as there is a time in the mental life of a child, when the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* in the matter of ideas was not yet clearly made, and when it was not found necessary to distinguish between them in speech.

Of course, in any highly developed language we shall not look for this method of quotation in its baldest form outside of the nursery. For the confusion which it would cause between one's own ideas, which we feel to be true, and those of another person, whose veracity may perhaps be very doubtful to one, would be intolerable to the mental habits of a civilized adult. But language

is conservative, and though a form has become useless in itself, it may still be patched and propped in such a way as to make it do service under different and more exacting conditions. "A saw a bear" would, for example, easily be designated unmistakably as the statement of A, by the addition of a paratactic verb like "he told me" or "he said", and could thus be clearly distinguished from all ideas belonging to B himself. And in this new form the original indicative of indirect statement is, in fact, found widely used, even in highly developed languages, especially in their colloquial forms. In English, indeed, the disappearance of the subjunctive has once more brought this form of quotation to high honor. We find it also used freely in German. In Latin and Greek, on the other hand, the paratactic form as a method of quotation, that is, with the verb of saying or thinking in the second or third person, or in the past tense, appears to be found only in the slightest traces.¹ Still, in oral conversation it may have been used quite extensively even in these languages.²

This particular form of indirect quotation is clearly, as we have stated, an adaptation of a primitive independent indicative clause to more complex conditions. In its new form it fully satisfies the demands of careful thinking, since the source or ownership of the idea is definitely indicated. Necessary as the addition of this paratactic verb of saying was, however, the development of the construction along this line seems to have been arrested in both Latin and Greek. For we find not only a great scarcity of paratactic forms, but even the hypotactic forms appear, in both languages, at a later date than was the case in other constructions. In Homer, for instance, the hypotactic form of indirect quotation with the finite verb in the quoted part, is still in its first beginnings,³ and in Latin it did not apparently find

¹ See, for example, Becker, *Beiordnende u. unterordnende Satzverbindung*, pp. 9-20. So Plin. Epp. VII, 27, 13, *venerunt per fenestras (ita narrat) in tunicis albis duo cubantemque detonderunt*.

² Cases where the added verb of saying or thinking is introduced by a relative *ut* or *ὥς* are of course common enough.

³ According to Schmitt, *Über d. Urspr. d. Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griech.* (p. 70) there are only 15 cases of the clause with *ὅτι*, *ὥς*, etc. used in indirect quotation in Homer (3 in the *Iliad*, 12 in the *Odyssey*). All of these have the indicative, moreover, after past as well as present verbs. The close connection of the constructions with the independent indicative of quotation is also shown by the fact that their tenses are all still adjusted to the reporter's point of view (Goodwin, M. and T. 671 and 674). A. J. P. XIV 373-6.

recognition in written speech, so far as the main clause of the quotation is concerned, before the time of the decline.¹ But this backwardness of the hypotactic form of indirect discourse in Latin and Greek was not due to the adequacy or convenience of the independent or paratactic forms of which we spoke above, but rather to the fact that these languages had in the meantime developed another and entirely different method of indirectly quoting foreign words or ideas, namely the accusative and infinitive.

II. *The Accusative and Infinitive.*

This construction shows a more vigorous growth and greater adaptability in Latin and Greek than it has in the Germanic languages. The two groups of languages are especially distinguished from each other by the wide use which is made of the construction in Latin and Greek with verbs of saying and thinking. Not only that, but it also seems, in the latter languages, to have reached a certain perfection in this wider field at a very early date. We find, for example, that in Homer there are some 130 cases of it after *φημί* alone, as against only 15 cases of the clause with *ὥς*, *ὅτι* and similar conjunctions, after all expressions of saying.²

The form in which the accusative and infinitive is found in the earlier authors, in both Latin and Greek, is a very simple one. Its development from the accusative of the direct object is here still quite evident, for there is, as a rule, nothing besides the bare accusative with its added infinitive. Subordinate clauses are rather uncommon. Compact as this early form of the construction is and hardly more cumbersome than the direct object itself, while at the same time performing its function of quotation admirably, it is easy to see how it could, in the general movement from parataxis to hypotaxis, not only hold its own, but seriously threaten the full development and very existence of the more cumbersome paratactic form of quotation which we have just mentioned. In Latin, as we saw, it did, in fact, prevent this development throughout the whole classical period.

Now when we find, in Homer and Plautus, that the overwhelmingly prevalent form of the accusative and infinitive was

¹ For an extensive collection of examples, see Mayen, *De particulis Quod, Quia, Quoniam, Quomodo, Ut pro acc. cum inf. post verba sent. et decl. positis*, Diss. Kiel, '89.

² Schmitt, l. c. [It is noteworthy that *φημί* rejects *ὅτι* and *ὥς* during the classic period. Also A. J. P. IV 56; XIV 374, XVI 395, XVII 517.—B. L. G.]

a very simple one, we will of course not assume that this simplicity necessarily reflects a like quality in the utterance of the original speaker. Neither does the brevity of the accusative and infinitive prove the brevity of the original expression which it reproduces. The fact is rather that it matters little whether the original speech be short and simple, or long and complex. For the hearer's mind will naturally retain and reproduce only that part of it which happens to interest him at the time. And if, in addition to all this, the period under consideration is one in which hypotaxis has not yet come to be the common mode of expression, the form of the quotation will of course naturally be simple.¹

But in the course of development, this primitive and subjective method of quoting only that part which interests the reporter, will give way to a more objective method which does fuller justice to the expression of the original speaker. To the single clause of the primitive quotation, others will now be added, such as give the time, cause or some other circumstance which had been a part of the original speech. And with the necessity of making these additions will come a crisis in the history of such a construction as the accusative and infinitive of early Greek and Latin. For its future will necessarily depend upon its ability to adapt itself to the altered conditions.

We can still clearly distinguish two lines along which an extension of the simple accusative and infinitive took place in the paratactic stage. The evidence for one of these is furnished by the cases, rather numerous in Greek, though less so in Latin, where we have the accusative and infinitive in the subordinate as well as the main clauses of the quotation.² This can only mean that the original single accusative and infinitive had grown by the paratactic addition of other clauses of the same form, which expressed the subordinate ideas referred to. Such a

¹ It is easy, however, to lay too much stress upon the stage of development as determining absolutely the simplicity or complexity of a construction. For linguistic forms are not only the product of thought, but themselves also, in turn, determine the form of the thought. When a construction, whether simple or complex, has once entrenched itself in common usage, it will not readily be ousted from its position, even though a rival construction should be ready to take its place. Such a change would mean not only a change of expression, but countless readjustments of the speaker's habits of thought, as well.

² For examples cf. Kühner, *Lat. Gram.* II, 1036 ff. The infinitive is especially common in relative clauses.

method of extending the construction seems for that stage a perfectly natural one. It was not destined to play an important part, however, in the fully developed language, and its doom was sealed, so far as a full development was concerned, just as soon as the subordinate clause became the common construction for the addition of subsidiary ideas. For the connectives which introduced these subordinate clauses were practically everywhere else in Latin and Greek associated with clauses containing finite forms of the verb.

The second way in which the simple accusative and infinitive was extended so as to include subsidiary clauses, did not suffer in its growth from this obstacle. It illustrates, however, no less beautifully the capacity of a language to make the most of existing materials, in the process of adapting itself to changed conditions and requirements. While in the former case the simple accusative and infinitive grew by additions in which its own form was reproduced, it accomplished its extension in the latter by pressing into service its old rival, the independent indicative clause of quotation. Examples of this composite formation, though very rare, may still be found, as for instance in Il. XV, 178-183:

εἰ δέ οἱ οὐ ἐπέεσσ' ἐπιπείσεις, ἀλλ' ἀλογήσεις,
ἡπείλεις καὶ κείνος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζων
ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι· σὲ δ' ὑπεξάλεσθαι ἀνώγει
χείρας, ἔπει σέο φησὶ βίη πολὺ φέρτερος εἶναι
καὶ γενεῇ πρότερος· σὸν δ' οὐκ ὀδεῖται φίλον ἦτορ
ἰσὺν οἱ φάσθαι, τὸν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.

This is the quotation by Iris of the speech of Jove in lines 162-7 of the same book. There are three verbs of saying, ἡπείλεις, ἀνώγει and φησὶ, each used to quote a separate statement or command, and finally there are two clauses added coordinately, which have no verbs of saying and which are expressed in the words of the original speech, with the necessary changes of person. The last lines of the original speech of Jove (lines 166-7) are:

τοῦ δ' οὐκ ὀδεῖται φίλον ἦτορ
ἰσὺν ἐμοὶ φάσθαι, τὸν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.

An example in Latin is found in Plautus, Persa 303-5:

Iubeto habere animum bonum : dic me illam amare multum.
Ubi se adiuvat, ibi me adiuvat. quae dixi ut nuntiares,
Satin ea tenes?

Another is in *Poenulus* 656 ff. :

Ait se peregrinum esse, huius ignarum oppidi :
 Locum sibi velle liberum praeberier,
 Ubi nequam faciat.

This is continued in line 662 :

At enim hic clam furtim esse volt, nequis sciat
 Neve arbiter sit. Nam hic latro in Sparta fuit,
 Utquidem ipse nobeis dixit, apud regem Attalum :
 Inde nunc aufugit, quoniam capitur oppidum.

In the last example, it will be noticed that the regular accusative and infinitive of quotation is continued first by an indicative with a parenthetical verb of saying (*utquidem*—), and then by another indicative without this addition (*Inde nunc aufugit*, etc.).

The corresponding form of quotation in English is seen in the following two passages from Howell's *Italian Journeys* :

"As to the Cimbri, he knew that they had their own language, which was yet harder than the German. The German was hard enough, but the Cimbrian! *Capo!*" (p. 236-7).

"Concerning his people he knew little ; but the *Capo-gente* of *Fozza* could tell me everything" (p. 240).

With the spread of hypotactic forms in the language, these paratactic indicative clauses containing subordinate ideas, would naturally and inevitably fall into line as the subordinate clauses of the quotation, depending upon the main clause (in Greek and Latin upon the accusative and infinitive), which expresses the main idea of the quotation.

III. *The Subjunctive.*

There still remains a problem which contains the greatest difficulty of all, namely that presented by the use, in indirect quotation, of the optative in Greek, and of the subjunctive in Latin and German. If we consider this problem as one within the individual language, the difficulties of solution appear, indeed, to be insurmountable. And while a comparative treatment may not enable us to clear up the mystery at all points, it will still be found to possess a suggestiveness that will help us to see the whole matter from a new point of view, which will make it more tangible, if not more simple.

If we look at our subject without preconceived notions, it does not appear, to start with, that there is any better reason for separating the Greek optative and the Latin subjunctive of in-

direct discourse from each other or from the corresponding subjunctive of indirect discourse in the Germanic languages, than there would be for separating the Greek optative of wish, for instance, from the Latin or German subjunctive of wish. There can be little question that the function of these moods of indirect quotation in the three languages is a common one, and the difference, so far as it is functional, between these moods and the indicative, also appears to be, broadly speaking, the same. It seems clear also from a comparison of the three languages, that the prevalence of the subjunctive or optative as the mood of indirect quotation is in each of them subject to great fluctuations at different periods. In early Latin, for instance, the field of the subjunctive is relatively smaller than it becomes later on, and in Homeric Greek we have a stage of that language, in which the optative is not yet employed for indirect statements at all.¹ And just as the use of these moods increases in one period, so it decreases again in another. In late Greek² as well as late Latin³ the tendency was decidedly in the latter direction, and a similar movement may easily be detected also in a comparison of present-day German with that of a hundred years ago. Moreover, these special moods of quotation have in common a strong tendency to confusion in the sequence of tenses, and especially a leaning toward a primary, when the sequence would require a secondary tense.⁴ A still further peculiarity which is displayed prominently in German and Greek, and to a considerable extent in early and late Latin also, is the greater frequency of the special mood of quotation after past verbs of saying.⁵

¹Cf. Schmitt, l. c.

²Cf. Burton, *New Testament Moods and Tenses*, § 344; also Jannaris, *Histor. Greek Grammar*, p. 474. With the statements made by J. about the use of the optative in Polybius (*App. V*, 8) compare, however, *Polyb. I*, 39, 11 and *II*, 68, 2.

³Cf. Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*, p. 475¹.

⁴Almost any long passage of indirect discourse in a Latin historian will illustrate this point. For German, cf. Behaghel, *Gebrauch d. Zeitformen im Konjunktivischen Nebensatz im Deutschen*, p. 65. And in Greek, where the sequence involves the moods, while the indicative after past verbs of saying is a common construction, the optative after present verbs is found only in isolation.

⁵On the comparative frequency of the moods after past and present verbs in early Latin, see the collections of examples in Holtze, *Syntaxis prisc. script. Lat. II* p. 133 ff. and 191 ff. For illustrations from a late Latin author, see Reiter, *De Ammiani Marcellini usu orat. obl.* p. 47 and 49.

The chief difficulty in the way of an explanation of the subjunctive and optative of indirect quotation, has no doubt been the absence of an independent use of these moods which might be considered the original ancestor of their existing use in hypotaxis. Yet while this absence of an independent form may give us trouble when we try to understand the subordinate form, it is not hard to explain. For the conditions which would lead to the disappearance of an original independent subjunctive or optative of quotation, are precisely the same which did lead, as we saw, to the disappearance of the independent indicative, namely, the necessity of making certain distinctions which a fairly advanced state of mental development can not do without. That there was once an independent subjunctive of quotation, we may reasonably infer from the presence of the paratactic form which is still freely used in German.¹ Something corresponding closely to the paratactic subjunctive of indirect quotation, may be seen also in Latin,² for example in Terence, *Phormio* 970-3:

Ain tu, ubi quae lubitum fuerit peregre feceris
Neque huius sis veritus feminae primariae,
Quin novo modo ei faceres contumeliam,
Venias nunc precibus lautum peccatum tuom?

But entirely apart from its inherent difficulty, the problem has been badly confused by an apparently natural, but nevertheless false conception of the evolution of the hypotactic form of quotation. This view, implied more than expressed, is found, for instance, in Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.* § 208³, "Denn die Entwicklung des Satzbaus hat offenbar den Gang mitgemacht, den uns folgende Reihen veranschaulichen: (we pass over the illustrations of other clauses than those of indirect quotation) 1. Er sagte den Soldaten: gehet weg; 2. Er sagte den Soldaten, sie sollten weggehen; 3. Er sagte den Soldaten, dass sie weggehen sollten". Compare also § 235, 5, "Die sog. oratio obliqua besteht darin, dass die Rede eines andern einem einführenden V. dicendi unter-

¹ In dialect German it is even possible to find traces of an independent subjunctive clause of quotation, as we shall see later.

² Professor Gildersleeve is kind enough to remind me of the parenthetic clauses in Greek indirect discourse, which often have the optative, though they are introduced by γάρ or οὖν and are, therefore, independent in form. They differ slightly from strict cases of parataxis in that a subordinate clause of indirect quotation intervenes between them and the verb of saying. For example, *Xen. An.* 7, 3, 13 ἔλεγον . . . ὅτι παντὶς ἀξία λέγει Σεινῆς· χειμῶν γὰρ εἴη.

geordnet wird. Dabei treten die Behauptungssätze in den Acc. c. inf., Aufforderung und Wunsch erscheint mittels Personen- und meistens auch Tempusverschiebung im Konjunktiv, etc."

If this means, as it evidently does, that the hypotactic form of indirect quotation is to be explained as growing out of the direct quotation as its original independent form, it is certainly wrong. For direct quotation, in the real sense of the term, can not develop or change at all, for the reason that it consists merely in the repetition of the words once spoken by another. The form in which these words are cast in the direct quotation is, therefore, fixed by the original speaker, and the moment that the reporter reproduces them from his own point of view, with change of person, tense, etc., it is no longer the same form of discourse, but an entirely different one.¹ The two methods of quotation, in other words, are not developed one from the other, but are from the very start two absolutely distinct ways of treating the same thought-matter. Direct quotation is the repetition of the *form* in which the original speaker expressed certain ideas, while indirect quotation is the expression by the hearer of these *ideas* as they lie in his own mind. Whether, in the latter case, the same individual words are used as in the original speech is a matter of small consequence. Even in direct quotation, the words of the original speaker are not always quoted exactly, or in full. This may be due to the limits imposed by the circumstances or purpose of the quotation, or to the defectiveness of the person's memory who makes the quotation. This inaccuracy does not seriously affect the statements we have just made, however, for it is the form that is of importance, and that which determines the form, namely, the quoter's attitude toward that which he is quoting.

¹ The fact that *ὅτι* is sometimes used to introduce direct quotations, as well as indirect (Goodwin, M. and T. 711), does not prove in the least that the two constructions are alike, or have anything to do with each other. The direct quotation is just as direct as ever, and *ὅτι* merely takes the place of the colon or the quotation marks (cf. the article on this construction by E. H. Spieker in A. J. P. V, 222); or perhaps it would be more correct to say that certain verbs are in their ordinary use so almost invariably followed by a subordinate clause introduced by *ὅτι*, that the conjunction becomes more closely associated with the verb of saying than with the following clause. Compare Ford, *The Honorable Peter Stirling*, p. 335, "Leonore informed him that: 'Mamma makes me (Leonore) leave after supper, because she doesn't like me to stay late, so I miss the nice part'".

If then we find a subjunctive, or an infinitive, used in indirect quotation, we need not give ourselves up to wondering how these forms came from the indicative of the direct quotation, with which they have no more in common than the mind of B has with the mind of A, but we may be sure, if the indirect quotation has different persons, moods or tenses, that all these things are in some way due to the different mental attitude and point of view on the part of the reporter, when compared with those of the original speaker. The problem which remains for us is, merely, to discover, if we can, what this different relation to the idea on the reporter's part is, and, if possible, to understand in what connection the use of particular moods, as it is found in indirect quotation, stands with other uses of these moods. Unfortunately, in making this attempt, we are compelled by the lack of corresponding evidence in Greek, to confine ourselves to the subjunctive in Latin and German. Whether or to what extent, if at all, the evidence in these languages should be allowed to raise a presumption in favor of a similar explanation in Greek, is a question which we need not discuss. The phenomena which present themselves to us in Latin and German, at any rate, are so closely parallel in this field, that the relation between these languages, at least, can not be doubtful.

The use of the subjunctive and optative as moods of indirect quotation appears, from the available evidence, to date from a later time than the use of the indicative for the same purpose. We have already called attention to the absence of the optative of indirect statement in Homer, and to the larger use of the indicative of indirect quotation in early Latin. In early German, also, the indicative seems to have occupied a comparatively wider field.¹ This course of development agrees with what we must assume to have been the natural line of progress from a psychological point of view also. For if the power and habit of discriminating between ideas as to their truthfulness, is one which is slowly acquired with the growth of the mind, then the primitive attitude toward ideas expressed by others cannot have been essentially different from that toward ideas of native production. From the standpoint of the two languages which we are considering, this would mean that all these ideas were once expressed indiscriminately by the indicative. For the difference in meaning which exists between the indicative and the subjunctive as moods

¹ Cf. Behaghel, *Gebrauch d. Zeitformen*, p. 163.

of indirect quotation, is precisely this, that the subjunctive expresses the idea which is felt to be foreign, as opposed to the idea which one is able to treat as one's own, and which is, by way of distinction, expressed by the indicative. And if the realization that another's ideas are something apart and different from one's own, is a later development, the use of the special mood which reflects the mental attitude toward these foreign ideas must also be of later origin.

We may still, with some confidence, trace in outline the conditions under which this use of the subjunctive may have first entered the language. For we still have a form of expression, in both Latin and German, which we can easily imagine to be the earliest use of the subjunctive to reflect the status, in one person's mind, of an idea previously expressed by another. To realize the full significance of this construction, however, and its peculiar force, we must try to put ourselves back into those primitive conditions when the indicative was used indiscriminately for expressing the ideas of others as well as one's own.

The earliest distinction which the primitive mind makes, and for a long time, no doubt, the only one, is that between experiences which give pleasure and those which give pain. And as the ideas of other people do not, as such, belong either to one or to the other of these categories, it is but natural that they should long remain undistinguished from those of the person himself. A difference was, of course, felt in a dim sort of way even then, but until the mental powers became keener and more sensitive, this difference was not of enough consequence to the individual to effect a recognition in speech. More than that, the fact that the indicative, not to mention the infinitive, was already installed as the regular mood of quotation, would in itself act as a powerful obstacle to any innovation. We shall probably not be going too far then, if we assume that the new mood of quotation did not take its place beside the original indicative, until the incompatibility between foreign and native ideas had come to be felt so strongly that the emotions aroused by it broke through the crust of linguistic habit with revolutionary violence.

If such were actually the conditions of its origin, the new construction could, of course, not be a calm adaptation of the existing indicative, such as we found, for instance, when this mood was supplemented by the addition of a paratactic verb of saying. We shall rather look for a somewhat forcible ex-

pression of the incompatibility of which we have spoken, for the exclamatory form, and for circumstances which exclude premeditation. Such circumstances will have the merit, too, of presenting the problem to us in its simplest form. For the calmer the hearer's state of mind and the longer his time for reflection is, the more complicated the new idea will become. It will, in fact, no longer be the same idea that was conveyed to him by the speech of the original speaker, but one which has been developed from it through his own intervening mental process.

Bearing these points in mind, we shall examine first those cases in which an original expression of will or desire is instantaneously reflected in a rejoinder by the one to whom it is addressed. This course seems the desirable one for the reason that in such cases there will no doubt be full agreement as to the particular force of the mood. A reading of Plautus brings to light the frequent use of dialogue passages like the following:¹

Bacch. 627 a, b:

Pi. Non taces, insipiens? *Mn.* Taceam?

Pi. Sanus satis non es. *Mn.* Perii.

Capt. 139-41:

He. Ne fle. *Erg.* Egone illum non fleam? egon non defleam

Talem adulescentem? *He.* Semper sensi filio

Meo te esse amicum et illum intellexi tibi.

Men. 1023-5:

Mes. Ergo edepol, si recte facias, ere, med emittas manu.

Me. Liberem ego te? *Mes.* Verum: quandoquidem, ere, te servavi.

Me. Quid est?

Adulescens, erras.

A command, request, or suggestion to act, is addressed to a person, and is immediately rejected by him in an exclamation of

¹ A number of additional cases were noted by the writer, and some others have no doubt, escaped him: Asin. 700, Curc. 10, Bacch. 1189, Cist. 284, Curc. 182, 553, Epid. 573, 587, Merc. 727, 749, 895, Mil. Gl. 496, Most. 578, 618, 633, Persa 186, 747, Poen. 351, 315, Pseud. 625, 1226, 1314, 1327, Trin. 513.

In addition, some exclamations introduced by *quid*, *quo* and *unde* should also be mentioned here. They follow upon a command like those just given, and their force is much the same: Bacch. 44, 406, 731, 691, Capt. 839, 843, Curc. 599, Most. 581, Pseud. 96, 1183, 1326, Rud. 842, 938, 1334, Trin. 968, 981, Most. 577.

In two cases a clear future indicative is used in the exclamation, instead of a present subjunctive, Men. 197 (*saltabo*) and Merc. 915 (*manebo*).

surprise, which repeats the verb of the command or its equivalent, in the first person singular of the present subjunctive, and thus reflects the command as it lies in the mind of this person, and from his point of view. That the exclamation is practically a refusal to follow the command or request, is plain from the further remarks. Had the command been accepted by the person addressed, he would have gone about its execution without saying anything at all, or would simply have stated the fact of his performance of the act by the use of the present (or if future performance, of the future) indicative. Such cases are frequently found at the end of scenes in comedy, when an actor leaves the stage. So in Capt. 953 :

Philop. Sequere hac, Philocrates, me intro. *Philocr.* Sequor.

It does not require a long argument to show that in the cases where the subjunctive exclamation is used, the command or request meets obstacles in the mind of the person to whom it is addressed, that is, the impulse to perform the act in question clashes with other impulses which exist, more or less clearly, in his mind, with the result that these other impulses retain the upper hand. By this contest between the two sets of impulses the whole process becomes so vigorous and takes on such importance in the mind, that it becomes clearly conscious, that is, it occupies the centre of the mental stage and, as we say, attracts the attention. And when the person becomes thus conscious of the struggle, the two opposing forces in it necessarily stand out more or less distinctly, no longer as impulses merely, but as ideas. Whether they are primarily impulses or primarily ideas, will depend very much on individuals and circumstances, but it will also depend on the nature of the original utterance. Other things being equal, an utterance which calls, not for an act, but merely for consent or acquiescence on the part of the hearer, will arouse in him a state of mind in which there will be less of impulse and more of idea than would be the case where the utterance is a command or request to act. But in the former, no less than in the latter, the rejecting exclamation is in the subjunctive. So in Bacch. 1176-7 :

Ba. Sine, mea pietas, te exorem. *Ni.* Exores tu me?
So. Ego quidem ab hoc certe exorabo.¹

¹Other cases in Plautus are Persa 134, Cas. 366, Rud. 1063, 1064, Poen. 316, Asin. 669, 697.

We further find the same subjunctive of exclamation used in cases where the original speaker has made merely a statement of his intention, which calls for action or participation on the part of the person addressed only in a slight degree, if at all.¹

Mil. Gl. 497-8:

Sc. Expurigare volo me. *Pe.* Tun te expuriges,
Qui facinus tantum tamque indignum feceris?

Curc. 494-6:

Ca. Memini et mancipio tibi dabo. *Cu.* Egon ab lenone quicquam
Mancipio accipiam, quibus sui nil est nisi una lingua,
Qui abiurant, siquid creditumst?

The fact that the clash in these two cases is primarily between ideas, is made especially clear by the expression, in addition to the rejected idea, also of its rival in the mind of the person who utters the exclamation.²

If it appears then that the subjunctive in Latin is used to reflect a state of mental conflict between native and foreign elements, not only when these elements are impulses, but also when they are ideas, it will not surprise us to find the subjunctive in cases where the foreign element is presented as an idea, to begin with, in a simple statement by the original speaker, containing no reference to prospective activity whatever, either on his part or that of the one whom he is addressing. And cases of this kind are also found in considerable number.³

Amph. 817-8:

Al. Quid ego tibi deliqui, si quoi nupta sum tecum fui?
Am. Tun mecum fueris? quid illa impudente audacius?

¹ Examples in addition to those given above are Asin. 756, 628, Persa 338, Rud. 723, Cas. 454, Merc. 567, 575, Persa 295, Trin. 378.

² That the rejoinder deals with an idea and not with a volition, is clear also from the fact that the negative is always *non*. Compare one of the passages given above (Capt. 139-40).

³ Other cases of the rejection, by the subjunctive exclamation, of an idea either expressed or suggested by another person, are Aul. 682, Amph. 813, Curc. 119, Asin. 482, Mil. Gl. 963, Poen. 149, Epid. 225, Truc. 626, Mil. Gl. 1275, Most. 301, 1026*, 132, 923, 924, Men. 683, Merc. 154, Capt. 208, Cas. 111, 114, Pseud. 228, 486, 516.

There is also one case where the place of the subjunctive is taken by *ais* and the infinitive (Truc. 288). There are further two cases (Asin. 812 and Phorm. 970) in which a parenthetic *ain tu* is prefixed to the exclamatory subjunctive.

Most. 1016-8:

Th. Quod me apsehte hic tecum filius
Negoti gessit. *Si.* Mecum ut ille hic gesserit,
Dum tu hinc abes, negoti? quidnam? aut quo die?

Curc. 615-7:

Ph. Virgo haec liberast.
Th. Mean ancilla libera ut sit, quam ego numquam emisi manu?
Ph. Quis tibi hanc dedit mancipio aut unde emisti? fac sciam.

Andria 915-7:

Pa. Bonus est hic vir. *Si.* Hic sit vir bonus?
Itane attemperate evenit, hodie in ipsis nuptiis
Ut veniret, antehac numquam?

The very close connection between these exclamations and those in the preceding class, is shown by the fact that, like them, those at present under discussion also, in the majority of cases, have the rival idea added as a sort of reason, why the idea of the other person can not be accepted. It is also to be noticed particularly, that in spite of the way in which they are generally introduced (-*ne*), and always punctuated by the editors, these expressions are not really questions. The clearest proof of this is the fact that a direct reply is rarely made, and then only in a way which shows that the person making it understands that the exclamation is what we have called it, namely, a definite and positive, even if not absolutely final, expression of the speaker's unreceptive attitude toward the foreign idea.¹

The function of the subjunctive just treated, in so far as it expresses the status of this foreign idea in the speaker's mind, is therefore just the same as the function of the subjunctive in indirect discourse. That is to say, the two uses of the mood agree in reflecting the status of an idea previously expressed, or at least conveyed, by another person, which is found to be incompatible with certain other ideas in the mind of the person addressed, and is therefore not admitted by him among these ideas, but

¹Exclamations like those of which we have spoken above, are used also when a thought or a line of action occurs to a person, which has not been communicated to him by another, but is nevertheless unacceptable to him, as in *Bacch.* 490:

Mn. Perdidisti me, sodalis. Egone ut illam mulierem
Capitis non perdam? perire me malis malim modis.

is held aloof as a foreign element in his mind.¹ It is surely not unreasonable to hope from this agreement of the two uses of the subjunctive, that the one will prove, in still other ways, to be closely related to the other.

Our confidence in this conclusion is measurably increased, when we find that these exclamations in the subjunctive, which follow and reflect previous statements by other persons, stand in the same general relation to other exclamations in the indicative, uttered under similar circumstances, as we know that the subjunctive in indirect discourse stands to the indicative in indirect discourse. And such exclamations with the indicative, which reflect the idea of one person in the mind of another, can fortunately be found in Latin comedy in sufficiently large numbers to enable us to draw a sound conclusion. They are like the exclamations with the subjunctive in that many of them have the enclitic *-ne* appended to the first word, and also in that they reproduce more or less accurately a part or all of the preceding speech of the other person. But they do, at the same time, differ from them in several important particulars.

In the first place, the indicative exclamations are very short, as a rule, the great majority containing but one or two words each. In the second place, while most of the subjunctive exclamations contain a subordinate clause, or some other addition that presents the rival idea in the speaker's mind, which clashes with the foreign idea and prevents its acceptance, this is almost never the case in the indicative exclamations. At least, among the 61 cases counted by the writer in Plautus, only two instances of such an addition are found.² In the third place, we judge from the remarks which are made in answer to the indicative exclamation, that it is much more like a question than we found the subjunctive exclamation to be. For while the latter hardly ever received an answer in the true sense of the word, the former is answered in about four-fifths of the cases. Indeed, it is often hard to decide in a given instance of the indicative class, whether we have an exclamation or a genuine question before us.

¹ Hypotactic forms of this use of the subjunctive in exclamations of rejection are no doubt to be recognized in the comparative *ut*-clause (*quam ut*), in the *ut*-clause in expressions like *non credibile est ut*, and in the rejected reason, introduced by *non quo*, etc. While the ideas in these clauses are not as a rule quoted from other persons, they are nevertheless recognized by the speaker as foreign matter in his own mind.

² Merc. 305 and Pseud. 471.

The absence of a rival idea in the case of the indicative exclamation, together with the replies just referred to, will give us a clew to the status of the foreign idea in the mind of the person from whom the exclamation proceeds. Of course it is evident at once, that the idea conveyed in the original speaker's statement is not promptly and readily accepted or assimilated by the person whom he has addressed. For if it were, an exclamation of surprise would not be the result. But it is also clear that the delay in the acceptance of this foreign idea is not, to any extent, due to the presence of another idea which is opposed to it. This is the sort of obstacle which we found to exist in the case of the subjunctive exclamation, and as it was there generally expressed as a part of the exclamation, we should expect it to be expressed here also, if it were present in the speaker's mind. But as we find only traces of it in the indicative exclamation, the hindrance which exists to the acceptance of the foreign idea, must therefore, in this case, be, on the whole, of a different nature.

As the exact difference between the indicative and the subjunctive exclamation must have been clear to the one who had made the original statement and whom we will call A, and as he would therefore understand exactly what the status of the idea was in the mind of the person to whom he had addressed it (B), we will do well to study the remarks which A makes in reply to B's exclamation, if we wish to understand the latter. For it must above all be to A's interest to have B accept his idea, and, consequently, to remove whatever stands in the way of such acceptance. And just as the comparative absence of effort on A's part in the case of the subjunctive exclamation showed that he realized that the status of his idea in the mind of B was fixed and hard to change, and that B had definitely refused to accept it, so in the case of the indicative exclamation the almost invariable continuation of A's efforts shows that he has hopes of removing the obstructions which the fact of the exclamation shows to exist to the entrance of his idea into the mind of B.

In the great majority of cases, the remarks made by A in answer to B's exclamation consist in repetitions of his original statement, or the essential part of it, with or without an affirmative or asseverative addition. Several examples will illustrate.

Amph. 361-2:

So. Tun domo prohibere peregre me advenientem postulas?

Me. Haecine tua domust? *So.* Ita, inquam.

Bacch. 680-1 :

Mn. Quia patri omne cum ramento reddidi.

Ch. Reddidisti? *Mn.* Reddidi. *Ch.* Omne? *Mn.* Oppido.

Epid. 712-3 :

Ep. Merui ut fierem. *Pe.* Tu meruisti? *Ep.* Visse intro: ego
faxo scies

Hoc ita esse.

Merc. 304-6 :

De. *Amo.*

Ly. Tun capite cano amas, senex nequissime?

De. Si canum seu istuc rutilum sive atrumst, amo.

Merc. 760-2 :

Co. Nempe uxor rurist tua, quam dudum deixeras

Te odisse atque anguis. *Ly.* Egone istuc dixi tibi?

Co. Mihi quidem hercle.

Poen. 404-5 :

Ad. Non sum irata. *Ag.* Non es? *Ad.* Non sum. *Ag.* Da ergo,
ut credam, saviū.

Ad. Mox dabo, quom ab re divina rediero.

In all these cases it is plain that A hopes by his remarks to impress his idea more fully upon B. We must conclude from this fact that he feels, either that B has not heard his words distinctly, or that he has been taken by surprise and needs help to concentrate his thoughts upon the idea, or that the idea in itself is so strange to B, that it requires time and repeated effort for him to grasp it. In any of these cases, however, B's attitude toward the idea is receptive, and his mind is on the road to acceptance, so far as it has gone. When he will have reached the end of his mental process, if he ever does, the idea will be fully accepted by him as one of his own, so far as the circumstances of the exclamation help us to form a conclusion.

The indicative exclamation reflects then an acceptance or assimilation of the idea partially accomplished, with an attitude of mind on the part of the person who utters the exclamation, that is favorably inclined to full acceptance. This attitude is fundamentally different from that reflected in the subjunctive exclamation, by which, as we saw, the foreign idea was definitely rejected, because of its incompatibility with another idea which was firmly intrenched in B's mind, and over which A, to judge from his remarks, or rather his absence of remarks, felt that he could exert but little, if any, influence. The two constructions,

therefore, clearly stand in the same relation to each other, as that which exists between the subjunctive in indirect discourse, by which the speaker gives the idea as that of another, without accepting it or assuming any responsibility for it, and the indicative in indirect discourse, by which the speaker expresses one of his own ideas, or the idea of another which he is himself willing to accept and treat as his own.

Before we pass on to examine the corresponding constructions in German, it is worth while to observe that our theory of a close relation between the subjunctive of exclamation and the subjunctive of indirect statement, is still further supported, in Latin, by the existence of the two precisely similar uses of the accusative and infinitive. Corresponding to the subjunctive of exclamation there is an accusative and infinitive of exclamation, which reflects the same general mental attitude on the part of the one who utters it, toward the idea which forms its content. The exclamation with the infinitive differs from that with the subjunctive in being somewhat less vigorous, and we find it used in those passages which do not so much express resistance or opposition to an idea, as a helpless inability to make it harmonize with the other ideas and particularly with what seem to the speaker to be the known facts in the case. But this is a difference of emotion or tone only, and so far as their mental status is concerned, the ideas in both cases occupy the same position, namely, that of a foreign element in the mind of the person who utters the exclamation.¹

Turning now to German we find a very close correspondence between the uses which it makes of the subjunctive in the fields under discussion, and those in Latin. For this mood is employed, in both languages, not only in indirect quotation, but also in exclamations of rejection, whether they are uttered in reply to expressions of will and desire, or to statements of ideas. A few examples under each head will serve to illustrate.

1. Exclamations following an expression of desire.

Goethe, *Egmont* (Act 4):

Egmont. Der König schreibe einen Generalpardon aus, er beruhige die Gemüter.

Alba. Und jeder, der die Majestät des Königs, der das Heiligtum der Religion geschändet, ginge frei und ledig hin und wieder!

¹ *Curc.* 694-5. Pro deum atque hominum fidem:

Hoc pacto indemnatum atque intestatum me abripi?

For other examples see Holtze, *Syntaxis Prisc. Script. Rom.* II, p. 44 and 263-4.

Lessing, Nathan d. Weise, 3449-51:

Nathan. Dank sei dem Patriarchen—
Tempelherr. Dem Patriarchen? Dank? ihm Dank? wofür?
 Dank hätte der bei uns verdienen wollen?

2. Exclamations following statements or suggestions of ideas.¹
 Lessing, Nathan d. Weise, 384-5:

Derwisch. Zwar wenn man muss—
Nathan. Kein Mensch muss müssen, und ein Derwisch müsste?

Schiller, Maria Stuart, 3310-3:

Elisabeth. Ich hab's gesagt, und quält mich nun nicht weiter.
Davison. Du hättest es gesagt? Du hast mir nichts
 Gesagt—O, es gefalle meiner Königin
 Sich zu erinnern.

The form and environment of these exclamations in German are closely parallel to those which are found in Latin. The rival idea is often expressed by the person rejecting the foreign statement or request, as we see it in several of the examples just quoted.

Fortunately, too, there is in German a second form of exclamation, with exactly the same function as the one just mentioned, which confirms our conclusions as to the origin and meaning of the subjunctive construction even more fully. In this second form, the place of the subjunctive is taken by the auxiliary *sollen*, to which the verb is then added in the complementary infinitive.

1. Exclamations following a command or request.
 Nathan der Weise, 2783-6:

Saladin. Sei ruhig, Christ!
Tempelherr. Was? ruhig, Christ?—Wenn Jud'
 Und Muselmann, auf Jud,' auf Muselmann
 Bestehen, soll allein der Christ den Christen
 Nicht machen dürfen?

Goethe, Goetz v. Berlichingen, II, 6:

Weislungen. Seht mich nicht so an.
Adelheid. Willst du unser Feind sein, und wir sollen dir lächeln? Geh!

¹ These are quite common, especially in the classical authors. Other cases, besides those given above, are Nathan d. Weise 1042-4, 2311, 2348, Schiller, Maria Stuart 83-85, 693-7, 827-8, 2716-23, Wilhelm Tell 1823-4, Fulda, Der Talisman 1442.

Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, 1895-8:

Gessler. Du wirst den Apfel schiessen von dem Kopfe
Des Knaben—Ich begeh'r's und will's.

Tell. Ich soll
Mit meiner Armbrust auf das liebe Haupt
Des eignen Kindes ziehlen?

2. Exclamations following an expressed or suggested idea.

Nathan d. Weise, 2875-8:

Nathan. Das alles ist ja dein, und keiner andern.

Daja. Ist mein? Soll mein sein? Ist für Recha nicht?

Wilhelm Tell, 438-41:

Stauffacher. So kann das Vaterland auf euch nicht zählen,
Wenn es verzweiflungsvoll zur Notwehr greift?

Tell. Der Tell holt ein verlornes Lamm vom Abgrund,
Und sollte seinen Freunden sich entziehen?

Maria Stuart, 827-8:

(After a long speech of Maria)

Burligh. Und eine Stuart sollte dieses Glück
Dem Reich gewähren?

Now *sollen* (the English *shall*) is the German auxiliary of obligation, and expresses ordinarily what is expected of some one or what another person wants him to do. It serves then to reflect the status in one person's mind of an expression of will by another. But its use to reject foreign statements, as well as foreign commands, when taken with the observations which we have already made in Latin, shows beyond a doubt that both the statement and the command were felt to occupy the same position in the mind of the one to whom they had been addressed, that is to say, that not only the expression of a command, but also the statement of an idea by one person, involves an obligation on the part of the other to whom it is addressed.¹ And really, the acceptance and assimilation of an idea, especially in the face of an opposing idea firmly fixed in the mind, requires exertion no less than the performance of a command. If the task in either case presents insurmountable obstacles, it is given up, indignantly flung back, as it were, in an exclamation with the subjunctive, or

¹ This obligation is sometimes distinctly recognized in the Latin exclamation also, as in Pseud. 316-18. *Ps.* Ego in hoc triduo | Aut terra aut mari aliquonde evolam id argentum tibi. | *Ba.* Tibi ego credam?

with *sollen*, for that is the form which expresses the state in which the exclaimer feels the idea to exist for him, as an obligation, namely, imposed from without.

We may now go one step further. The performance of the command and the acceptance of the idea may be of such a kind that they are felt to be a task, but without arousing indignation, that is, while still recognized by the person concerned as incompatible with his other inclinations or ideas, they may, without being accepted by him or acquiesced in, be merely held in abeyance in his mind and recognized as existing, but only as so much foreign matter. In case they are then expressed, the two kinds of exclamation with *sollen*, which have just been given, would lose their emotional character and would become calm statements. The first, following a command or request, would be the acknowledgment of an obligation to act, and the second, following the statement or suggestion of an idea by another, would be the acknowledgment of the presentation of this idea, an acknowledgment which in itself, to be sure, amounts to a feeling of obligation to accept it. Psychologically, it is not difficult to harmonize the two uses of *sollen*. Quotation, like all other forms of expression, reflects primarily not the words of another, but a certain mental state of the person himself. If the word *sollen* is associated, therefore, with a feeling of prospective labor, which has been aroused by some communication from another person, it does not so much matter what the precise form of this communication was. The feeling of obligation may, for instance, be aroused quite as well by a gesture or a frown, as by a spoken command. Why then may it not be aroused also by the statement of an idea, if the hearing of this statement gives the hearer a sense of labor to be performed, be it physical or mental? In both cases a non-existent state of things is to become an existing state. The only difference is that, in the case of the command to act, the stage upon which this transformation is to take place, is the world of fact, in the case of the pure statement it is the world of ideas. Thus it comes about that *sollen* is in German not only the sign of obligation in the ordinary sense of the term, but of indirect statement as well.¹

¹ An instructive comparison may be made with the Greek acc. and inf. after verbs of saying and thinking, where the negatives $\mu\eta$ and $\sigma\upsilon$ serve to distinguish between Wille and Vorstellung. See a recent article by Gildersleeve in the Journ. of Philos. Psych. and Sci. Meth. (Feb. 16, '05), p. 95, and his article on the "Encroachments of $\mu\eta$ on $\sigma\upsilon$ in Later Greek", A. J. P. I 45 ff.

Wilhelm Tell, 3010 :

Herzog Johann soll irren im Gebirge (It is said that—).

Seidel, Leberecht Hühnchen :

Er soll in der Gartenstrasse wohnen, allein über die Hausnummer war ich nicht im Klaren.

That the recognition of the existence of another's idea does actually amount, in the end, to a feeling that a demand is made upon one by that person, as would seem to be the case from this use of *sollen*, is proved still more clearly, perhaps, by another very interesting line of evidence, both in German and in Latin. This evidence is furnished by certain uses of the reverse of *sollen*, namely *wollen* in German, and *velle* in Latin. This auxiliary is employed in both languages to reflect the status of ideas which are held and expressed by another, but are not accepted by the speaker himself.

Seidel, Leberecht Hühnchen :

Lore will gehört haben, dass er gehustet hat, allein das ist wohl ein Irrtum.

Lessing, Minna v. Barnhelm, III, 1 :

Ein Briefchen von meinem Herrn an das gnädige Fräulein, das seine Schwester sein will.

Ibid., III, 5 :

Aber was sind das für Dienste, die der Wirt unserm Major will erwiesen haben ?

Terence, Eun. 248-9 :

Est genus hominum, qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt,
Nec sunt.

Cicero, Pro Caelio, 21, 53 :

Si tam familiaris erat Clodius, quam tu esse vis cum de libidine eius tam multa dicis, dixit profecto, quo vellet aurum.

Cic., De Orat., I, 55, 235 :

Sit sane tanta, quantam tu illam esse vis.

Velle has, moreover, a very extensive use as a means of quoting the religious or philosophical views of another person.

Cicero, De Nat. Deor. III, 14, 36 :

Ita voltis, opinor, nihil esse animale intrinsecus in natura atque mundo præter ignem.

(For other cases, see Lex. s. v.)

The value of these constructions for our present purpose, is that, in a way, they take the place of the independent subjunctive clause of indirect quotation, which the literary language no longer

recognizes. That is, while the constructions with *sollen* for instance, closely correspond to and duplicate the various subjunctive constructions which we have mentioned, the former alone have been found to be sufficiently explicit and free from ambiguity, to be admitted into a highly developed language as an independent form of indirect statement, without the limiting addition of a verb of saying or thinking. The reason for this is that the auxiliary *sollen* is itself a highly specialized word, and is not used to express so many shades of meaning as the subjunctive or the indicative. Therefore, the necessity of adding other words to distinguish one use from another, is far from being so great in the former case as it is in the latter.

It should be noted, however, that a study of the German dialects would, in all probability, reveal the presence, to a certain extent, of the subjunctive in independent clauses of quotation also. In one dialect, at least, spoken on the northern border of the Palatinate, the writer can vouch for such a use of the mood. To be sure, it can be used only under certain well-defined conditions. The general nature of the preceding conversation may, for example, be of such a kind as to fix clearly the status of the utterance without the addition of a verb of saying. Or, even when that is not the case, a quotation may still be made by an independent subjunctive clause, if the particle *ei* or *ja* is used in it.¹ Thus "er wär' heimgegangen" would ordinarily mean "he would have gone home", while "er wär' ja heimgegangen" means "they say he went home".

We may now, for German, establish a complete chain of relations between the subjunctive exclamation of repudiation on the one hand, and the subjunctive of indirect quotation on the other.

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. Rejection of a command | Subjunctive or <i>sollen</i> . |
| 2. Rejection of a statement | " " |
| 3. Independent clause of quotation | " (in dialect) " |
| 4. Quotation in parataxis, with added verb of saying | " " |
| 5. Quotation in hypotaxis (main clause) | " " |
| 6. Quotation in hypotaxis (subordinate clause) | " " |

In Latin, at least in the Latin of literature, as we know it, several of the links in this chain of subjunctive uses are almost,

¹ It should be noticed, however, that these particles do not, in performing this function, lose their ordinary force. They still retain it, as in the following passage from Göthe's *Goetz v. Berlichingen* (I, 1), in which however the verb of saying is present, "Es heisst ja, alles wäre vertragen und geschlichtet".

or entirely, lacking, namely 3, 4, and 5. We could hardly expect to find 3, of course, in a language of which the colloquial and dialect forms have so largely disappeared. The absence of 5 could also be easily accounted for by the supremacy which the accusative and infinitive acquired at such an early date in Latin, crowding out not only the subjunctive, but the indicative also, from the main clause of the quotation. And if the subjunctive in hypotaxis was crowded out of the literary language, we are not surprised at its absence in parataxis.¹ But after all is said, it would still be strange, if with such clear illustrations of subjunctive use as those in 1 and 2, and with such universal prevalence of the mood as we find it in 6, the intervening links were entirely lacking in Latin. It seems all the more strange when we recollect that many of the subjunctive exclamations that are used to reject the ideas of another person, are introduced by one of the commonest of subordinating conjunctions, namely by *ut*.²

That the subjunctive clause with *ut* actually was at least a potential form of indirect quotation, is shown by a certain number of cases in which it was used for this purpose in place of the accusative and infinitive, especially by later writers whose style reflects the colloquial speech. A collection of examples is found in the dissertation by Mayen (p. 59 ff.) already referred to. The earliest instance of this use of the clause with *ut* Mayen finds in Hyginus, De Astrologia II, 34, De hoc fertur, ut sit Arcas nomine. Other passages given by him are Pliny, N. H. XVI, 74, Dicunt ut . . . sub terra sit luna; Pliny, Epp. XVI, 5, Credidit ut redirem; Gellius, VII, 14. 4, Quando . . . aut spes magna est, ut is, qui peccavit, . . . se ultro corrigat, aut spes . . . nulla est, emendari eum posse.³ A case very similar to this last, in which the clause with *ut* and the accusative and infinitive are found in coordination, may be added to the list from Terence, Hec., 145-7:

Narratque ut virgo ab se integra etiam tum siet,
Seque antequam eam uxorem duxisset domum,
Sperasse eas tolerare posse nuptias.

¹ We have, however, cases of a paratactic *ain tu* with a rejecting exclamation in the subjunctive, namely Plautus, Asin. 812, Terence, Phorm. 940. (These are taken from Becker, Beiordnende u. Unterordnende Satzverbindung, p. 23)

² Compare, for example, Most. 1017, Mecum ut ille hic gesserit | Dum tu hinc abes, negoti? Other cases in Plautus are Aul. 682, Mil. Gl. 963, Epid. 225, Most. 132, Curc. 616, Men. 683, Pseud. 516.

³ To these cases and the others cited by Mayen, might be added Justin, I, 5, III 1, XII, 12 XXVIII 3, Pliny, N. H. VII 2 and 13, XV 28, XXVIII 125.

As an illustration of the intermediate stage of development between the use of the clause with *ut* as an independent exclamation of repudiation, and its subordination to a verb of saying or thinking, we may cite Cicero, Tusc. I, 15, *Quid in hac republica tot tantos viros ob rem publicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? isdemne ut finibus nomen suum quibus vita terminaretur?* (Cf. also Plautus, Amph. 694-5.)

But though the evidence is quite sufficient, in early as well as late writers, to show that the subjunctive clause with *ut* was a potential form of indirect quotation, which might become an actual form whenever the supremacy of the accusative and infinitive was broken, it was, after all, not this clause, which finally inherited that supremacy, but another, namely the clause with *quod*.¹ For some time both kinds of clauses seem to have been used in quotations side by side, but the latter finally prevailed. The causes which led to this turn of affairs were, perhaps, partly, that the *ut*-clause was too closely associated with strong rejection, as in cases like *non est credibile ut*, etc., but especially that *quod* had throughout its whole history been used both with the subjunctive and also with the indicative, and that it could thus, by its two moods, not only designate clearly the thoughts and words of another, but could also make a distinction among these thoughts, between such as the reporter would himself vouch for, and such as he would not.² This was a distinction which even the accusative and infinitive was not able to make. Hence when regard for classical precedent began to die out, and the latter construction was thrown upon itself in the struggle for existence with another construction which was more definite and more highly specialized, the result was what we might expect. The older but less flexible construction was gradually driven from the field.

If now we attempt to classify the subjunctive of indirect quotation and to determine the relation in which it stands to other uses of the mood, we find ourselves inevitably at variance with what seems to be the prevalent view, so far as a definite view is expressed, namely, that it is a variety of what is usually called,

¹ For full statistics see Mayen, p. 4 ff. The earliest case cited by him is Bell. Hisp. 36, 1, *Legati Carteienses renuntiaverunt quod Pompeium in potestate haberent*. There is a case in Plautus, Asin. 52 after *scio*.

² That such distinctions were actually made in late authors, is shown, for instance, by Reiter, *De Ammiani Marcellini usu orationis obliquae*, p. 39 ff.

somewhat loosely, the potential subjunctive. The reason why it can not belong to this class is plain when we recall briefly its real function and psychological character. We found that the subjunctive of indirect quotation reflects the status of a foreign idea in the mind of the speaker, that it merely expresses his recognition of the presence of this idea in his mind and does not in any way vouch for the idea or include it in his own assertion. The status of such an idea, and, consequently, the function of the mood which expresses it, is therefore very different from that which we find in the case of the potential. For in the potential the total content of the speaker's mind, or individual parts of this content, stand in such a relation to the particular idea which is being expressed, that, instead of preventing its admission, they lead the speaker to a partial or conditional acceptance and affirmation of the idea. In the case of the subjunctive of indirect quotation, on the other hand, any kind of acceptance and affirmation of the idea in question is expressly withheld.

The subjunctive of indirect quotation is rather one of what we may call the reflex uses of the mood, that is, it gives expression not to a mental or emotional impulse from within, but to a reaction which follows upon an impulse from without. That the reaction is not always exactly equivalent to its cause, or in other words, that the mood of the quotation is, in certain cases, not the same as that of the original speech by the other person, is due to the peculiarities of the medium through which the impulse given by the original speech has to pass, that is, to the peculiarities of the mind of the one who hears this speech and reports it. If obstructing ideas are present in his mind, the acceptance of the foreign idea will, of course, require effort on the part of this person, if indeed the acceptance takes place at all. If the original speaker foresees the difficulty in the mind of the hearer and makes allowance for it, or if he should have the same difficulty with the idea himself, he will naturally present the idea in the form of a command or suggestion to the imagination, he will ask the hearer to assume it or will himself concede it. In a case like this he will, of course, use the subjunctive. If, on the other hand, the speaker does not foresee any obstacle in the hearer's mind to the acceptance of the idea, or if, foreseeing it, he pays no heed to the obstacle, he will then merely make a statement of the idea in the indicative, that is, he will use that form which implies that the idea is a fully assimilated part of his own mental stock, and that

he takes its acceptance by the hearer for granted. To the mind of the hearer, however, the idea may, in the latter case, be as difficult of acceptance as in the former, or if there is a difference, it may be merely this, that the calmness and presumption of the expression by the indicative will serve to rouse his indignation. When that happens, the resulting utterance on his part will naturally be exclamatory. But in any case, the presentation, for acceptance, of an idea that meets obstacles in his mind when he hears it, is, from his point of view, as much a demand upon his mental activities, as an order to climb a tree is a demand upon the muscles of his arms and legs. And to express the status of this idea from his point of view, in the former case, the use of the subjunctive is just as natural as is the use of the same mood to express the status of the command in the latter case.

If, on the other hand, the idea presented by the original speaker agrees with the hearer's own ideas, if it readily and naturally takes its place in his mind and is accepted by him without difficulty or reserve, then the attitude of his mind toward this idea will naturally be expressed by the indicative, for this attitude will then be no different from his attitude toward any of the ideas which make up his own mental stock.¹ In other words, the status of the new idea will now be the same in his mind as it was before in the mind of the original speaker, when the latter expressed it by the indicative.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

JOHN J. SCHLICHER.

¹ It is, of course, still possible, even then, to assign the idea formally to the original speaker, if there is any object in doing so.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

FERDINAND SOMMER, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre. Eine Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Lateins.* Heidelberg, 1902. (Pp. xxiii + 693.)

Of the manuals dealing with Latin phonology and inflexion this excellent work meets probably best the wants of the classical student who has not given much time to systematic study of comparative philology and who values it chiefly in so far only as it explains definite facts of Latin phonology or serves to unravel the tangled skein of the Latin paradigms. Addressed primarily to beginners, the author has succeeded in keeping their needs constantly before his eyes not only in the matter of explanatory paragraphs and notes where references to unfamiliar Indo-European languages were required, but also in presenting the material in such a way as to deviate least from the traditional and accustomed manner of our Latin grammars. The latter is especially true of the morphological part (p. 336-652). I know of no grammar in which the inflexional system of the Latin is more conveniently and clearly analyzed, where the explanation of the living speech material, the 'regular forms', (which, of course, is of prime importance to the beginner and the teacher) maintains so evenly its prominence throughout as compared with the space devoted to isolated and, from the point of view of the Latin philologist, merely curious Indo-European survivals which the comparative philologist rejoices in finding embedded in the Roman amber. The close contact which Sommer so successfully maintains with classical philology might, it seems to me, be advantageously still increased by greater fulness in two directions, viz., in the matter of philological details and in regard to the references to native Roman grammatical literature, especially to the earlier writers. It is mainly for its wealth of material along these lines that Lindsay's book appeals so strongly to the classical scholar. Compare, for instance, Lindsay-Nohl p. 439 with Sommer p. 430 § 249 (forms of *rei*) or Lindsay-Nohl p. 611 with Sommer p. 620 § 375 (use of *-ere* and *-erunt*). Especially the references to Latin grammatical writers are often interesting and instructive. I give a few examples to illustrate the point: (P. 86 § 64) The spelling EI for I was criticized by Nigidius (Gell. xix, 14, 8).—The same Gellius (iv, 6, 6) notes the change of *ae* to *i* in the unaccented syllable of compounds (p. 115 § 75, III, 1).—His *disquinti* (x, 24, 1) illustrates the law of brevis brevians (p. 142 § 84, 4).—P. Lavinius' *sculna* (Gell. xx. 11. 2) is an excellent ex-

ample of protonic syncope (p. 150 § 86) in the spoken language.—The two collateral forms *complura* and *compluria* (p. 419, bottom) are discussed at length by Gellius v, 21, and *silenta loca* (xix, 7, 7) should be added.—The genitive *-uis* (p. 422 top) was favored by both Varro and Nigidius (Gell. iv, 16).—On the use of *nostrum* and *nostri* (p. 443 § 275) see Gell. xx, 6.—On *trēs*, *tris* (p. 494 § 306) see Gell. xiii, 21, 10.—On *mille* (p. 500 § 310), Gell. i. 16.—To the formation of the ordinals for 18 (p. 503, end of § 312) add Fabius' *duovicēsimus* (Gell. v, 4, 3).—*Assentio* (p. 508 § 318) was fathered by Sisenna (Gell. ii. 25. 9).—(P. 591 § 368, 1, a) Gell. vi, 9 discusses the subject of reduplication. With regard to *sciciderat* it should be noted that cod. R of Priscian reads *sci-scid-* (cf. KZ. xxx. p. 436).—The perfect *stīti* (p. 592 § 368, 1, 6) is treated by Gell. ii, 14, 1 and *descendidi* (p. 593 § 368, 1, d) in vi, 9, 17.—Quintil. i. 4. 17 *leber* might be added to p. 93 § 68, 1 end.—Tinga's *precula* for *pergula* (Quint. i. 5. 12) to p. 301 § 164, A, 2, a.—Vergil's *miis* (Quint. viii, 3, 25) to p. 446 § 282, 3.—*Dua pondo* (Quint. i. 5. 15) to p. 493 § 306.—*Dederont* and *probaveront* (p. 619 § 375) are mentioned by Quint. i. 4. 16. In connection with the double form of the 3 person plur. of the perfect it might be stated that some (Quint. i. 5. 42, cf. Jeep 215) regarded the form in *-re* as a dual.—From Livy the old formula *arbori infelici aliquem suspendere* (Liv. i. 26. 6) might be quoted to p. 412, end of § 225; and *pluvit, pluvisse* (Prisc. X, 11 = i. p. 503, 14 H) to p. 606 (bottom).—Cicero, de orat. iii, 183 is important on account of *illius* (p. 457 § 487, b, β).—A reference to Cicero's Orator 157 should accompany that to Quint. i. 6. 17 on p. 610 § 371.—*Isse* for *ipse* (p. 257 § 134, 3, a) was the Emperor Augustus' pronunciation (Suet. Oct. 88, cf. Fröhde Rh. M. xiii, 148; Mohl, Chronol. d. Lat. vulg. p. 156).—The etymological connections of *nuntius* with *novus* (p. 175 § 94, 4) and of *iudex* with *ius* and *dicere* (p. 252 § 133, 1, b) go back to Varro LL. vi, 58, and vi. 61 respectively.—The discussion in Varro's fragm. 47 (Wilmanns, De M. T. V. lib. gramm. p. 177) shows that the differentiation between surd and sonant treated on p. 256 § 134, 3, a, in the note, was a purely orthographical not an orthoëpic question.—In connection with p. 291 § 160, 2 it is interesting to note that Varro wrote *narare, naratio* (Wilmanns, De M. T. V. lib. gramm. p. 179, fragm. 53).—The fusion of consonantal with i-stems is well illustrated by Varro, LL. viii. 66.—etc. etc.

Having used the book in a course on Latin Grammar I might also venture to suggest that the number of references to the other Italic dialects might be increased in a subsequent edition. There are enough advanced students who have a first hand, if elementary, knowledge of Oscan and Umbrian (and with Buck's excellent manual their number will grow) to make such comparisons possible and highly instructive. Thus Oscan *essuf* Umbrian *esuf* (Planta II p. 211 § 288, 2, e) throws doubt on the derivation of *ipse* from **ispe* (p. 459 § 298); so does the Oscan *imaden* (Planta I p. 380 § 184, Buck, A Gramm. of Osc. and Umb.

p. 76 § 114 d) on Thurneysen's derivation of *imus* from **ismos* (p. 488, bottom).—The Faliscan *foied* 'hoc die' could be referred to on p. 431 § 253.—The transition of *ē* to *i* (p. 77 § 56, 3) is attributed by Mohl (Chron. d. Lat. vulg. p. 118) to Oscan influence.—An even better illustration to p. 423 § 236 than the Sanskrit *sānāu* would be the Umbrian *m a n u v - e* where the diphthong of the ending remained before the preposition (Planta II p. 161 § 279, 6).—(P. 444 § 278) The couple *tou-os* : *tu-os* is paralleled by Oscan *sū v - a d* : *s u - v e f s*, Umbrian *tou-er* : *tu-er* (Buck, A Gramm. of Osc. and Umb., p. 140 § 194, a).—Oscan *ce-bnust* illustrates Lat. *cē-dō* (p. 477 § 299, 1, f and p. 586 § 363).—(P. 495 § 306) The Samnitic forms of the numerals 'four' and 'five' appear in the proper names *Petronius* and *Pompeius* (p. 207, end of § 117).—A reference to the Oscan and Umbrian distinction of primary and secondary verbal endings should accompany § 323 B, p. 518–19.—With *tuli* : *fero* (p. 519 § 324) compare Umbrian *anferener* 'circumferendi' : *andirsafust* (a t e f a f u s t) 'circumtulit' (Buck, A Grammar of Osc. and Umb. p. 166 § 217).—With Latin *vel* (from *velle*, p. 581 § 360, 1) compare Umbrian *h e r i* (s), *herie*(i) (Planta II. p. 474 § 347).—(P. 591 § 368) A comparison of the Umbrian and Oscan reduplicated and unreduplicated perfect forms with those in Latin would be useful.

An occasional reference to the Romance languages might also be convenient, e. g. for *h* as syllabic divisor (p. 171, foot-note) compare Nyrop, Gram. hist. d. l. lang. franç. p. 366 § 487, 1 and p. 227 § 279, no. 3; EDVCAVT (p. 619 top) might be marked as the precursor of the Italian weak perfect in *-o*.

The need of compression and the necessary absence of discussion make some statements unavoidably appear to be more dogmatic than they were really intended to be. The chief danger is that the beginners who use the book may be misled into believing that certain doctrines are more securely established and universally accepted than is really the case. It ought to be pointed out, for instance, that Thurneysen's (BB. viii. 275) explanation of the Latin imperfect subjunctive (p. 570 § 353) makes it very difficult to account for the peculiar Italic uses (Planta II. p. 475, line 17 ff.), so difficult, in fact, that Brugmann now (KV Gr. II p. 588 § 769, note) discards it.—In § 270 (p. 440) the quantity of the *i* in *mis*, *tis* appears anything but certain.—Sittl's explanation of the genitives in *-aes* (p. 354 § 192) does not seem to me to commend itself by strong inherent probability, cf. Planta II. p. 87–88 § 271, Buck, A Gramm. of the Osc. and Umb., p. 115 § 169, 12.—Nor is *nihil* necessarily for *nihilum* (p. 376 § 209) since a stem **hili-* (neuter **hile*) is not at all impossible.—(P. 137 § 83, 7) Sommer concludes the absence of weakening proves the length of the second *a* in *adāxim*. But the *a* may be short and retained through the influence of the preceding *a*; *adāxim* would then be to *effēxim* as *adāgium* is to *prōdīgium* (Lane³ § 104, d). If we measure *adāxim* we shall also have to measure *atrāctus*, which S. apparently rejects, for he measures *vēctus* with

ē (p. 642, top) and quotes *tractus* along with it (p. 640 § 389, Bemerkungen, 1).—(P. 229 § 125, 3, b, γ and p. 584 § 360, 5, b) S. derives *māvolō* from **mage-volō*. Why should it not, by the phonetic development discussed on p. 260 § 137, 2, c, have come from **magz-volō* for **mag(i)s-volō* as Havet and Solmsen (Stud. z. lat. Lautgesch. p. 57) assumed?—(P. 234 § 127, 3, b) The rule concerning the anaptyctical *p* in *mpl* (e. g. *exemplum*) is stated too categorically ("jedenfalls"). Brugmann, Grundriss I¹ p. 370 § 413, 9, Anm. 4 called the rule "irrig" but admits its possibility ("vielleicht") in KVGr. I p. 231 § 322, 1. The Latin *plumbum* is connected by Schrader (Realexicon p. 96) with *πλινθος*.—(P. 286 § 159) I have not been able to convince myself of the correctness of Sommer's phonetic explanation of the aspirated letters in *triumphus*, *pulcher*. The force of the argument which he bases (p. 288) on the aspiration of the *c* in *anchora* where the Greek shows *k* (*ἄγκυρα*) does not seem to me strong enough 'to remove all doubt'. There is no reason to suppose that after the aspiration had once become a characteristic of Greek words, it should not have crept in where it did not belong, exactly as we find hyper-doric and hyper-aeolic forms in the artificial Doric and Aeolic of late authors. I think it is still fairly safe to adhere to the old explanation and see in the whole process a phenomenon comparable to the change of Latin *au(c)tor* into English *author* (cf. E. Koeppl, Spelling-Pronunciation; Quellen u. Forsch. zur Sprach- und Culturgesch. (1901), Heft 89). To the cases usually given in illustration of this change may be added two etymologies from Macrobius for which the interchange of *p* with *ph* and *t* with *th* is essential: 1, 12, 8 '*secundum mensem nominavit Aprilem, ut quidam putant cum adspiratione quasi Aphrilem, a spuma quam Graeci ἀφρόν vocant*'; 1, 8, 9 '*propter abscisorum pudendorum fabulam etiam nostri cum Saturnum vocitaverunt παρὰ τὴν σάθην quae membrum virile declarat, veluti Sathunnum* (correct to *Sathurnum*?)—Clifford Moore (this Journal XIX p. 312) removes Cato's difficult sub-junctives DICAIE FACIAE (p. 303, § 166 and p. 572 § 355) by a suggestion which convinces through its simplicity. He interprets the final letter as Σ i. e. an *M* laid on its side, an attempt to represent the weak sound of final *m* exactly parallel to Verrius Flaccus' sign \wedge (p. 33 § 8, 9).—Why should it be objectionable to interpret the long *far* of Ovid (p. 413 § 226, I, B) in the same way in which Plautus' long *ter* and *cor* are interpreted (p. 309 § 169, A)?—Thurneysen's change of parent Italic *-nt* to *ns* (p. 310 § 169, B, 2) should have been marked as very problematic rather than 'wahrscheinlich'. The Oscan secondary ending of the third plural *-ns* certainly does not reflect a Parent Italic *-nt* (Planta I p. 513, Buck, A Grammar of Osc. and Umb. p. 81 § 128, 1).—(P. 314 § 173) The paragraph on syllabic haplology needs to be revised in view of Pekrowskij's discussion KZ. xxxv. p. 247-253.—To the remnants of duals (p. 344 § 184) should be added *octo* (p. 495) and the possible duals POMPLIO and CES-

TIO (see the literature in IF. XIV p. 31). A reference to these two should also be added after § 209, p. 377.—Sittl's explanation of the genitives in *-aes* (e. g. FEMINAE) is put forward too dogmatically, since connection with Sabellic forms (Planta II. p. 87-8, Buck, A Gramm. of Osc. and Umb. p. 115 § 169, 12) seems not at all improbable.—Mohl's explanation (Chron. du Lat. vulg. p. 51) of the Emperor Augustus' genitive sg. *domos* (p. 421 § 235) as being a Volscian form and comparable to the Umbrian *trifor* seems more plausible than Sommer's suggestions.—(P. 426 § 242) Why should not the gen. plur. *passum* for *passuum* be due to the same process of analogy formation which produced *agricolum* (p. 359 § 198 end)?—(P. 429 § 248) Since the loss of *z* in *ēz* before *-s* is problematic it would seem safer to regard, with Brugmann KVGr. II. p. 312 § 381, *diēs* as an analogy formation after *diem* (**diēm*) and to compare the similar extension of the stem **bō-* in Umbrian (Buck, A Gramm. of Osc. and Umb. p. 131 § 183, 2 and note *δ*).—(P. 445 § 281 Anm.) I can see no reason why Italian *vostro* should not be a direct continuation of the old Latin *voster* which continued to exist by the side of the urban *vester*.—(P. 446 § 282, 1) Sommer's explanation of the vocative *mī* seems to me as improbable as it does to Brugmann (KVGr. II. p. 411 § 522, 1), but the older explanation which Brugmann thinks at least probable (*ibid.*) does not seem to me convincing either, and Sommer's objection to it (viz. that we should then expect *mī* in all genders and numbers) appears to be well grounded. I would suggest that we have here, as in so many cases, a transfer of the termination of one word to another one with which it forms a closely knit group; i. e. *mī* takes its *-ī* from the endings of *filī* and other words with which it was habitually combined, exactly as Oscan *pūs* "qui" e *kas* "hae" took the endings of the following nouns. The great mass of such cases are commonly classed as examples of 'functional association' (the third group in B. I. Wheeler's classification;¹ Thumb and Marbe² call them "Grammatische Analogiebildungen," Wundt³ classes them as "äussere grammatische Angleichungen"). I pointed out in my Lectures on the Study of Language (p. 156-7) that examples of this association of words simply because they are functionally alike do not appear in any of the purely experimental investigations

¹ Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language, Cornell Univ. Studies in Class. Phil., 1887.

² Experimentelle Untersuchungen über die psychologischen Grundlagen d. sprachlichen Analogiebildung, 1901, p. 61.

³ Völkerpsychologie I. Die Sprache I, p. 448. He contrasts these cases, where the inflectional form of one word influences the same form of an etymologically different word (Tags: Nachts) with those in which different inflectional forms of the same word influence each other (starb: starben). These latter he calls "innere grammatische Angleichungen" (p. 447). On the relation of this latter group to Paul's "stoffliche gruppe" (Prinzipien³ 1898 p. 96 § 75) cf. Delbrück, Grundfragen (1901) p. 108, Sütterlin, Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde (1902) p. 50; Delbrück, Einleitung⁴ (1904) p. 170.

which psychologists have furnished. And ever since the experiments which I made five years ago and of which I published a small part in this Journal (XXII p. 221-267) my distrust of the correctness of the current explanation of such cases has constantly increased. While the material at my disposal does not permit me wholly to deny the existence of cases of functional analogy I am inclined to favor another possibility, viz. the transfer of the termination of one word to an adjacent word simply on account of local contiguity. We must remember that in actual speech words do not ordinarily occur isolated but are almost always combined in phrases. The experiments regarding word-associations have all been made on isolated words. The question how freely associations are formed when the word occurs set in a sentence has not as yet found an answer. And yet it is quite plain that the isolated word will act differently from the connected word. Now, when we consider that words like the article or pronouns habitually occur in closest proximity to the noun they qualify, and, further, that words with like grammatical function cannot help being placed together in very many instances it does not seem at all surprising if—without any reference whatever to their functional likeness—the ending or the accent¹ of one member of such a group should encroach upon that of the other member, especially if both form a phonetic unit². Such interference may operate in either a forward or backward direction and in its mechanical character it would not differ from the so-called regressive and progressive assimilations of sounds within the same word (Brugmann's "Fernassimilationen," e. g. KVG. I p. 235-239 § 329-333). Isolated instances have already been thus explained. "Transfer of endings," says Wackernagel (IF. XIV. 374), "is not only due to proportional analogy but also to the fact that the words affected are construed together . . . Hence the influence of pronominal words on nouns." And he appears to regard in this light the transfer of the ending *-es* which appears first as accusative in petrified numerals like *τέτοιες* and thence spread over the adjacent nouns.³ This principle, it seems to me, applies, if not to all, at least to the great majority of the supposed cases of functional analogy.⁴ After the experi-

¹ For the latter cf. Brugmann, Ber. d. Sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wiss. for 1900, p. 371.

² 'Word' as 'sentence' is a semantic term, without any standing in phonetics, cf. Sweet, Words, Logic and Grammar, in Trans. of the [London] Philol. Soc. 1875-6 p. 472 f. and Jespersen, Lehrbuch d. Phonetik, 1904, p. 202 § 210.

³ Cf. also O. Hoffmann's note to SGDI. vol. iii, no. 5224, p. 268, on *τέτοιαι* as nominative.—J. Schmidt (KZ. xxxvi, p. 400) explains the Cretan nominatives plural in *-ev* (*ἀνέν, τινέν, μαίρουεν*) in the same way and gives other instances of the adequation of pronominal endings to verbal terminations.

⁴ A very good example is found in the warrant for the arrest of Bunyan (Facsimile in W. H. White's John Bunyan (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904) and reprinted in the Nation for Jan. 26, 1905 = no. 2065 p. 80): "... yett one John Bunnyon of yo^r said Towne Tynker hath divers times within one month last past in contempt of his Maj^{ties} good Lawes preached or teached at a conventicle meeteing or assembly . . ."

ments¹ with numerals which were published in this Journal (XXII (1901), p. 261-267) and which coincide exactly with the results Ebbinghaus obtained (Zeitschr. für Psychol. und Physiol. d. Sinnesorgane XIX (1902) p. 142) I cannot believe that in a case like Heracl. δκτώ or El. ὀκτώ (both after the analogy of ἐπτά) the association of the two numerals was based upon their grammatical category, for the experiments showed that even in the case of isolated numerals such associations are excessively rare. I am now inclined to believe that the frequent juxtaposition of these words and their local contiguity in counting, without any reference to their grammatical category, lies at the bottom of the change, nor should I hesitate to extend this explanation to cases like 'Nachts' after 'Tags' and many others. The coherence of the members of a phrase in the spoken language is much greater than is usually supposed as is proved by those instances (rare enough, to be sure, in the revised written texts) in which one member of a frequent word-group may be caught carrying in its train its unwelcome mate which far from being useful may be positively disturbing. Interesting cases of such 'agglutinative association'² may now be found in Kemmer's *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in d. griech. Litteratur*,³ and they are occasionally met with in English, as when Col. Henry Watterson writes: "It ['Life'] is racy of the soil, even as Punch in London is racy of English soil, a reflection of *the moods and tenses* of the time, of the thoughts and fancies of the people". Such cases are lexicographical counterparts to those phonetic alterations in which one word of a phrase appropriates the final sound of the preceding or the initial sound of the following word, e. g. German 'Meisenbühl' from 'im Eisenbühl'.⁴—(P. 511 § 319, 6) When

¹ These results are really incommensurable with those of Thumb and Marbe and the more recent ones of H. J. Watt (Zeitschrift für Psychol. und Physiol. d. Sinnesorgane xxxvi, 1904, p. 417 ff.) because of the essential difference of method. In my experiments I did not for a moment propose to test the correctness of Thumb and Marbe's results—*ne sutor supra crepidam!* My purpose was to find how frequently an *isolated numeral without any 'connective setting'* (Kries' 'connective Einstellung', Zt. f. Psych. u. Phys. d. Sinnesorg. viii, 1895, p. 1) would associate another numeral. Their method, on the other hand, rather "invited the association of correlative ideas" (Wundt in Indogerm. Forsch. xii, Anzeiger, p. 20). Why, for my purpose, the exact measurement of the reaction time should be 'sehr wesentlich' (Watt, l. c. p. 425) is unintelligible to me. Going over my records I also find that the elimination of secondary and tertiary associations, to which both Marbe (Amer. Jour. of Psychol. xiii, 1902, p. 350) and Watt (l. c. p. 426) object, does not affect my percentages. Nor are they essentially affected if I discard all but the first associations. The figures then are: In class I eleven (twelve) cases, in II four, in III seven, in IV three, in V two, in VI none, in VII (association of another numeral) one, in VIII one; that is one case out of twenty-nine (thirty).

² Cf. my Lectures on the Study of Language, p. 183 § 16.

³ In Schanz' Beiträge XV, p. 2: 45; 50; 57.

⁴ In an editorial of the Louisville Courier-Journal reprinted in 'Life' xiii (1903) no. 1099, p. 479.

⁵ Cf. Zt. f. d. deut. Unterricht xvii (1903) p. 728. A great number of English examples are collected by C. P. G. Scott in Transact. Am. Phil. Ass. xxiii (1892) p. 179 and xxiv (1893) p. 89.

Sommer says that the sigmatic forms are originally simple presents and owe their later future meaning to the 'futurische Sinn der Wurzel' I take it he refers to the 'Aktionsart'. If so, the case should be stated a little more fully.—(P. 521, § 326) The reference to the 'vorhistorische Akzentgesetz' (p. 96 § 71) may mislead some to suppose that the old accentuation of *afficiō* was due to the recessive accent law instead of being due to the old enclisis of the verb.—Since the *-ā-* and the *-ā-īo-* verbs are inextricably mixed in Latin (Brugmann, KVGr. II p. 504 § 658 and p. 532 § 694, 3) the assumption of contraction for *plantās* (p. 557 § 338 a) seems unnecessary; and *nāre* (p. 539 § 330, 1) is not a safe example for an unthematic root verb (cf. Sansk. *snā-ya-te*).—(P. 543 § 332, 2 and p. 598 § 369, 2, c, β) Curtius' connection of *īnu* with *īcī*, *iacio* (cf. Hirt IF. xii. p. 229) seems to me preferable to Sommer's with *√sē*.—(P. 545 § 332, 4) The quantity of the vowel of the third conjugation *-io-* verbs before the inchoative suffix *-scō-* might be determined by Priscian (II, 429 H): '*omnia . . . secundae personae primitivi addita 'co' fiunt*' which would give *labāscō*, *fervēscō*, *sciscō* but *cupiscō*, unless his rule disregards the quantity of the vowel of the endings of the second person of the primitive verbs.—(P. 551 § 333) I agree with Buck (A Gramm. of Osc. and Umb., p. 166 § 216, note) that iambic shortening was not the sole reason for forms of the type *capis*. See also Brugmann KVGr. II. p. 525 § 690, 2 with the note.—(P. 559 § 345) There seem to be neither phonetic nor semantic reasons which would militate against *plantēs* being an old optative form **plantā-īē-s* (cf. *Planta* II. 293).—(P. 618 § 375) The explanation of the long *i* in the third person sg. of the perfect (*vicit*) by analogy to the first person (*vici*) does not seem to me preferable to the theory which sees in it the old third person middle in *-ai* (or *-ei*, *-oi*, Brugmann KVGr. II. p. 595 § 788, 3) with the conjunct termination *-t* added.

I close with a series of minor additions which I noted while using the book with a class in Latin Grammar.—(P. 89 § 65, 2, b) Mohl's theory that the variation between *oe* and *ū* was due to accentual differences (*poēna* : *pūntre*) might have been added (Chronol. d. Lat. vulg. p. 159). The theory accepted by Sommer fails to account for *moenia* : *mūnīre*.—(P. 91 § 66) Mohl (Chronol. d. Lat. vulg. p. 160) restricts the change of *au* to *o* to atonic syllables (*aūrum* : *orātus*).—(P. 128 § 79, 3 B) Hirt (IF. xii. p. 241) restricts the 'o-Umlaut'.—(P. 133 § 82) Among the sources for the determination of 'hidden quantities' the *clausulae* of rhythmic prose (Lane², p. 5 § 34) should certainly be added. The papers of Wolf and Zielinski contain some very interesting observations bearing on quantity in prose Latin; a long *i* for *fiēbant* (p. 589 § 366), for instance, is established by II Verr. 4. 110. In a similar manner the accentual *cursor* of the later prose writers may be utilized. By it *interiit* (p. 612, end of § 372) was established by Mr. Harmon for Ammianus xxx, 2, 12 and xv, 3, 10 and frequent synizesis (p. 144 § 85) for the termination *-iā* in names of

countries (Ammianus xiv, 10, 4; xv, 10, 10; xxxi, 2, 5 and 16, 9).—(P. 181 § 98) Add *Aubia*[no] and *Aubia* from CIL xii. 5111 (Zt. f. roman. Philol. xxv. 735), and in note¹ add a reference to Mohl's etymology of *ater* (*dies*) in Chron. d. Lat. vulg. p. 277.—(P. 222 § 124, 2, d, a) Add *aemulus* (from **adiemolos*, Thurneysen KZ. xxxii, p. 566) and *aerumna* (from **adierumna*, Brugmann, IF. xii. 401).—(P. 223) Somewhere here should be added a paragraph dealing with the assimilation of *ri* to *ii* to account for *petierō* from **per-ierō* (Brugmann IF. xii. p. 400).—(P. 223 line 2 from bottom) Add *Geronsia* CIL xii, 2116+.—(P. 232 § 126, 3, b) For *taeter* cf. Osthoff, Etym. Parerga i. p. 162.—(P. 233 § 127, 1) Hirt (IF. xii. 224) connects *lāna* with *λάνη* which would bring it under § 141, 2, c.—(P. 241 § 129, change of *gn* to *rn*) Add the spellings like *mana* for *magna* collected in Zt. f. rom. Phil. xv. p. 735–6. I do not feel certain that the first *n* in *singnifer* (other instances in Rhein. Mus. lvii, p. 316) is simply a graphic anticipation (p. 302 § 165, 2). It may well be a device to spell *rn*, cf. Nyrop Gramm. hist. de la l. franç. p. 271 § 333 note.—(P. 301 § 164, A, 2, a) It should be stated that *interperlor* for *interpretor* (Consentius p. 392, 24) is probably due to the derivation from *inter partes* (Bergk, Philol. xiv, p. 185).—(P. 308 § 168, e) Add *fa* (Zt. f. rom. Phil. xxv. p. 735).—(P. 353, foot-note) The Oscan asigmatic nominative of Greek proper names (Planta II. p. 85) is paralleled in Latin by *Pelia*, *Euthia*, *Hermagora*, *Aenea*, *Anchisa* (Quint. i, 5, 61).¹—(P. 364 § 203, b) Add *citer*, Cat. orat. fr. 62 p. 65 J.—(P. 402 § 220, I, C, 2, b) Bechtel (NGGW. 1899, p. 185 reads *liēn*, as *compōs* (p. 398 § 220, I, A, 1).—(P. 406 § 220) In discussing the nominatives sg. in *-is* a reference to p. 403, § 220, D should be added to show that some, like *plebēs*, are really *s*-stems. For *nubēs* cf. Richter, KZ xxxvi. p. 114.—(P. 407 § 221). The ending *-us* for the genitive sg. (which Mohl, Chronol. d. Lat. vulg. p. 152 regards as Sabine, cf. Sittl, Lokale Verschiedenh. p. 40) should be compared with the ending *-us* of the second person middle (p. 536 § 328).—(P. 410, end of § 224) Add *Herclē* (KZ. xxxii. p. 196).—(P. 449 § 284, b, δ). The form IVM in CIL ix. 782 (Luceria) makes it certain that Varro's *iam* (cf. Christ, Arch. f. lat. Lex. ii. p. 622) is not a lapsus calami.—(P. 453 § 286, b, a) HEC also in Atti d. R. Ac. d. Lincei, Series V, vol. 6, May, p. 185, no. 6.—(P. 495 § 306, 4) Wharton, Etym. Lat. p. 83 separates *quadra* from *quattuor*, cf. KZ. xxxii. p. 565.—(P. 497 § 308) For VI-

¹ These forms are valuable because they help showing that the early Greek loanwords reached Rome not directly but by way of Samnitic channels. General historical considerations make such an assumption probable enough, but it is also positively supported by the peculiar phonetic form of a number of these early loans. The anaptyctical vowel in words like *Alcumena*, *mina* etc. (Ritschl, Opusc. ii. p. 509) gives to these words a distinctively Samnitic flavor; the change of *di* to *s* and of *ti* to *s* which was peculiar to the dialect of Bantia (Planta i. p. 412, 386) appears in *rosa* from *podēa* (Planta, l. c., end of note 3) and *brisa* from *βρίστει*.

GENTI refer to Arch. f. Lat. Lex. vii. p. 69-70. The form VEIGINTI (cf. also CIL x. 6009) belonging, as Sommer himself states, to the period when EI and I were confused, should be removed from the argument.—(P. 498, end of § 308) The syncopated form *quadra[gi]nta* must also be read in CIL. vi. 28047.—(P. 499 § 309) To *trecenti* and *trepondo* add Varro Men. 310 B. *tremodia*.—(P. 526 § 328, forms like *danunt*) A reference to Delbrück's (Vergl. Syntax iv. p. 131) comparison of the Slavic present forms like *stanę* might be added.—(P. 547) Somewhere here the desideratives (*esürō*) and frequentatives (*dormitō*) should be mentioned.—(P. 566 § 349, forms like *opsequito*) Add Cicero's *nititō* (Diomed. 340, 1 K.).—(P. 576, § 358, 1) With *simus* compare Sardinian *bolimus* (= *volimus*, p. 581, § 360) Mohl, Chron. d. Lat. vulg. p. 319, Planta i. p. 317 note.—(P. 648) Somewhere toward the end of the discussion of the formation of past participles a few words should be added concerning adjectives entering the verbal system with the function of past participles, e. g. *saucius*, cf. Lindsay-Nohl p. 620, 623.

The indices are excellent; in fact the whole book gives plain evidence of great pedagogical skill such as we do not always find combined with profound learning, and when slight blemishes¹ which are unavoidable in a first edition have been removed it will prove, as it is even now, one of the most convenient and reliable helps to introduce the classical student to scientific Latin Grammar.

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Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen von WILHELM SCHULZE, Berlin, 1904; M. 40; pp. 647 (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band V. Nro. 5.).

The interesting subject of Latin proper names has been repeatedly brought to notice and treated from different points of view in recent years. Notable are the discussions published in 1898 in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, Supplementband XXIV, by J. Schwab (Nomina propria latina oriunda a participiis praesentis, etc.) and by W. Otto (Nomina propria latina oriunda a participiis perfecti) and the recent valuable articles of A. Zimmermann in Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie (XIII, pp. 225 ff., 415 ff., 475 ff.). But these and others that might be added are all partial in their scope, dealing only with the proper names of some particular formation, of some distinct locality, or of some author or department of literature. The work of Schulze, on the other hand, is far more extensive than any previously undertaken and

¹ Especially the inconsistency in the marking of long (hidden) vowels e. g. *Sestius* (p. 269 and 502) where the *ē* is well established but difficult to account for (Froehde, BB. xvi p. 204).

aims not only to set forth all the material furnished by literature and inscriptions—without overloading pages with references otherwise easily accessible—but to classify as far as possible on a basis of origin, formal, dialectal, or geographical.

In the first chapter (*Keltische Namen, Illyrisch-venetische Namen, Neubildungen nach lateinischer Analogie*, pp. 3–61) one sees how the gradual spread of Roman culture, language, and then citizenship throughout the empire caused the extension also of the Roman method of using names and created a demand for new family names. This demand was met not only by the formation of Latin names of foreign origin but also by the use of genuine Roman *cognomina* as a basis for the making of new family names. These names of secondary formation are now for the first time made the subject of a thorough treatment, in which questions of chronology and geographical position receive due attention. Names of Etruscan origin are considered in the second chapter (pp. 62–421), which is a systematic presentation and comparison of Latin and Etruscan names with the purpose of showing the relationship between them where any existed. This study yields results of definite value for the student of Etruscan inscriptions as well as for the student of Latin names, but leaves many a problem for the special investigator, who will now find his materials more ready to his hand than ever before. In the third chapter (*die lateinischen Gentilnamen*, pp. 422–521) those names which show gemination of consonants are first discussed by the author, who here confines himself as a rule to the Italian field. By the aid of inscriptions he attempts, as far as possible, to localize different names and classes of names, wisely recognizing that evidence drawn from C. I. L., vol. VI, is of less value because of the cosmopolitan and heterogeneous character of the population of capital. Great care is taken to trace the relation of secondary formations to their primitives and results are sometimes stated in tabular form (e. g., pp. 432 ff.). After a section devoted to words derived from names of the gods, the whole Roman system in the use of names to distinguish individuals is satisfactorily set forth from the historical point of view. The last chapter is entitled *Gentilnamen und Ortsnamen* (pp. 522–582). Nearly complete as the treatment is, it does not obviate the necessity of reading the admirable sketch of J. Wackernagel (*zu den lateinischen Ethnika*) in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, XIV, pp. 1–24, which appeared about the same time as Schulze's book was published. Several pages of additions and corrections, followed by full and well classified indices, conclude this monumental work, which, though it raises almost as many questions as it answers, is invaluable to students of Latin and the Italic Dialects.

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HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, VOL. XXVIII.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 5-32. The Recruitment of the Roman Army of Egypt in the first and second centuries, by Jean Lesquier. This is a thorough investigation of the sources from which soldiers were drawn and the manner and conditions of enlistment. Incidentally the two uses of the word *ἐπικρίσις* in a technical sense are discussed. The article is of great importance to those who are interested in the history of the Roman army or Roman military affairs.

2. Pp. 33-40. On a Manuscript of Cicero de Inventione, by Jules Lebreton. The MS is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, D. 3. 36. It extends from *bestiis praestare* (120. 30) to *loco producendo* (218. 26). It has never been collated nor even reported. The author describes it, discusses briefly its relation to other MSS, and collates it with the text of Friedrich. The departures from this text occupy five closely printed pages.

3. P. 41. René Pichon emends Orac. Sibyl. VIII. 299, so as to read *ἀλλ' ὅτε ταῦτ' ἄν ἅπαντα κτέ.*

4. P. 42 f. Louis Havet interchanges vv. 331 and 332 of Plaut. Trin., and reads (332) *Mercaturan? an venales?* [Pause.] *Vbi rem perdidit?*

5. Pp. 44-48. Louis Havet emends six passages of Phaedrus.

6. P. 48. In Ov. Met. 8, 150 Louis Havet proposes *spuma ruit* for *pluma fuit*.

7. Pp. 49-55. Latin Studies IV. Félix Gaffiot explains some apparent instances of the indicative in indirect questions after verbs such as *visere*, *observare*, in Plautus, Terence, and Horace.

8. P. 56. A note by F. Gaffiot à propos of an article by Prof. Antoine (Musée Belge, Oct. 15, 1903) on the mood of iteration in Latin.

9. Pp. 57-59. Louis Havet shows that the *De Chorographia* of Pomponius Mela is composed under rhythmical laws like those of Cicero.

10. P. 60. In the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* XIV, 4 f., René Pichon reads *torquebant*, *urebant*, *certantes* etc.

11. Pp. 61-64. *Varia*, by Jules Nicole. 1) Emendation of scholion on Ar. Nub. 156 ff.: for *σφάξαις* read *σφίξαις*. 2) In Ar.

Equ. 1179 for *τόμον* read *γόμεν*. 3) Between vv. 667 and 669 of Verg. Aen. III. something corresponding to the analogous occurrence in Hom. Od. IX is wanting, whether lost in copying, or resulting from the incompleteness of the poem as left by Vergil.

12. Pp. 65-68. A Text of Genesis, by Jules Nicole. In 1896 the author procured at Ghiseh a small piece of parchment containing Gen. XXXVII, 3, 4, and 9, in a mutilated condition. It is in Greek, but is from a version that is not only quite different from the LXX, but was very probably made from a different Hebrew text.

13. P. 69. Louis Havet calls attention to the fact that in MSS of a certain long period the halves of M are like A, and cites several instances of errors originating from this fact.

14. Pp. 70-76. Inscriptions of Clazomenae, by Victor Chapot. The author publishes and discusses four inscriptions, two on mile-stones, two on grave-stones.

15. Pp. 77-80. Book Notices. 1. J. Vendryès. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'Intensité initiale en latin*. Reviewed by A. Ernout, who commends the work as a whole, but enumerates a considerable number of what he considers errors. 2. Two works reviewed together by Albert Martin. a) *Scholia Aristophanica* by William G. Rutherford, London, 1896, Vols. I and II; and b) *Studien zu Aristophanes und den alten Erklärern desselben*, Theil I, von Adolf Römer, Leipzig, 1902. The reviewer, admiring the painstaking care and energy of Rutherford, considers the labor in great measure wasted. He then states the very hostile attitude of Römer's work to Rutherford's, and concurs with Römer's views for the most part. He finally discusses briefly the question as to the number of the copyists that wrote the Ravenna MS of Aristophanes, and the distribution of their work.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 81-102. *Loan Contracts of Amorgos*, by J. Delamarre. This article contains much of great interest to historians. Several inscriptions are critically examined and their bearing on the history of the Cyclades pointed out. Sometimes a single letter, or even part of a letter in a fragmentary inscription is made to contribute an important fact.

2. Pp. 103-121. *The Gigantomachia of Ovid*, by H. de la Ville de Mirmont. In this article the whole subject of the *Titanomachia* and the *Gigantomachia* is discussed, and also the references made by Ovid to his having written or having intended to write a poem on the subject. The conclusion is that he did begin, and may well have finished, such a poem, but was deterred from publishing it by Augustus, as the poem was probably a sort of allegory in which Jupiter was Augustus, and the adulation was such as to make him ridiculous.

3. P. 122. M. L. Earle proposes to suppress Soph. Ant. 46, retaining 45 intact by supposing an ellipsis of *τάφον* implied from 44.

4. Pp. 123-124. M. L. Earle emends six passages of Cicero's Cato Maior.

5. P. 125. Louis Havet proposes in Auson. Technopaegnon 12, 25 haec crucis effigies Palamedica porrigitur *F* (pronounced *Fuū*).

6. Pp. 126-131. Latin Studies, by Félix Gaffiot. V. Explanation of ut in Ter. Hec. 378, and Hor. Sat. I. 4, 13. VI. The Prologue of the Heautontimoroumenos. The author defends the integrity of the text and maintains that there is nothing in the Prologue to show that the play is a contamination.

7. 132-135. The omission of *εἶναι* with *ἔτοιμος*, by E. Harry. In this article it is shown that the tendency to omit the copula with *ἔτοιμος* has been greatly exaggerated, and that in the great majority of examples, it is present.

8. Pp. 136-150. Louis Havet critically discusses and emends twenty passages of Plautus. It is needless to call attention to the importance of this article.

9. Pp. 150-168. Book Notices. 1. A. Meillet. Introduction à l'étude comparée des langues indo-européennes. Paris, 1903. A. Grenier describes and highly praises this work, which is intended for people not familiar with comparative grammar, but may be read with profit by all. 2. Poetarum Graecorum fragmenta auctore U. de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff collecta et edita. Voluminis III fasc. prior Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta edidit Hermannus Diels. Berlin, 1901. Albert Martin describes this work, highly commending it in every respect. 3. Bibliotheca Gothana. C. Sallusti Crispi de Bello Jugurthino liber. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von J. H. Schmalz. Sechste verbesserte Auflage. Gotha, 1904. Félix Gaffiot pronounces this an excellent school-edition. 4. Oeuvres d'Horace publiées avec une introduction philologique et littéraire et des notes. Frédéric Plessis et Paul Lejay. Paris, 1903. Félix Gaffiot considers this an unusually excellent work. He enumerates some minor details that need correction or improvement. 5. R. Pichon. De sermone amatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores. Paris, 1902 (Thèse latine). A. Grenier, after giving a brief analysis, says: Il est un instrument précieux, indispensable désormais pour l'étude des oeuvres élégiaques latins. 6. Nonii Marcelli De Compendiosa Doctrina libros XX Onionsianis copiis usus edidit Wallace M. Lindsay, Vol. I and II. Leipzig, 1903. Reviewed at some length by A. Ernout, who describes the work, and highly praises it, but finds a general fault that leads to numerous special ones,—the hesitation of the author to assume a position of his own, or declare a conviction. This defect, however, is quite insignificant. "M. Thewrewk de Ponor had given us a Festus; now we have a

Nonius". 7. The same work, Vol. III, briefly and to the same effect mentioned by the same reviewer. 8. Lactance. *Étude sur le mouvement philosophique et religieux sous le règne de Constantin*, par René Pichon. Paris, 1901. A. Grenier analyzes this work and criticizes it very favorably, but thinks the author treats too briefly the religious theories of Lactantius. The work discusses the authorship of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, and decides, against Brandt, that the author was Lactantius. 9. Hildegardis *Causae et Curae*, edidit Paulus Kaiser. Leipzig, 1903. Reviewed by A. Ernout. The work, interesting to Latinists and of importance in the history of medicine, had never been fully published. The reviewer gives a list of about ninety errors, some of which are seemingly typographical, and others equally obvious errors of copyists. 10. Hermann Reich, *Der Mimus, ein litterar-entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch*. Berlin, 1903. Reviewed at considerable length by Ph.-E. Legrand. The two volumes that have appeared are only the first part of a great work, the second part of which is to be published in the near future. The great size of the work (900 pages already) is due to the fact that it is not restricted to the ancient Greek and Roman mime proper, but treats of cognate subjects, and that, too, for all countries and all ages. The portion relating to the mime of ancient Greece and Rome is commended by the reviewer. 11. *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817. The Journal of C. R. Cockerell, R. A.* Edited by his son Samuel Pepys Cockerell. London, 1903. B. Haussoullier gives an appreciative analysis, regretting that this interesting journal of the famous archaeologist has been so slow to appear. 12. Paul Cauer, *Palaestra Vitae*. Berlin, 1903. Henri Bornecque finds that this attempt to show that the study of the classics prepares men for practical life, is interesting, but he is not so sure of the soundness of the doctrine though he is himself a Latinist. 13. Franz Skutsch, *Aus Virgils Frühzeit*. Leipzig, 1901. Henri Bornecque, recognizing the ingenuity and the literary merit of this startling attempt to show that Vergil, in the greater part of *Eclogues VI and X*, merely reproduces poems of his friend Cornelius Gallus, rejects the theory as a whole, and finds some special faults. Still he considers the work a very useful one for the study of *Ecl. VI and X* and the *Ciris*. 14. Calpurnius Flaccus, *Declamationes*, edd. G. Lehnert. Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1903. H. B. describes briefly but favorably. The work had been begun by Hugo Dessauer before his death, and his materials were used by the author. 15. A. Gellii, *Noctium Atticarum libri XX post Martinum Herz edidit Carolus Hosius*. Leipzig, 1903. Henri Bornecque pronounces this edition incomparably superior to the one it replaces. 16. *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica ediderunt et curaverunt F. Carrol, H. Leclercq. Vol. I. Reliquiae liturgiae vetustissimae. Sectio prima*. Paris, 1902. Ch. Michel highly praises this work, which contains all relevant matter in the writ-

ings of the Fathers and in inscriptions down to the time of the Council of Nice.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 169-180. Louis Havet critically discusses and emends seven passages of Plautus.

2. Pp. 181-188. Critical notes on the *Metrica* of Hero, by Paul Tannery. These notes were called forth by the appeal of Hermann Schöne in the introduction to his *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, Vol. III. Leipzig, 1903. About sixty-five passages are corrected. Some of these corrections depend on mathematical principles, such as erroneous limits of the value of π (p. 66, 16 f.) ascribed to Archimedes.

3. Pp. 189-197. Notice of the Greek MS 2832 of the National Library (Paris), by H. Omont. This MS is a collection of six different MSS, copied in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. A history and description are given, with the text of a few very short poems hitherto unpublished.

4. Pp. 198-201. A. Grenier critically discusses and emends a few passages of Phaedrus.

5. P. 202. B. H. publishes an inscription relating to a lamp race at Didyma, and announces his intention to discuss the subject in the near future.

6. Pp. 203-212. Georges Romain critically discusses and emends ten passages of Plautus.

7. Pp. 213-217. L. Bayard shows that in *Hor. Sat. I. 10. 44*, *molle atque facetum* is in antithesis to *forte* (43) and agrees with *epos*. The article contains an interesting discussion of the uses of *ἔπος* and *epos*.

8. P. 218. Louis Havet discusses *Ter. Ph. 78*.

9. Pp. 219-220. Louis Havet critically discusses *Cic. Orator 153*.

10. Pp. 221-232. Book Notices. 1. *Homerische Paläste. Eine Studie zu den Denkmälern und zum Epos*, von Ferdinand Noack. Leipzig, 1903. Reviewed by W. Dronna. The substance of the review is well summed up in the remark, "Cette étude, d'une lecture parfois pénible, a donc pour résultat de montrer les différences qui existent entre les palais grecs, crétois, et homériques". 2. Three works noticed together by Albert Martin: a) *The Choëphori of Aeschylus*, by T. G. Tucker, Cambridge, 1901; b) *The Knights of Aristophanes*, by R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1901; c) *Aristophanis Aves*, edidit J. van Leeuwen, Leyden, 1902. The first two, modelled after Jebb's *Sophocles*, are pronounced creditable to English philology. The edition of the *Knights* is posthumous and lacks completion. The edition of the *Birds* is highly commended, but the reflection on

the character of Nicias as having inspired the false charge against Alcibiades in connection with the mutilation of the Hermae is (very justly) rejected with indignation. 3. Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia, Vol. II. Ex codicibus Italicis edidit Hugo Kühlewein. Leipzig, 1902. Briefly noticed by A. M., who is distrustful of the results of the author's attempt to restore the Ionic forms. 4. Two works: a) Xenophontis Hipparchicus, recensuit P. Cerrocchi, Berlin, 1901; b) Xenophontis de re equestri libellus, recensuit V. Tommasini, Berlin, 1902. A. M. briefly describes these works and concludes: Ces deux éditions, pourvues d'un appareil critique aussi complet qu'il peut l'être aujourd'hui, constituent certainement un progrès très sérieux. 5. Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form von Friedrich Leo. Leipzig, 1901. Albert Martin finds this book very meritorious despite illogical distribution of material. 6. Krause. De Apollodori comicis. Berlin, 1903. Mentioned by Ph. E. Legrand, who regards this doctor-dissertation as proving that there were two Apollodori comici. 7. Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache, herausgegeben von G. Landgraf. Dritter Band. Erstes Heft. Einleitung in die Geschichte der lateinischen Syntax (Golling). Tempora et Modi-Genera Verbi (Blase). Leipzig, 1903. A. Grenier analyzes this work at some length, for the most part favorably, but regrets that the typography is unattractive and confusing. 8. A Latin Grammar by William Gardner Hale and Carl Darling Buck. Boston and London, 1903. J. Lebreton commends this book with considerable warmth, even the parts which he calls a "réforme hardie". 9. Exulum trias, scripsit H. M. R. Leopold, Goudae, 1904. Mentioned by E. Ernout. The triad consists of Cicero, Ovid and Seneca. Though a doctor-dissertation, the work seems to contribute nothing. 10. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, recensuit Herm. Boenig. Leipzig, 1903. Commended by A. Ernout. 11. Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen, von Ernst Maas. Berlin, 1902. Ch. Dubois gives an analysis of this work, which treats thoroughly the whole subject of the seven gods to whom the days of the week belonged. 12. Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Iw. v. Müller. —Martin Schanz. Geschichte der römischen Litteratur. Vierter Teil: Die römische Litteratur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians. Erste Hälfte. Die Litteratur des vierten Jahrhunderts. Reviewed by A. Grenier. An analysis is given, with very favorable criticism. 13. A History of Classical Scholarship from the sixth century B. C. to the end of the Middle Ages, by John Edwin Sandys. Cambridge, 1903. A. Ernout praises this work and considers it very useful.

No. 4.

1. Pp. 233-249. À propos of fragments of Philolaos on Music, by Paul Tannery. This article is of very great importance in the history of music, but a précis would be of no value.

2. Pp. 250-255. The elocutionist *Alfius Flavus*, by H. de la Ville de Mirmont. This article is devoted to matters connected with the schools of rhetoric in Rome, especially their influence on Ovid and his influence in turn on the pupils of rhetoric. The date of *Alfius Flavus* is discussed, and his relationship to the praetor of the same name of B. C. 54 is pronounced to be that of grandson or great-grandson, if any at all.

3. P. 255. M. L. Earle calls attention to the relation between Isocr. Pan. 149 *τελευτῶντες . . . γεγόνασιν* and Xen. Anab. 2. 4. 4 *οὐ γάρ ποτε . . . ἀπήλθομεν*.

4. Pp. 256-273. Louis Havet critically discusses and emends thirty passages of Plautus.

5. Pp. 274-282. *Metrologica*: unpublished fragments of Florentinus, by Daniel Serruys. MS 507 of the monastery of Vatopedi (Mount Athos) ends with six treatises on Metrology. Serruys describes these, and gives the text of the third one: *Ἐκ τῶν Φλωρεντίνου περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*, which consists of four extracts. Then he adds an interesting discussion.

6. Pp. 283-292. A new MS of the *Opus Paschale* of Sedulius, by Jules Candel. The MS is in the library of Orleans (No. 303). Candel collates it, giving a vast number of variants.

7. P. 292. Georges Romain calls attention to the fact that his emendation of *Aulularia* 156 in the preceding number, p. 208, was anticipated by L. Havet fifteen years ago.

8. Pp. 293-303. Book Notices. 1. Collection Raoul Warocqué. *Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines*, Nos. 101-240. Mariemont, 1904. B. Haussoullier praises the taste and zeal of the collector, and finds the catalogue excellent, but with a few faults. 2. A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian by Carl D. Buck. Boston, 1904. A. Grenier highly commends the manner of presenting facts, but regrets that Latin was made the sole basis of comparison. The book does not profess to contribute new facts. 3. H. Bosscher. *De Plauti Curculione disputatio*. Leyden, 1903. Georges Romain, disapproving the method, finds the work otherwise "one of the most remarkable". Still he adds a long list of details in which he thinks the author is in error. 4. M. Acci *Plauti Amphitruo*. Editio Aurelius Josephus Amatucci. Bari, 1903. G. R. finds but one thing to praise: the misprints are comparatively rare. 5. Plauto. *I. Captivi*, col commento di Carlo Pascal. Seconda edizione. Milano, 1904. Georges Romain considers the commentary excellent but a little prolix. The critical part of the work he does not so heartily approve. The review contains a number of special criticisms. 6. Carlo Pascal. *Sul carme "De ave Phoenix"* attribuito a Lattanzio. Naples, 1904. René Pichon approves the conclusions reached in this pamphlet, for instance, that the poem is not of Christian origin. 7. R. Dedo. *De antiquorum superstitione*

amatoria. Gryphiae, 1904. René Pichon considers this doctor dissertation valuable despite a few doubtful assertions. 8. L. Homo. Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fasc. 89. Paris, 1904. A. Grenier reviews at considerable length, and considers the work as contributing to our knowledge and at the same time serving as a model of historic research.

The Revue des Revues, begun in a previous number, is completed in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXI (1902).

Janvier.

A. Thomas. Problèmes étymologiques. 13 pages. The etymologies discussed are those of "caillou" and "trouver".

C. H. Grandgent. Dante and St. Paul. 14 pages. The object of the article is to explain two difficult passages, one in the *Vita Nuova* and one in the *Paradiso*, and, incidentally, to throw some light upon Dante's conception of visions in general and the relation of his own vision to that of St. Paul.

Pio Rajna. L'Episodio delle Questioni d'Amore nel Filocolo del Boccaccio. 54 pages. Prof. Rajna demonstrates that Boccaccio's Decamerone was the evolution of the Questioni d'Amore in his Filocolo. Incidentally it is shown that the Decamerone is due to a mingling of Oriental, Classical and French influences combined by his own powerful imagination.

Lazare Sainéan. Les Éléments orientaux en Roumain III-V. 18 pages. The author has divided his article into: Considérations morphologiques; Considérations sémantiques; Le lexique.

Mélanges. G. Paris, Une Fable à retrouver. Ad. Mussafia, Per un passo del Romanzo Flamenca. A. Delboulle, Fragment d'un mystère du XV^e siècle. A. Delboulle, Loinceul, linsell, locel, etc. Charles Joret, Huterel. Ov. Densusianu, Roum. îndatîna, datîna. Giacomo de Gregorio, It. (a) bizzateffe. E. Rolland, Dérivés parisiens de mome.

G. Paris. Corrections sur Sone de Nansai. 20 pages. Remarks on the edition of Moritz Goldschmidt.

Comptes rendus. Prof. Dr. Enrico Zaccaria, L'Elemento germanico nella lingua italiana (C. Cipriani). Alfred Pillet, Das Fableau von den Trois Bossus ménestrels und verwandte Erzählungen früher und später Zeit (G. Paris). Marcellin Boudet, Registres consulaires de Saint-Flour en langue romane avec résumé français (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Revue des langues romanes*, XLII-XLIII (P. Meyer). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXV, 5-6 (G. Paris). *Studj di Filologia romanza*, VIII (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Memorial volume for Prof. Dr. Wendelin Förster. Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer, *Fragmenta Burana*. L. Delisle et P. Meyer, *l'Apocalypse en français*.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 25 titres. *The Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin*, by John J. Schlicher. (Dissertation de Chicago: "Le travail de M. Schlicher paraît fait avec beaucoup de réflexion et repose sur un dépouillement consciencieux des faits.") *Zur lateinischen und romanischen Metrik*, von Prof. Dr. Friedrich Hanssen. *A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances*, by Anna Hunt Billings. ("Ce travail très consciencieusement fait répond à un vrai besoin et sera souvent et utilement consulté.") *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, by Timothy Cloran.

Avril et Juillet.

J. Leite de Vasconcellos. *Canção de Sancta Fides de Agen*: texto provençal. 24 pages. Editio princeps from a manuscript in the University Library at Leiden.

E. Philippon. *Les Accusatifs en -on et en -ain*. 51 pages. Discussion of a Germanic or a Latin origin, the question being decided in favor of the latter. G. Paris accepts this view in a foot-note.

P. Meyer. *La Vie et la translation de Saint Jacques le Majeur*: Mise en prose d'un poème perdu. 22 pages. Publication of a Latin and a French text.

C. Salvioni. *Etimologie*. 22 pages. Discussion of forty etymologies.

J. A. Candréa-Hecht. *Étymologies roumaines*. 19 pages. Discussion of twenty-seven etymologies.

A. Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans merci et ses imitations*: IV. *La Cruelle femme en amour d'Achille Caulier*. Critical edition of the text from three manuscripts.

A. Delboulle. *Mots obscurs et rares de l'ancienne langue française*. 26 pages. This is the first instalment of a long lexicological study based on a wide reading in Old French literature.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, *Satire en vers rythmiques sur la Légende de Saint Brendan*. P. Meyer, *Poème en quatrains sur la Pécheresse de l'Évangile*. A. Mussafia, *Flamenca* 2761 sgg. Fr. Wulff, *Les premières ébauches de Pétrarque après le 19 mai 1348*. A. Delboulle, *Caule et ses dérivés*. A. Delboulle, *Crane*. A. Thomas, *Ancien franç. Fauterne*. J. Loth, *Ganelon et le breton Ganas*.

Comptes rendus. W. Meyer-Lübke, Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft (Mario Roques). W. Förster und E. Koschwitz, Altfranzösisches Uebungsbuch (P. Meyer). M. Enneccerus, Versbau und gesanglicher Vortrag des ältesten französischen Liedes (Al. François). A. Marignan, La Tapisserie de Bayeux (G. Paris). W. Förster, Kristian von Troyes "Cligés" (J. Mettrop). G. Gröber, Altfranzösische Glossen (Am. Salmon). Karl Kemna, Der Begriff "Schiff" im Französischen (A. Thomas). Charlotte-J. Cipriani, Étude sur quelques noms propres d'origine germanique (A. Thomas). U. Lindelöf et A. Wallensköld, Les Chansons de Gautier d'Épinal (A. Jeanroy). G. Steffens, Der kritische Text der Gedichte von Richart de Semilli (A. Jeanroy). Uppsatser i romansk filologi tillägnade Prof. P. A. Geijer (G. Paris).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVI 1-3 discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Archivio glottologico italiano, XV 3 e suppl. VII, discussion of etymologies (M. Roques). Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, XXII (E. M.). Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, XXII-XXIII (A. Jeanroy). Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français, 1901.

Chronique. Obituary notices on Wilhelm Hertz, Charles Potvin and Lorédan Larchey. Account of Prof. Gröber's Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, which was completed in 1902.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 19 titles. Roger Grand, Les plus anciens textes romans de la Haute-Auvergne. Dr. Carl Voretzsch, Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache. Karl Kneuer. Die Sprichwörter Hendyngs. Alberto Zenatti, Il trionfo d'Amore.

Octobre.

A. Thomas. Les Substantifs abstraits en -ier et le suffixe -arius. 18 pages. Discussion of a number of theories which have been advanced within the last half-century.

C. Nigra. Notes étymologiques et lexicales. 28 pages. Discussion of eight groups of etymologies, chiefly Italian.

Gaston Raynaud. Un nouveau manuscrit du Petit Jean de Saintré. 30 pages. Discussion of the contents and value of the nine manuscripts known to be extant, and more especially of that of a manuscript recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Lazare Sainéan. Les Éléments orientaux en Roumain. 33 pages. The following classes of words are distinguished: Emprunts osmanlis communs; Emprunts isolés (Emprunts valaques; Emprunts moldaves).

Mélanges. P. E. Guarnerio, Particella pronominali sarde. A. Thomas, Anc. franç. Gers. A. Thomas, Anc. franc. Moule de

frument. Anton Wallner, Sur le poème latin des Misères de la vie humaine. P. Meyer, Un nouveau texte de la pièce Flors de Paradis. Arthur Piaget, Un manuscrit de la Cour amoureuse de Charles VI.

Comptes rendus. A Ernesto Monaci: Scritti vari di filologia (G. Paris). Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie: Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster (G. Paris). A. Pillet, Studien zur Pastourelle (A. Jeanroy). G. Thureau, Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson (A. Jeanroy).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXVI 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Romanische Forschungen, XI-XIII (G. Paris). Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie III-IV (G. Paris).

Chronique. A professorship of Romance Philology has recently been created at Bucarest. E. Löseth's study of the British Museum manuscripts of the prose Tristan.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 25 titles. Kate Oelzner Petersen, The Sources of the Parson's Tale ("Miss Petersen, dont nous avons apprécié naguère le remarquable travail sur un autre conte de Chaucer, a soumis le Parson's Tale à une patiente et méthodique investigation"). Paget Toynbee, Dante Studies and Researches ("Il est inutile d'insister sur la valeur de ces travaux, par lesquels l'auteur s'est rapidement acquis une haute position entre les connaisseurs de Dante"). Paget Toynbee, Dante Alighieri ("La plus grande partie de cet agréable livre est consacrée à la vie de Dante").

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

Professor EARLE has displayed in his edition of the *Medea* (American Book Company) the same nice knowledge of Greek idiom and the same faculty of neat statement that made his *Oedipus* something out of the common run of college text-books and brought it within the range of the Journal (A. J. P. XXII 227). This nice knowledge of Greek has bred in him, as it is wont to do, fastidiousness as to the tradition, and for some years Professor EARLE has occupied an almost solitary eminence among American Hellenists as a conjectural critic; and so we find that in his edition of the *Medea*, he has incorporated into the text a considerable number of conjectures of his own. These alone would attract the attention of Professor EARLE's 'peers' to whom he appeals in his preface. The trouble about such an appeal is the constitution of the jury and the right of unlimited challenge that resides in the appellant. The other characteristic of Professor EARLE'S book—the diligent pursuit of the phenomena of diction and syntax—will commend his notes to those who are studying Greek by themselves and need the guidance of an experienced teacher. The ordinary drill-master, on the other hand, will be somewhat resentful of the magisterial way, in which Professor EARLE has anticipated the usual questions of the classroom. Nor will the references to the current grammars satisfy the partisans of those manuals and I, for one, am sorry to see so pretty a book disfigured by strings of letters which have been inserted in obedience to commercial exigencies, and, I fear, all in vain. If all the grammars are not cited, then the questions will arise: Who maketh G to differ? Who maketh HA to differ? Why cite GS when G or HA will suffice? Why make any note at all, when such and such a grammar is at hand? My own example as a text-book maker has not been such a shining success that I can venture to give advice, but in the only Greek authors that I have edited, I have deliberately cut loose from all references, and have taken the ground that if a thing is worthy of notice, it is worthy of succinct statement. If there are to be references, let them be made, as they are in some editions, to a grammatical synopsis in the book itself.

In running over the notes, I have noticed some little *ludi magister* matters, in which it seems to me that Professor EARLE'S persistency in making points, his didacticism, so to speak, has

been a snare to him. So, for instance, 'v. 33: ἀτιμάσας ἔχει = ἡτίμακε. This analytical perfect is noticeably common in Sophocles. In such a verb as ἴστημι, it is the only possible form for the transitive perf. act.' Here we have either too much or too little. Why Sophokles and not Aischylos, who according to Dindorf has but one example? If ἴστημι is to be mentioned, why not the lack of perfect forms elsewhere? Why not cite v. 90 as an example of the indispensableness of the analytical perfect? But when we come to v. 90, we are told oracularly that 'ἐρμήσας ἔχε is more than ἡρήμωκε', as if the 2 p. perf. imper. act. had anything but a death-in-life existence in the paradigms. V. 65, σίθεν for σου 'is one of the archaisms affected by Euripides. Incidentally it serves admirably to fill out the line'. Mommsen's remark on σίθεν is worth recording but the latter part of the note implies that this is a metrical trick of Euripides, and if this half-sneer at the poet is justified, we should expect a similar note on πρὸς = ὑπό, an equation which Professor EARLE makes repeatedly in his commentary. πρὸς is commended metrically quite as much as σίθεν. It avoids hiatus before ὑπ'. It avoids the lilt of ὑπό, the same lilt that has banished ἀποθανεῖν from tragedy in favour of κατθανεῖν. V. 95, 'μὴ φίλους is, strictly speaking, redundant after ἐχθρούς'. The negative statement is not a redundancy but a reinforcement. See Professor EARLE's own note on v. 36, repeated v. 276. V. 310: ὅπως ἦγεν: 'according to the promptings of your heart'. 'The imperfect in ἦγεν marks the persistence of the emotion that led to the action described in the aorist ἐξίδου', just as ἔως with the aorist is regularly preceded by the imperfect. But in the present form, the note seems to me utterly otiose. Professor EARLE's translation suggests the lesson, ἦγεν 'promptings', ἦγαγεν 'prompting', the imperfect representing the plural. Three barleycorns make one inch, three stars, say the rabbis, make one night, three aorists make one imperfect. And then there is the *pluralis maiestatis*, ἐκέλευεν, 'gave orders', not 'order'. The imperfect ἦγε is often used, where some critics write ἦγαγεν quite unnecessarily. So ἀγειν where some people expect ἀγαγεῖν. V. 316, 'In these two verses, we have a variant of the familiar contrast overworked by Thucydides, though a commonplace of Greek style, between λόγος "fiction" and ἔργον "fact". Of course, the polarity of 'word' and 'deed' is as old as 'word' and 'deed', and it is not necessary to cite Kemmer (A. J. P. XXIV 361) to prove it. But the polarity of λόγος, practically a post-Homeric word, and ἔργον belongs to the rationalistic movement of the fifth century and if Thucydides overworked it, he overworked a comparatively new toy, as some people overwork Greek syntax. He overworked it as he overworked the articular infinitive, as he overworked the substantivized adjective and participle, and Professor EARLE's note on Med. 178: τό γ' ἐμὸν πρόθυμον, quickens my regret that I did not select better examples (S. C. G. p. 16) to show the affinity of Thucydides and Euripides in this regard. Much more striking than Med. 178 are Hec. 299: τῷ θυμονμένῳ,

Hipp. 248: τὸ μαινόμενον and I. A. 1270: τὸ κείνου βουλόμενον. V. 474: It is halfly correct to say that λυπήσῃ is the Attic form for both continuative (imperfect) and aorist future passive. 'Cobet's authority has been shaken by the testimony of the stones', as Mr. Wyse points out in his *Isaeus*, p. 207. V. 597: ἔρῃμα δώμασιν: 'with the same cadence as in *Bacch.* 55: ἀλλ' ὃ λιπούσαι Τμῶλον, ἔρῃμα Λυδίας. The dative of interest in this passage might have been a genitive'. But the two passages are typically different. ἔρῃμα Λυδίας, is a mere definition. ἔρῃμα δώμασιν shows a present practical interest. A pretty example of the shift is Andokid. 1, 117: ἦν θεῖός μοι, ἀδελφὸς τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς. V. 718: τοιάδ' οἶδα φάρμακα: 'this form of expression, native to English as to Greek, is logically a reversal of the order of cause and effect. Logical would be τοιάδε δ' οἶδα φάρμακα ὥστε πνύσω σ' ὄν' ἀπαιδα'. A remark of this sort is positively hurtful, unless it is accompanied by the statement that the 'logical' form of expression is a stranger to Greek, so far as we know, down to a comparatively late time. The absence of the consecutive construction is one of the most striking features of Homeric syntax and the conception is not to be thrust into poetry.

But Professor EARLE will say: Relinque aliquantum orationis cras quod mecum litiges, and I turn to the feature of his edition first mentioned—his conjectures,—though all that I have to say of them is that they recall to my mind, by way of contrast, the brief note of WEIL in his new edition of the *Hippolytus*. 'Ces changements', he says, in recording the variations from his previous texts, 'ces changements—sont pour la plupart des retours au texte des manuscrits'. Perhaps when Professor EARLE reaches the age of the great Hellenist, whom we both admire, the *n*th edition of the *Medea* may contain a similar remark. The fact is that though I was trained by scholars who were far from averse to conjectural criticism, the hosts of extemporaneous restorations, or, as a good friend of mine would call them, 'autoschediastic repristinations', such as are poured forth by the veteran Blaydes and other scholars, have bewildered me so that I have settled down glumly to making the best of tradition; and I feel sorry for the future editor of the *Odyssey*, who will doubtless regard it his duty to register all the corrections that Mr. AGAR has set forth in the latest number of the *Journal of Philology*. They take up no less than fifty pages out of 128; and I hope that I shall be forgiven for prizing above all this critical acumen and creative ingenuity the few pages Mr. CECIL BENDALL occupies with his notes on the pronunciation of Greek as deduced from Graeco-Indian Bilingual Coins, B. C. 180-20. But instead of making any further confession of my own weakness in regard to conjectural criticism, I yield the floor of *Brief Mention* for a space to Mr. KENYON, whose words on this subject will carry more weight than mine.

The earlier the MS, the better, is a critical canon that was rudely shaken by the discovery of ancient papyri (cf. A. J. P. VI 109, XIII 383), and Dr. Kenyon's paper on the *Evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism*, read January 27, 1904, before the British Academy is thoroughly disillusioning. 'The earliest papyri', he says, 'in spite of their difference in character from their successors, do not materially affect our conclusion as to the authenticity of our generally received texts'. 'Some errors are shown to be of earlier origin even than our papyri; and where the papyri do help us, they so rarely (on the whole) confirm the conjectures which critics have proposed as to make us doubt the power of modern scholarship without their aid'. 'It cannot be denied that in general the papyri do not support the conjectures of modern scholars. When they do, the variations have been generally small; in no case, it may safely be said, has any sweeping change been justified by the papyri'. 'Of the two aids upon which textual criticism is wont to rely in dealing with a doubtful text, the acumen of the critic and the scientific handling of the documentary evidence, the former is shown to be of very limited value. The chances against successful divination are great; and even if a critic should chance to be right, it is hardly possible to demonstrate his success. Consequently the presumption will always be against any emendation (except the simpler corrections of a newly discovered text) until documentary evidence can be produced in its support. But when documentary evidence is producible, then critical scholarship has its proper function to decide between the alternatives offered and often to prefer the evidence of a single witness to that of a considerable number. But even here the papyri have weakened its resources'. 'The papyri have shown us decisively in some cases, and allow us to argue by analogy to others, that <the> family-divisions <of MSS> are of relatively late origin, and that the better MSS have no sort of monopoly of ancient and correct readings'. 'In future, the editor will have to be prepared to find the truth not unfrequently among the witnesses who are usually inferior, and to exercise a freer judgment in deciding between them'. These are sweeping sentences and must call forth, if they have not already called forth, very active gain-saying on the part of those who are endowed with a quickness of vision and a readiness of resource that are denied to the pedestrian members of the philological guild, the ἀπτήνες ἐφημέριοι ταλαὶ βροτοί on whom the Immortal Birds look down with undisguised contempt. And yet one is tempted to see in recent critical work some signs of the liberty regained, of which Dr. KENYON speaks, and wider eclecticism is beginning to make itself felt. At all events, Mr. Wyse's aphorism (Isaeus p. 336) will hardly apply to Mr. KENYON. 'The most tenacious upholders of MS authority are generally people who have not studied MSS'.

The fact that my own style has been pronounced 'bad' by the *Saturday Review* and 'unscholarly' by the *Spectator* has not in any way dampened my ardor in the study of the elements of literary composition. If the sentence is just, I am no worse off than the great majority of the guild to which I belong; and time brings with it many consolations. Gildersleeve's Pindar, said a superfine critic, nearly twenty years ago, 'is not a Pindaric book', but since the ancient date of that criticism, I have read some judgments on Pindar that might cause Mr. VERRALL to change his opinion. WILAMOWITZ says of Pindar 'Der adelsstolze Aegide schrickt nicht vor dem hässlichen zurück'. SCHROEDER remarks 'Geben wir uns doch keinen Illusionen hin. Gerade im Gebrauch der Metaphern ist Pindars Kunst noch roh und ungeläutert'. But the characteristic of all characteristics is the one that I owe to the kindness of a friend, who has sent me the following extract from J. HART'S *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* (I 247): In seinen Adern rollt das schwere Blut des Bööters und wie ein Mastodont stampft dieser Dichter durch die Haine der hellenischen Dichtung denn auch dahin, schwer und wuchtig'. So perhaps my book is a Pindaric book after all.

Since which things are so, undismayed I continue to study the old rusty canons of style and to treasure the *obiter dicta* of critics, far inferior to the one I am about to cite. In an essay written shortly before his lamented death KARL HILLEBRAND made an observation which left so deep an impression on my mind that I can hardly be wrong as to the substance of it, though I have not been able to verify the passage itself. Every cultivated Englishman, he wrote in effect, reads French, but how many can distinguish between French styles? How many can measure the distance that separates Prosper Mérimée and Octave Feuillet? Now this is a home-thrust at the mob of people who read French as they do English, but there are not so many, even of those born to the English tongue who could give any reasoned account of the difference between the most strongly contrasted English styles. And when it comes to comparing national styles, French style as a whole with English style as a whole, the most determined analyst might well give it up in despair. But we Americans are a very resolute set and in the preface to his translation of CROISSET'S *Abridged History of Greek Literature* (Macmillan), Professor HEFFELBOWER does not hesitate to give us the conclusion of the whole matter in a few pregnant words. 'The innate quality of dignified French style', he says, 'is brilliance; while that of even the most polished English style is majesty'. And, what is more, he has undertaken to live up to his canon. The brilliance of the CROISSETS is to be the majesty of HEFFELBOWER. Of course, my curiosity, as a student of style, was piqued by this confession of faith and profession of practice and I read eagerly

page after page, finding, to my intense disappointment that the English suggested everywhere a retranslation into French. If the experiment had been a success, this would have been impossible. In the first place the periodology seemed to be French throughout and the particles betrayed the translator; and I could not suppress the question: 'If these things are done in CROISSET, what would have been done in the Goncourts, who boasted that they were untranslatable?' But I am a timid soul and distrust impressionistic criticism. So I began to compare the HEFFELBOWER rendering with the original, and turned to the page devoted to Hipponax for closer study. Hipponax belongs to the tramp class, for which we all have a weakness in literature, and I thought that p. 110 would give a good opportunity to compare the brilliance of Paris with the majesty of Waukesha. The disillusionment was great. Everybody knows that Hipponax was a little, scrawny, misshapen fellow and ALFRED CROISSET says of him, 'Il était, dit-on, petit et contrefait'. The brilliance of this sentence, I confess, it is hard to discern, but still harder the majesty of HEFFELBOWER'S rendering—'Men said he was petty and counterfeit'.

Now this blunder is so preposterous that at first I doubted whether it could be matched in the 562 pp. of Professor HEFFELBOWER'S version. But I am genuinely sorry to say that it is not a solitary slip but only a majestic specimen. For I yield to no one in my admiration of the CROISETS, and I had hoped that we should have a brief history of Greek literature that should be neither dry nor deliquescent nor frivolous (A. J. P. XXV 234), and if it cannot be had in English and cannot be illustrated by English literature, a good translation from such French masters as the CROISETS would serve an excellent purpose. But my hopes are dashed. True, the translator in his Preface thanks the authors for the reading of the manuscript before it went to press. But we all know what that amounts to. The *Athenaeum* of Oct. 29 says that 'Mr. Heffebower has done his part of the work well'. But reviewers learn to distrust reviewers. The *Nation* of January 12 points out some sad mistakes in the translation of the specimens of Greek literature, the rare specimens selected by the Croisets for the illustration of the text, but the false translations and poor translations are not confined to these parts of the book. 'The translation is fluent enough', says the *Nation*, and so it is. And that is the worst of it, or to quote Rudyard Kipling, in 'The Old Men', 'and that is the hell of it'. I open the book at Chapter XV on Aristophanes. 'Enfant de génie' is rendered 'talented youth'. 'Enfant de génie' may be 'brilliant' and 'talented youth' 'majestic', and, though I have not forgotten Coleridge's disapproval of 'talented', I forbear. But what is this? 'Already

(*déjà, schon*) a moralist and a sharp critic of the new tendencies, he followed the fashion of the day in making his plays educational'. Now there is a strong didactic tendency in all Greek comedy as in all Greek literature, and though every Greek scholar knows that the *Δαιταλῆς* was a forerunner of the Clouds in its assaults on the education of the day, the sentence might pass. But what says M. MAURICE CROISET, for it is Maurice and not Alfred that speaks this time—a fact we should never have learned from the translator? 'Déjà moraliste et critique acerbe des tendances nouvelles il y faisait le procès de l'éducation à la mode'. Even if Professor HEFFELBOWER had known less French than he seems to know, an elementary knowledge of Greek literature would have saved him here as it would have saved him in the passage about Hipponax. I turn to the section on Isokrates (p. 361) by ALFRED CROISET. 'Isokrates', we are told, 'completed his education under Gorgias, then retired to Thessaly, and returned to Athens to practice the profession of a logographer'. The original shows that it was Gorgias who had retired to Thessaly and not Isokrates. 'Questions of inheritance, fraud, *injustice*, seemed paltry to him'. A question of injustice is never paltry, not even when it pertains to translations from the French. But the original has 'injures', and everyone who has read Lysias catches the allusion to Lys. VIII κατηγορία πρὸς τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς κακολογιῶν. 'What has given <Isokrates> the considerable place he holds in the history of Greek prose is his *declamatory orations and his discourses of instruction*', gives us a false and misleading version of 'ses discours d'apparat et son enseignement'. But this is small game for a philological journal, and Professor HEFFELBOWER might have escaped *Brief Mention*, if it had not been for the daring generalization of his preface and the bold assertion of his own ideal. Doubtless he has learned much from close communion with such admirable scholars as the CROISETS who are singular in their ability to translate grammatical and linguistic phenomena into literary characteristic, just as Mrs. CUST (A. J. P. XXI 476) must have learned a great deal about semantics from her rendering of BRÉAL's *Sémantique*, which, by the way, has reached its third edition, but it is little short of a crime for any one but an accomplished Greek scholar to meddle with such a work of art as CROISET. The abridged CROISET is 'not a work of erudition' says the author's preface, but it is based on erudition. To understand CROISET one must know the subject at first hand. Gibbon was translated by Guizot, Karl Otfried Müller by Karl Hillebrand, and the CROISETS deserved a better fate.

M. BRÉAL has warned us against personification (XVIII 368). Yet given *la langue* and *le langage*, who would not choose *la langue*? Language is a woman, a queen, a coquette, with all the audacities, all the pudencies of the sex; now outspoken,

now reticent; now *décolletée*, now *collet monté*; one thing in the street, another in the ball-room, yet another in the water. Every student of language notices these things. Language is perfectly capable of murdering a child and putting flowers on its grave. The English dative has been killed. Its inheritance has been given to the accusative and yet when it comes to turning the dead dative into a nominative along with the accusative there is a certain recalcitrancy, as English grammarians have noticed (A. J. P. XXIII 18). 'I was read a letter' hurts. Promote a drudge to be a noble (A. J. P. XXIII 11). Elevate the articular infinitive. Give it the *σεμνότης* of a verbal noun. But mark! it is a 'persönlicher Adel' such as is bestowed on professors in Germany. It has no plural. It must after all make its obeisance to the verbal noun. French has no scruples—*les devoirs*, *les pouvoirs*. Of course, there is no way of making a plural to the infinitive in Greek or in Latin, but the language ought to have thought of that before. These limitations in the use of the infinitive are very interesting as showing a subconsciousness of language, or of the users of language, if you choose. In my note on Persius 1, 9: *nostrum id vivere triste* I said, 'This is a so-called *figura Graeca* which out-Greeks the Greeks. *Scire tuum* v. 27; *ridere meum* v. 122; *velle suum* 5, 53; *sapere nostrum* 6, 38 cannot be rendered literally into the language from which they are supposed to be imitated'. This was in 1875 before anybody paid any attention to American work in grammar and the challenge was not noticed. I came back to the subject in my article on the articular infinitive (*Transactions Am. Phil. Ass.* 1878, p. 3): In classic Greek there is no parallel for certain Latin constructions, such as are usually set down as Hellenisms. In such Greek as that of Ignatius we are not surprised to find, Ep. ad Eph. 3: τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν 11: τὸ ἀλήθινον ζῆν, ad Magn. 1: τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ζῆν; 5: τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ, all vulgarisms or Latinisms. But the traditional view persists, and in an elaborate article on the Latin substantivized infinitive (cf. A. J. P. VIII 103) Wölfflin speaks of Greek influence, as does Brenous (A. J. P. XVII 520). In an Upsala dissertation of 1893 Nordenstam, who has made use of my work, brushes my remark aside and cites passages from Plotinus, as if Plotinus counted among the classic Greek authors. And even Plotinus has not the hardihood to put the possessive genitive between the article and the infinitive except once, as Nordenstam himself notes. Now it seems to me passing strange that there should not be a solitary survival of τὸ ἡμέτερον ζῆν in the whole range of classical Greek literature and that the only way in which it has come down to us is through the Latin reproduction of it. In his notes on Schepers' edition of Alkiphron, Rh. M. LVIII 454, Bücheler postulates the Greek construction, writes I 9, 3: ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ κερδαίνειν, translates Plautus's, *tuum amare* (Curc. 28) τὸ σὸν ἐρᾶν and makes merry over the commentators of fifty years syne, who would not accept the reading of the MSS in X. Anab. VII 7. 24 ἄλλων τὸ ἥδη κολάζειν—an impossible con-

struction, said the old duffers, who cited the other old duffers, Matthiä and Rost. But Matthiä had read more Greek than most Greek grammarians and Rost was a man of excellent sense and while Krüger has shown conclusively (§ 47 10, 2) that the articular infinitive can take the genitive, every example cited by him has the genitive outside of the complex and the example that he adduces from Herodotos IX 58, 2: Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῦμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, is not a possessive genitive unless we choose to call θαυμάζω τί τινος an instance of a possessive genitive. It is not the possessive genitive, strictly speaking. Kühner-Gerth (II 2, 37) calls it the subjective genitive but the possessive genitive may be subjective as well; and nearly all the examples are clearly partitive as is the genitive with parts of the body and if the personification we call language is too dainty to put the genitive between the article and the infinitive, it was too dainty to combine the possessive pronoun with the articular infinitive. In the absence of further evidence, then, *nostrum vivere* is vulgar Latin or at most pseudo-Greek, like some of the French phrases that have to be interpreted to a Frenchman.

G. L. H.: In his edition of *du Bellay's La Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904) M. HENRI CHAMARD has given us a fitting complement to his very meritorious doctorate thesis upon the author, published in 1900. It is bound to be cited as the standard edition, as it gives an exact reproduction of the original edition of 1549 without the inaccuracies found in Person's edition, hitherto considered the best. The student of the French language owes the editor a debt of gratitude for the variants of all the editions of the sixteenth century, which are to be found in the critical apparatus. In the notes the editor has been the first to point out the sources of a number of passages in the treatise, and the illustrative citations from contemporary writers show a wide acquaintance with the literature of the period. Further, the notes upon points of philological matter have a merit, found in very few editions of French works of the sixteenth century.

Professor HERBERT A. STRONG, Liverpool University, is engaged in translating Müller and Deecke's *Etrusker*. The latest discovered inscriptions in the Etruscan language will be given.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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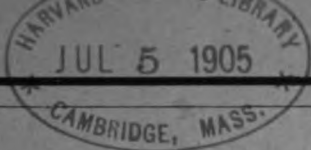
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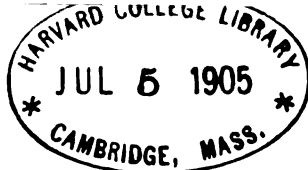
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I.—ECCLESIASTES.

COPYRIGHT, 1905, BY PAUL HAUPT.

The Book of Ecclesiastes¹ is unparalleled in the whole range of Biblical Literature. Ernest Renan spoke of it as the only charming book that was ever written by a Jew. Heinrich Heine called it the Canticles of Skepticism, while Franz Delitzsch thought it was entitled to the name of the Canticles of the Fear of God. From the earliest times down to the present age Ecclesiastes has attracted the attention of thinkers. It was a favorite book of Frederick the Great, who referred to it as a Mirror of Princes. But Biblical students of all ages have experienced some difficulties about this remarkable production. Some in the Jewish Church denied the inspired character of the work, until the synod of Jabneh (90 A. D.) decided in favor of the canonicity of the Book. The genuine portions of Ecclesiastes are out of place in the Canon. Their author is not a theologian, but a man of the world, probably a physician, with keen observation, penetrating insight, and vast experience.²

I believe that the genuine portions of Ecclesiastes were written by a prominent Sadducean physician in Jerusalem, who was born at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) and died in the first decade of the reign of Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B. C.).³ Ecclesiastes may have been a son of David, just as Jesus and Hillel⁴

were sons of David; he may even have been a king in Jerusalem, if we take *king* to mean *head of a school*.¹ The term *king* is used in this way in the Talmud (Gitt. 62^a; Ber. 64^a). The Book was probably published after the death of the author, who may have worked on it for more than forty years. Nietzsche would have called it *eins der erlebtesten Bücher*. The three or four interpolations⁵ suggesting that this pessimistic poem was a work of the wise king of Israel, Solomon ben-David (about 950 B. C.) may be due to the friends of the author, who edited the book.⁶ On the other hand, there are a great many Pharisaic interpolations directly opposing the Epicurean⁷ teaching set forth in the poem. The genuine portions of Ecclesiastes are Sadducean and Epicurean; Stoic doctrines are found almost exclusively in the Pharisaic interpolations.⁸

Ecclesiastes must have been a Sadducee; for he doubts the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body (3, 21). He must have been a physician; otherwise he could not have given the enumeration of the symptoms of senile decay in the beautiful allegorical description at the end of the Book. He must have been born under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164); for in 4, 13-16 he says that he saw the general enthusiasm for the *poor but wise youth* (i. e., Alexander Balas) who succeeded (150 B. C.) to the throne of the *old and foolish king* (i. e., Antiochus Epiphanes).⁹ Ecclesiastes also states, at the end of c. 9, that he saw the successful defense of the small place (Bethsura) against the great king (Antiochus Eupator, 163 B. C.).¹⁰

Schopenhauer¹¹ says that no one can fully appreciate Ecclesiastes until he is seventy, and we may safely assume that Ecclesiastes had reached the age of three score years and ten when he finished his work. If we suppose that he was born in the first year of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, he would have been eight years old at the beginning of the Maccabean rising in 167 B. C., and twelve at the time of the siege of Bethsura in 163 B. C.¹² If he was in Bethsura with his family during the siege, it would not

be surprising that this event made a strong impression on him. At the time of the nuptials of Alexander Balas in 150,⁹ he would have been 25, or 22 at the beginning (153) and 30 at the end (145) of Alexander's meteoric career.

He may have completed his Book at the age of 75, in 100 B. C., but he may not have published it during his lifetime, and his friends and disciples, who desired to make known this remarkable legacy, may have deemed it imprudent to publish it under the name of its author; therefore they tried to make it appear to be a work of King Solomon,⁶ especially as several passages might have been referred to the king then reigning, *viz.*, Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B. C.).¹² The pessimistic poem may have caused such a sensation that it was impossible to suppress it. The Pharisaic authorities therefore decided to save the attractive book for the Congregation but to pour some water into the author's strong wine.¹³ This official recension, which was not castrated but figleaved, may have been prompted by the apocryphal book known as the Wisdom of Solomon,¹⁴ which was composed at Alexandria about 50 B. C. The Wisdom of Solomon (*cf.* especially c. 2) is directed against Ecclesiastes, and the Pharisaic authorities may have deemed it necessary to clear Jerusalem of the suspicion of Epicureanism.⁷ They may have been afraid that the Egyptian Jews might eventually abandon their annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem, preferring to worship at the Temple founded at Leontopolis by Onias IV. about 160 B. C.¹⁵ This Jewish Temple in Egypt existed until 73 A. D., when it was closed by the Romans after the destruction of Jerusalem.

The confusion of the traditional text of Ecclesiastes may be partly accidental, partly intentional.¹⁶ The original manuscript may have been left by the author without a final revision; he may have left a number of parallels and variants¹⁷ without indicating his final preference. This confusion was increased by the editorial changes introduced by the friends of the author, who published the work after his death.⁶ It was further increased by the polemical interpolations of

the orthodox Pharisaic editors, who finally admitted the Book into the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures in 90 A. D. Several of the most objectionable statements are less offensive if preceded¹⁸ or followed¹⁹ by orthodox glosses and scattered through less questionable sections; but combined in their proper order they would have been intolerable.²⁰ For the same reason some of the love-songs in the so-called Song of Solomon seem to have been cut up and dislocated, because in their original order certain erotic allusions would have been too plain and would not have lent themselves to any allegorical interpretation for the purpose of edification.²¹ A dislocated and bandaged arm has no force.²²

We have, of course, no mathematical evidence, and I do not claim to have been present when the editorial changes were made, but my theory explains all the features of this remarkable Book. I came to my conclusions fourteen years ago, after having interpreted the Book in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University for three years (1888-1891), and when I examined my notes again last winter²³ I found hardly anything requiring modification; in fact, I rediscovered several things which I had found in 1890. My views concerning the Old Testament have undergone considerable modifications during the past fifteen years, ever since I took up the idea of publishing a new edition of the Bible; but with regard to Ecclesiastes my first impression has remained the same in all essential points, although my notes of 1890 had become so unfamiliar to me that I regarded them just as objectively as though they had been compiled by somebody else. Certainly, nothing that has appeared during the past fourteen years, neither the commentary of Wildeboer²⁴ nor the translations of Rüetschi²⁵ and Siegfried,²⁶ have induced me to deviate from my original opinion. The arrangement of the text is practically the same which I made in 1890, a specimen of which was published in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for June, 1891,²⁷ and reprinted in the *Oriental Studies*²⁸ (Boston, 1894).²⁸

I have often stated that I adhere to the maxim that the probably right is preferable to the undoubtedly wrong.²⁹ Instead of prolonging my theoretical discussion of the origin of the Book of Ecclesiastes it will be better to let the great Old Testament pessimist speak for himself. The rhythm of my new English translation has been much improved by the kind assistance of the distinguished co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness. The metrical questions³⁰ will be discussed in an article on the form of the Book of Ecclesiastes, which will be published in the fifth volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*) edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt. This will include my critical edition of the Hebrew text which has been in type since July, 1904.

NOTES.

(1) See below, note 1 on section I (p. 34).

(2) See my lecture on the Book of Ecclesiastes in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894) pp. 242-278; cf. Siegfried's review in the *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, Sept. 28, 1895. Winckler, in his review of Siegfried's commentary on Ecclesiastes, in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, I, 313-316 (Oct., 1898) and in his paper *Zeit und Verfasser des Koheleth* in his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, part 10 (Leipzig, 1898) does not seem to have been aware of the fact that Siegfried's view of the composite character of Ecclesiastes was based on my lecture published in 1894. Cf. below, nn. 26. 28.

(3) According to Winckler, *op. cit.*, part 10, p. 153, the author of Ecclesiastes was the Hellenizing high-priest Alcimus (1 Macc. 7, 9) who died in 160 B. C. (1 Macc. 9, 56). But this hypothesis (cf. Cheyne-Black's EB 1164 and Matthes' paper cited below) is just as untenable as Winckler's conjectures and interpretations, *op. cit.*, part 4 (Leipzig, 1896) pp. 351-355, or his remarks on the Book of Ruth, *op. cit.*, part 16 (Leipzig, 1901) pp. 65-78, and his remarks on Canticles, *op. cit.*, part 18, pp. 236-242. Contrast my metrical version of the Book of Canticles (Chicago, 1902) reprinted from *Hebraica*, 18, 193-245; 19, 1-32. J. C. Matthes, of Amsterdam, in his paper *Die Abfassungszeit des Predigers* in the Vienna *Biblische Vierteljahrsschrift* (1904) believes that the genuine portions of Ecclesiastes were written about 150 B. C., and that the glosses were added before the end of the second century B. C.

(4) The Davidic descent of Hillel is not certain; see E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1898) p. 360, n. 29.

(5) Eccl. 1, 1. 12. 16^b; cf. 2, 12^b (= I, a; VI, a. e; VII, ρ).

(6) They may have transposed sections VI and VII to the beginning of the Book in order to emphasize the passages which might be referred to Solomon.

(7) Like Epicurus (341-270 B. C.) Ecclesiastes commends companionship (4, 9) and cheerfulness (9, 7) but also contentment (6, 9) and moderation in sensual pleasures, to avoid painful consequences (11, 10). He warns against wrongdoing, since it entails punishment (7, 17; 5, 6). He does not deny (5, 2) the existence of God but he disbelieves a moral order of the universe; divine influence on this world, where there is so much imperfection and evil, seems to him impossible (see especially section II). In the same way he doubts the immortality of the soul (3, 21); death ends all consciousness (9, 10). He by no means commends nothing but eating, and drinking, and pleasure (8, 15; 2, 24; 5, 18; cf. 3, 12); he also preaches the gospel of work (3, 22; 9, 10). Cf. below, n. 4 on III; n. 9 on VIII.

Ecclesiastes' Epicurean *Ceterum censeo* that nought is good for man but eating, and drinking, and pleasure (8, 15; 2, 24; 5, 18; cf. 3, 12) is condemned by Jesus (Luke 12, 20) in a section which contains several allusions to the Book of Ecclesiastes (cf. Luke 12, 18 and Eccl. 2, 4; Luke 12, 20^b and Eccl. 2, 18^b, and above all, Luke 12, 27 = Matt. 6, 29 (*Solomon in all his glory*). Note also vv. 29. 30. Μη μετεωριζεσθε (Luke 12, 29) means: Do not be at sea (cf. Thuc. 8, 16) i. e., in a state of uncertainty, do not go astray (cf. Pol. 5, 70, 10). The Peshita renders: Let not your mind stray in these things (*wê-lâ nishê rî-yânkhôn bê-hâllên*).

In the Talmud, *Epikuros* means 'freethinker;' it is there a synonym of the earlier term Sadducee 'righteous,' which seems to be a euphemism for 'unrighteous;' cf. nn. 31-34 to my paper on Ps. 1, in *Hebraica*, 19, 139 and below, n. 1 on II.

(8) Cf. e. g. below, n. 23 on VI.

(9) See below, n. 9 on III. Winckler (cf. above, n. 2) is right in identifying the *old and foolish king* with Antiochus Epiphanes, but the *poor and wise youth* is according to Winckler not Alexander Balas, but Demetrius I. Contrast below, n. 13 on III.

(10) See below, n. 6 on VI.

(11) See below, n. 43 on VIII.

(12) For instance, 4, 14; 10, 16; 3, 16. *Bêth-hassûrîm*, the house of outcasts (4, 14) is generally considered to be equivalent to *bêth-ha'âsûrîm*, the house of prisoners, and this interpretation may have been common soon after the publication of the Book. Alexander Jannæus had been shut up in prison by his elder brother and predecessor Aristobulus (104/3 B. C.), the first Hasmonean King of the Jews, whose coronation is glorified in Ps. 2; see n. 22 to my paper in ZDMG 58, 629, cited below, at the end of n. 27. Neither Baumann (ZDMG 58, 587-595) nor Sievers (ZDMG 58, 864-866) have paid any attention to my remarks on Ps. 2 in *Hebraica*, 19, 134-146 and Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 163, p. 56, n. 17 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 90). Aristobulus' widow, Queen Salma Alexandra, was 37 years old when she married his step-brother Alexander Jannæus, and he was 24. Alexander Jannæus was also said

to be the son of a captive woman and therefore unfit for assuming priestly functions; cf. Joseph., *Ant.*, iii, 12, 2; xiii, 10, 5; 13, 5.

(13) Cf. Georg Hoffmann, *Hiob* (Kiel, 1891) p. 25.

(14) Some of the orthodox glosses are derived from the Book of Ecclesiasticus; contrast Nöldeke, ZAT 20, 91.

(15) Cf. Schürer's work, cited above, n. 4, vol. 3, pp. 97-100.

(16) Bickell, *Der Prediger über den Werth des Daseins* (Innsbruck, 1884) endeavored to show that the confusion was due to the mistake of a binder who misplaced the quires of the manuscript; but this view is untenable.

(17) Cf. I, d. η.

(18) Cf. II, θ; IV, ε; VIII, η.

(19) Cf. II, β; V, σ; VII, η. θθ; VIII, τ. χ. ω (v. 13).

(20) For instance, 10, 1^b (II, vii); 11, 8^b (VIII, xvi).

(21) See my *Book of Canticles* (cited above, n. 3) p. 19.

(22) Explanatory scribal expansions, so common in other Books of the Old Testament, are comparatively rare in Ecclesiastes; cf. e. g. II, γ-ζ; III, ε. ζ. λ. ο. π; IV, α-γ. ο-τ. αα-γγ; V, ζ. ν. ξ. ο. ττ; VI, ζ. κ. π. εε. ηη. λλ. μμ. οο; VII, α. δ-η. μ. ο. ξξ. οο; VIII, β-ζ. θ-κ. μ. ν. ο. π. ββ-δδ. θθ. Nor are there many illustrative quotations (see my remarks, ZDMG 58, 626); cf. III, β. κ. ττ; IV, ε; V, γ. ρ. υυ; VI, φ; VIII, ωω (v. 11).

(23) I interpreted the Book again during the session 1903/4, also during the session 1894/5.

(24) In Marti's *Hand-Commentar*, part 17 (Freiburg i. B., 1898).

(25) In Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg i. B., 1894).

(26) In Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen, 1898); cf. above, n. 2. Siegfried asked me (March 30, 1897) to place my reconstruction of the text at his disposal, but I declined his request. His commentary showed that he had misunderstood the oral explanations which I had given him on various occasions.

(27) The translation is there printed in lines, just as Samuel Cox printed his translation of Ecclesiastes in lines, in the Expositor's Bible (London, 1890) pp. 69-110; but Cox's stichic arrangement is as unsatisfactory as Sievers' metrical analysis of the first two chapters in his *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik*, part 2 (Leipzig, 1901) pp. 563-567. According to Zapletal, *Die Metrik des Buches Kohelet* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1904) the entire Book of Ecclesiastes, which was written in the third century B. C., is metrical, even the Epilogue; but there is no strophic division; see *op. cit.*, pp. 6. 10. 13. Zapletal's pamphlet appeared after the publication of my metrical reconstruction of Ecclesiastes in *Koheleth oder Weltsschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905; I finished the final revision of the proofs on Sept. 15, 1904, and received the first copies of the book in Baltimore on Oct. 24, 1904) but Zapletal's prefatory note informs us that the discovery that the Book of Ecclesiastes is metrical was made by him during the session 1903/4. He was therefore in no way influenced by my metrical version of Ecclesiastes which I read at the general meeting of the Second International Congress on the History of Religions at Basle, on Sept. 1, 1904, nor by my metrical

reconstruction of the Hebrew text which I exhibited in the Semitic Section of that Congress, although Zapletal attended the Congress and read a paper on Ecclesiastes' belief in the immortality of the soul at one of the meetings of the Semitic Section. This coincidence is evidently an interesting case of sympathy, unless Zapletal exercised some telepathic influence on me, so that I was able to anticipate his discoveries before he published them. I have alluded to some similar psychic phenomena in n. 36 to my paper *The Prototype of the Magnificat* in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (ZDMG 58, 630).

(28) I stated *c. g.* in n. 5 to my lecture on Ecclesiastes, published in 1894, that the passages 2, 24^b-26 (misprinted 24^b. 26); 3, 13. 14^b. 17; 5, 6^b. 8. 18; 6, 6; 7, 13. 14. [18^b]. 20. 26^b-29 (misprinted 26^b. 29); 8, 11-13; 9, 3, &c. consisted of subsequent additions. *Ibid.*, n. 15 I pointed out that 4, 6 must be combined with 4, 4 (misprinted 7); 5, 9-11; 6, 7-9; and that 4, 5 as well as 10, 18 (misprinted 8). 15 are glosses to 4, 6 (see now section V). At the end of that note I called attention to the fact that Eccl. 7, 11. 12 must be combined with 7, 19; 8, 1; 9, 17^a; 10, 2. 3. 12. 13, and that 10, 19^b (misprinted 20^b) is a gloss to 7, 12 (see now VI, o). I added: "10, 1^b belongs to 7, 16 (*cf.* 8, 14. 10; 7, 15-18; 9, 11. 12; 8, 11-13 is a theological gloss to 8, 14, &c.) while 10, 1^a must be combined with 9, 18^b" (see now II and VI, φ). In n. 45 I stated that 2, 11-23 should be arranged in the following order: 11. 12^b. 19. 18. 20-23. 12^a. 13-17. 24-26, and that the last five words of v. 12 and vv. 16^b. 18^b were glosses (see now VI and VII).

(29) See my paper on David's Dirge in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, June, 1903, p. 55^a.

(30) The genuine portions of Ecclesiastes, which may be arranged in eight sections, comprise 195 pairs of hemistichs with 3 + 3 beats, grouped either in couplets (Sections I, V, VIII) or in triplets (Sections II, III, IV, VI, VII). Pairs of hemistichs with 2 + 2 beats occur only in the interpolations (*cf.* IV, ξ, 8, 2 ff. and VI, α. γ. η), and in one illustrative quotation (*cf.* above, n. 22) VI, φ we find 3 + 2 beats. The final section of the Book must be divided into two halves, just as I did in my lecture on Ecclesiastes published in 1894 (see above, n. 2). Each of these two halves consists of 3 and 5 couplets, respectively. Also section III must be divided into two halves, and each half consists of two stanzas, each stanza comprising two triplets. The opening section, on the other hand, consists of three stanzas, each stanza comprising four couplets. *Cf.* my strophic reconstruction of Moses' Song of Triumph (*Hebraica*, 20, 155) and the Song of Hannah (ZDMG 58, 620). In the older poetical books of the Old Testament the end of a line generally coincides with the end of a clause, but in Ecclesiastes we find a number of cases in which the end of a clause forms the beginning of the following line or hemistich. In modern poetry, as well as in Greek and Roman poems, this is, of course, quite common; but in Hebrew poetry it is comparatively rare. In the opening pair of hemistichs for instance (1, 2) we find 3 × 2 (or 4 + 2) beats instead of the regular 3 + 3 beats; in the same way we have in the second double-hemistich of section II (9, 2) 3 × 2 beats instead of 3 + 3 beats, unless we

prefer to call this a transposition of the cesura; *cf.* 3, 1; 8, 15; 5, 1; 2, 3, 4; 9, 10. 13. 14^b; 12, 5 (and the glosses 11, 7; 7, 14. 24; 1, 13; 8, 1); also Ps. 45, 4 (see note 9 on section III). *Cf.* n. 6 to my paper *The Poetic Form of Psalm 23 in Hebraica* (April, 1905).

INDEX

TO CHAPTERS AND VERSES OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION
WITH CORRESPONDING SECTIONS, STANZAS, AND GLOSSES
IN THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

The numerals in the first column of the subjoined table indicate chapters and verses of the traditional text of the Book of Ecclesiastes in the Authorized Version (AV). The last verse of c. 4 in the Hebrew text (LXX, Vulgate, and Luther's Bible) appears in AV as the first verse of c. 5. The last verse of c. 6 is counted in LXX, Vulgate, and Luther's Bible as the first verse of c. 7. Full-faced numerals (1, 2, &c.) refer to the chapters, ordinary numerals (1, 2, &c.) indicate verses; ^a and ^b denote first or second halves of a verse; an additional ^a or ^β means first part or second part of a half-verse; *e. g.* 9, 1^b^a = first part of second half (*i. e.*, third quarter) of the first verse of chapter 9.

The larger Roman numerals (I-VIII) in the second column refer to the eight sections of the present version, while the smaller Roman numerals (i-xvi) indicate the numbers of the stanzas. An additional Arabic numeral (1, 2, 3) after the number of the stanzas refers to the hemistichal pairs of a stanza; *e. g.* VI, vii, 2^a = Section VI, stanza vii, first hemistich of the second hemistichal pair. The second hemistichs of hemistichal pairs are printed in separate lines, indented, (except lines with 2 + 2 or 3 + 2 beats; see above, n. 30). The Greek letters after the larger Roman numerals, α, β, &c. refer to the glosses in the several sections. All smaller Roman numerals (i-xvi) indicate genuine portions of Ecclesiastes, while the Greek letters indicate secondary additions and interpolations. Apart from the ten glosses VII, αα—αα and the gloss VIII, ωω, doubled Greek letters refer to tertiary glosses.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1, 1 : I, α | 6, 1. 2 : V, viii. ix | 9, 1 ^{ba} : VIII, αα |
| 2-8 : i-v | 3 : IV, vii | β : λ |
| 9 : η | 4 : υ | 2 : II, i |
| 10. 11 : vii. viii | 5 : vii | 3 : β |
| 12. 13 : VI, α | 6 : χ | 4-6 : VIII, η |
| 14-18 : i. ii | 7 : V, β | 7-10 : i-iii |
| | 8 ^a : VI, υ | 11. 12 : II, ii. iii |
| 2, 1-11 : VII, i-vi | 8 ^b : V, ε | 13. 14 : VI, vi |
| 12 ^a : VI, iii | 9 : ii | 15 ^a : vii, 1 |
| 12 ^b : VII, vii | 10 : I, vi | 15 ^b : 3 |
| 13-17 : VI, iii-v | 11 : III, iv | 16 ^a : 2 ^a |
| 18 : VII, vi | 12 ^a : VII, γ | 16 ^b . 17 : τ |
| 19-24 ^a : vii-ix | 12 ^b : σ | 18 ^a : vii, 2 ^b |
| 24 ^b -26 : ηη | | 18 ^b : φ, 2 |
| | 7, 1. 2 ^a : III, v | |
| 3, 1-8 : I, ix-xii | 2 ^b -4 : ι | 10, 1 ^a : I |
| 9 : δ | 5 : υ | 1 ^b : II, vii, 3 |
| 10 : VI, α | 6 : κ | 2. 3 : VI, ο |
| 11 : η | 7 : IV, ξ | 4 : IV, ξ |
| 12. 13 : VII, θθ | 8-10 : III, vi | 5-7 : i |
| 14 : VI, γ | 11. 12 : VI, ο | 8-10 ^a : VIII, vi. vii |
| 15 ^a : I, η | 13. 14 : γ | 10 ^b : VI, κκ |
| 15 ^b : IV, ε | 15-18 ^a : II, vi. vii | 11 : VIII, vii |
| 16 : ii | 18 ^b : VIII, ζζ | 12. 13 : VI, ο |
| 17 : ε | 19 : VI, ρ | 14 ^a : III, ρρ |
| 18-22 : ii-iv | 20 : II, η | 14 ^b : IV, μ |
| | 21. 22 : IV, ξ | 15 : V, γ |
| 4, 1-3 : v. vi | 23. 24 : VI, η | 16. 17 : III, ξ |
| 4 : V, i | 25 : θ | 18 : V, γ |
| 5 : γ | 26-28 : VIII, υ | 19 ^a : III, ττ |
| 6 : ii | 29 : VI, γ | 19 ^b : VI, κκ |
| 7. 8 : vi. vii | | 20 : IV, ξ |
| 9-12 : θ | 8, 1 : ο | |
| 13-16 : III, vii. viii | 2-6 : IV, ξ | 11, 1-3 : VIII, iv. v |
| | 7 : VIII, λ | 4 : viii |
| | 8 : ξ | 5 : ξ |
| 5, 1. 2 : i. ii | 9 ^a : VI, α | 6 : viii |
| 3 : β | 9 ^b : IV, ξ | 7. 8 ^{ba} : IV, χ |
| 4-6 : iii. iv | 10 : II, υ | 8 ^{bβ} : VIII, xvi, 2 ^b |
| 7 ^a : β | 11-13 : θ | 9. 10 ^a : ix |
| 7 ^b : δ | 14 : iv | 10 ^b : xi |
| 8. 9 : IV, ξ | 15 : VII, x | |
| 10-12 : V, iii-v | 16 ^a : VI, η | 12, 1-5 ^a : x-xiv |
| 13. 14 : x | 16 ^b : VII, δδ | 5 ^b : xvi |
| 15. 16 : ρ | 17 : VI, η | 6 : xv |
| 17 : VII, γγ | | 7 : χ |
| 18 ^a : V, xi | 9, 1 ^{aa} : β | 8 : xvi |
| 18 ^b -20 : σ | β : II, μμ | 9-14 : ωω |

- 6, 10^a What has happened existed ⁸ aforetime;
 what a man will be, is (fore)known.⁷
- 1, 10 Is there aught whereof we may say, vii
 10, this is a thing that is new,
 It was (known) in those ages aforetime
 that passed before we were born.⁹
- 11 Whatever is past is forgotten,¹⁰ viii
 and so will it be in the future;
 It will not be remembered by those
 who happen to live in the future.

- 3, 1 All lasts but a while,¹¹ and transient¹² ix
 is everything under the sky:
- 2 Transient are births and deaths,¹³
 transient are planting, uprooting.⁴
- 3 Transient are slaying and healing, x
 transient are razing and building,
- 7^a Transient are rending and sewing,
 5^a transient are scattering⁴ and gathering.⁴
- 6^b Transient are keeping and scattering,¹⁴ xi
 6^a transient are seeking¹⁵ and leaving,¹⁶
- 5^b Transient are affection,¹⁷ aversion,⁴
 8^a transient are love and hatred.
- 8^b Transient are warfare and peace, xii
 4^a transient are weeping and laughter,
- 4^b Transient are wailing and triumph,¹⁸
 7^b transient are silence and speaking!

- (7) 1, 9 What has happened,²⁰ will happen (again);
 what was done,²¹ (again) will be done.²²
- 3, 15^a What has happened,²³ will happen (again);
 what is to hap, happened aforetime.²³
- (9) 2 what is planted (1) 5^a stones (κ) 5^b from affection
-
- (22) 1, 9 Nought new is there under the sun. (μμ) 3, 15 aforetime

II.

9, 2 Precisely as all things are [transient], i
 so the same fate happens to all:
 The righteous, the wicked;¹ the good,
 [the sinful];² the pure, the impure;
 Who offers, and who offers not;
 who swears, and who fears (all) swearing.³

11 Oft⁴ under the sun have I seen ii
 that the race is not to the swift,
 Nor (does) the battle (bechance) to the strong,
 Nor (does) bread (befall) to the wise;
 Nor to the intelligent, riches;
 nor favor to men of knowledge.

On time and chance hang all things, iii
 12 'yet his own time no man knows:
 Like fishes enmeshed in a 'net,
 or birds ensnared in a springe,
 So the sons of men are entrapped
 at the time when evil 'befalls them.

8, 14 A vanity⁵ 'done on this earth is iv
 that righteous⁶ are found whose estate
 Is the same⁷ as though they were wicked;⁸
 and wicked⁹ there are whose estate

(a) 9, 2 good as well as sinful

(β) 3 This is an evil, that, no matter what is done under the sun, the same fate happens to all; yet the mind of the sons of men is full of evil,^{xx} and afterward [they go down] to the dead.

(γ) 12 for (δ) evil (ε) suddenly (ζ) 8, 14 which is

(η) 7, 20 There is no one righteous on earth,
 who practices good and sins not.

(xx) 9, 3 and madness is in their minds during their lives

8, Is the same as though they were righteous;
this also, methought, is vanity.⁴

10 And thus have I noticed the wicked² v
interred and entering [into peace],⁵
Excluding from sanctified ground⁶
those who had (always) done right;²
In the city⁶ they were forgotten;
this also, [methought,] is vanity.³

7, 15 'A good man may perish, though righteous;⁷ vi
a bad one may live long, though wicked.⁸

16 Be therefore not over-righteous,
neither show thyself over-wise;²

17 Be thou not over-wicked,
neither be thou a fool.²

Why wilt thou ruin thyself vii
and die before thy time?

18^a Well is it to hold on to this,
and not to withdraw from that.

10, 1^b More precious than wisdom² and honor⁹
[at times]¹⁰ is somewhat of folly.¹

(θ) 8, 11 Since judgment does not (always) follow
with speed, on deeds that are evil,
The mind of the sons of men
is full¹¹ in their hearts¹² to do evil.

12 But ^{λλ} if a sinner sin hundreds of times,
and lengthen the days of his life,
Yet am I (fully) assured,
it is well with those who fear God.^{13 μμ}

13 And it will not be well with the wicked,
and he will not lengthen his days,^{νν}
Who bears no fear in his heart,
of God, (nor keeps His commandments).

(ι) 7, 15 All this have I seen in the days of my vanity¹⁴

(λλ) 8, 12 since

(μμ) who fear Him 9, 1^β because the righteous and the wise¹ and their
works are in the hand of God

(νν) 13 like a shadow¹⁵

III.

5, 1 Take heed to thy feet^a whenever i
 thou goest to the house of God;
 To draw nigh to listen [to homilies]^a
 is better than fools giving sacrifices;³
 For they never know [what they do,
 and never cease] to do evil.

2 Be not rash with thy mouth, ii
 and in thy mind be not hasty
 To utter a word before God;
 'let the words (of) thy (mouth) be few!^a
 For God, He is in Heaven,⁴
 and thou art (here) upon earth.

4 Whenever thou makest a vow,^a iii
 put thou not off its fulfilment;^a
 For no one takes pleasure in fools.
 Whatever thou vowest, fulfil!

5 Far better it is not to vow
 than vow and not to fulfil.

6 Let not thy mouth bring on^a guilt iv
 and then say,^a It is but an error;
 Lest^a anger be roused at thy statement,
 and the work of thy hands be distrained.⁵

6, 11 'Too much talking multiplies vanities,—
 thereof what profit has man?

(a) 5, 2 therefore

(β) 3 For as dreams come from much occupation,
 so statements of fools from much talking.^{ap}

7^a In many a dream there are vanities,
 and (to) vanities (leads) much talking.

(γ) 4 to God (δ) 7^b for fear God (ε) 6 thy person

(ζ) 6 before the messenger (of the Temple) (η) God's (θ) 6, 11 for

(pp) 10, 14^a a fool talks much

- 7, 1 Far better than flavor is favor,⁶ v
 and the day of death than of birth,
 2^a And to enter a house of mourning⁷
 than enter a house of feasting,
 5 To hear the rebuke of a wiseman
 than list to the song of fools.⁸
- 8 Better is ending than starting, vi
 than haughtiness better is patience.⁷
 9 Be not hasty in spirit to worry;
 this^a abides in the bosom of fools.
 10 'How comes it,' ask not, 'that the past^a
 was better far than the present?'⁷

-
- 4, 13 A youth, poor and wise, is better⁶ vii
 than a king who is old and foolish,
 And never knows how to take warning,
 [but through pride of his heart is exalted;]⁸

-
- (ι) 7 2^b Since to all men this is the ending,
 let the living lay it to heart.
 3 Far better is worry than laughter,
 a sad-faced man is in tune.¹¹
 4 The mind of the wise is with mourners,
 the mind of a fool is with mirth.
- (κ) 6 Like the crackling of nettles¹² under kettles,
 so is the laughter of fools.¹⁰
- (λ) 9 worry (μ) 10 times (ν) thou enquirest not wisely about this
- (ξ) 10, 16 Woe, thou land whose king is a boy!¹³
 whose princes eat¹⁴ in the morning.¹⁷
 17 Hail, thou land whose king is highborn,
 whose princes eat¹⁴ at due seasons!¹⁰

(σσ) 7, 6 this, too, is vanity

(ττ) 10, 19^a With laughter they are feasting,
 and wine gladdens life.

(υυ) 17 for strength, and not for drinking¹⁸

- 4, 14 Though (t)he (youth)* be the issue of outcasts¹⁵
and born from the poor of his kingdom.⁹
- 15 The living who walk under the sun, viii
I noted, were all for the youth; ⁷
- 16 No end there was of the people
before whom he stood (as a leader).
But anon they cease to admire him;
this, too, is vanity and a striving for wind.¹⁰

IV.

- 10, 5 One evil I saw under the sun i
is a blunder *on the part of the ruler:
- 6 The fools¹ are lifted on high,
while worthies⁶ remain in low station.¹
- 7 I have noted servants on horseback,
and princes going on foot.⁷
- 3, 16 'In the place of justice is wickedness; ii
in the place of righteousness, outrage.
- 18 'I said to myself in my heart,
for men's sake this is (permitted)
That they may¹ see and perceive
that their very selves are beasts.

(o) 4, 14 who ascended the throne¹⁵

(π) 15 the second¹⁶ who stepped in his place¹⁷

(a) 10, 5 proceeding (β) 6 rich men (γ) 7 like servants

(δ) 3, 16 I saw repeatedly under the sun

(ε) 17 I said (to myself) in my heart:
the righteous as well as the wicked
By God will [surely] be judged;
for a term¹¹ to every thing
And to every deed has He set;
15^b God looks after¹² him who is pursued.¹²

(ζ) 18 may be caused by God to

- 3, 19 'One fate is to man and to beast : iii
 as one dies, so dies the other ;
 And all possess the same soul,^a
 there is no pre-eminence in man ;[']
 20 'From dust arose (one and) all,
 and to dust shall all again turn.'³
- 21 Who knows if the soul^a of man iv
 ascends on high (to heaven)?
 (Who can tell) if the soul^a of beasts
 descends below to Hades?⁴—
- 22 I have noted that nothing is better
 than the pleasure one^a takes in his work.⁵
- 4, 1 When I saw again (and again) v
 all oppressions^r under the sun,⁶
 And the tears of (all) the oppressed,
 with no one to right their wrongs;⁶
 The oppressors with power supreme,⁷
 with no one to right their wrongs;⁸

- (η) 19 For the fate of the sons of men
 and the fate of beasts is the same.
- (θ) over the beasts (ι) 20 to the same place all are wending¹⁴
- (κ) 19 for all is vanity (λ) 22 man
- (μ) 22 for this is his portion:
 For who can bring him to see
 what is to happen hereafter?¹⁵
- 10, 14^b Man cannot know aught of the future ;
 who can tell him what will happen hereafter?
- (ν) 4, 1 that are practiced
- (ξ) 7, 7 Though oppression may madden a wiseman,
 a gift¹⁶ may corrupt the mind.
- 8, 9^b Sometimes a man acts the tyrant
 over others to his (own) disadvantage.¹⁷

- 4, 2 Then I praised the (lot of the) dead* vi
 more than that of the living who still are,*
 3 And happier than both [I consider]
 him who is not yet come into being,
 Who never has seen (all) the ρdoings
 that are done (here) under the sun.⁹

- 5, 8 Whenever oppression of the needy,
 deprivation of justice and right
 In any province thou notest,
 be not alarmed at the matter.
 A higher one watches the high one,
 and over all is the Most High.
 9 After all¹⁹ a country will profit—
 a civilized¹⁹ land—by a king.¹⁹
- 8, 2 I [say], Observe the king's command
 If only for the oath of God.²⁰
- 3 Do not be rash and run from him,
 Nor take a stand in bad affairs;²¹
 For he can do just as he likes,²²
 4 Who can ask him: What doest thou?²³
- 5 Who lives the law will find no harm;²⁴
 A wise mind knows due time and way,²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶
 6 Though one's distress lie heavy on him.
- 10, 4 Should the ruler's wrath²⁶ be stirred against thee,
 Leave not thy place, nor run from him;
 Composure abates²⁶ the greatest wrongs.
- 20 Not even in bed curse thou the king,
 Nor in thy chamber curse one in power;²⁷
 For birds of air may carry words,
 And things with wings may tell the tale!²⁸
- 7, 21 But pay no heed to every word,²⁷
 Or thou wilt hear thy servant curse thee.
 22 At²⁸ times (indeed) thine own heart knows
 That thou thyself hast cursed thy fellows.

(o) 4, 2 who were already dead

(π) living

(ρ) 3 evil

(aa) 8, 4 since the word of the king is supreme²⁸

(ββ) 6 there is due time and way for all things

(γγ) 7, 21 which they say

(δδ) 22 many

- 6, 9 Better that which is seen with the eyes³
than day-dreams⁴ and a striving for wind.⁵
- 5, 10 Never sated⁶ is he who loves money; iii
and he who delights in abundance,
His income will never suffice him;⁷
this, too, is vanity and a striving for wind.
- 11 Whenever possessions increase, iv
Those also increase who consume them;
What profit then has the possessor
save the looking thereon with his eyes?⁸
- 12 The sleep of the plowman is sweet, v
whether scanty or ample his fare;
But the rich man's superabundance
will not allow him to slumber.

-
- 4, 7 Again (and again) have I noted vi
a vanity⁷ under the sun:
- 8 A man without a companion,
with never a son or a brother.
- And yet he toils on without ceasing, vii
his eyes are never sated with riches;
[He thinks not,] for whom am I toiling,
denying myself (every) pleasure?⁹

10, 15 Fools' toil¹² may keep a man busy,¹⁴
who knows not the way to the town.¹⁵

- (d) 6, 9 this, too, is vanity
- (e) 8^b What (drawback) is there to a poorman
who tactfully deals with the world?¹⁶
- (f) 5, 10 with money (7) 4, 8 this, too, is vanity and hard work
- (g) 4, 9 Two are better than one;
for well their toil is rewarded.¹⁷
10 If [both] should happen to fall,
the one can raise up the other;

6, 1 There is an evil¹ I have seen under the sun, viii
and it lies very heavy on men :

2 A man to whom has been given²
(great) wealth, and treasures, and honor ;

Whereby in nought is he lacking ix
of all the desires of his heart ;

But he is not allowed³ to enjoy it—
a stranger (comes and) enjoys it.⁴

5, 13 An(other) sore evil I noted :⁵ x
(it is) wealth guarded (close) by its owner,⁶

14 But⁷ lost in spite of hard labor,
so that nothing⁸ is left⁹ for his son.⁹

18^a Lo, this is what I have noted, xi
which is (truly) good and befitting :¹⁰

4, But woe unto him who falls
with no one (near) to upraise him !
11 Again, when two sleep together,
they are warm ; but how is it, when single?¹¹
12 And if one man make an attack,
two surely will withstand him.¹²

(ι) 6, 1 which (κ) 2 by God (λ) by God (μ) this is vanity and a [sore evil
(ν) 5, 13 under the sun (ξ) to (the time of) his misfortune
(ο) 14 this wealth (π) at all

(ρ) 15 As he came forth from his mother's womb,
Again all naked, as he came, he goes.¹³

Nought at all can he take along,
in spite of toil, not a handful.¹⁴

16 This evil, too, is grievous:
precisely as he came, he goes.

What profit has he who toils for wind?

(vv) 4, 12 And a threefold cord is not quickly broken

- 5, To eat, and drink, and be merry
in spite of all our toiling.^e

VI.

- 1, 14 "I have taken (due) note of all doingsⁱ
that are done (here) under the sun;^f
And lo, each one is a vanity,^g
and [all] is a striving for wind.
15 The crooked cannot be straightened,
what is lacking can not be made good.'

-
- (σ) 5, 18^b Wherewith he toils under the sun
the numbered^h days of his life,
Which have been allotted by God;
for this is (all of) his portion.
19 But every man to whom are given^{hh}
Wealth and treasures, with leave to taste^{xx} them,
And carry off his portion, and enjoy his toiling,
(Must always hold it) a gift of God.ⁱⁱ
20 He will not think^{hh} of his days of life,
When God absorbs^{jj} his mind with pleasure.

-
- (α) 1, 12 I, Ecclesiastes,^g who (once) was King^g
Over Israel in Jerusalem,
13 Set my heart to seek and sift,^{io}
By wisdom, all doneⁱ under heaven.
It is a sore task which God has given
To sons of men, whereon to fret.
3, 10 The task I have seen, which God has given
To sons of men, whereon to fret.
8, 9^a All this have I seen, and set my heart
On all the doings doneⁱ under the sun.

- (β) 9, 1^a All this I laid to heart,
and all this saw my heart.

- (γ) 7, 13 Consider the work of God:
who straightens^{aa} what He has made crooked?
14 In days that are happy, be happy;
in unhappy, consider that God

(hh) 5, 19 by God

(xx) something of

(hh) 20 much

(aa) 7, 13 that

- 2, 12^a When I turned to make a comparison iii
 between wisdom, and madness, and folly,
 13 I saw^c that there lay some advantage
 in wisdom when placed beside folly:^c
 14 The wise man has eyes in his head,
 but fools walk (ever) in darkness.
- And yet I also perceived iv
 one fate befalling them all;
 15 And then in my mind I remarked:
 Since the fate of the fool will^d be mine,
 What gain^e has my great wisdom brought me?^d
 this also, methought^f is a vanity.^e

(θ) 7, 25 I turned my attention to learn³⁰ and to explore and investigate
 with wisdom³¹ and ³² reasoning,³³

(ι) 2, 13 I (κ) like the advantage of light over darkness

(λ) 15 also (μ) then for me (ξ) in my mind

(ν) 6, 8^a for what advantage has the wise man over the fool?

(ο) 8, 1 Who is as the wiseman?³⁴ and who
 can interpret the (meaning of) things?
 A man's wisdom illumines,³⁵
 and the coarseness of his face is changed

7, 11 As good as a heritage is wisdom,³⁶
 nay, better it is for the living;³⁷
 12 For wisdom protects, just as money;
 but wisdom³⁸ gives life to its master.³⁹

10, 2 At the right⁴⁰ is the heart⁴¹ of the wiseman,
 at the left hand⁴² the heart⁴³ of a fool;
 3 In a business⁴⁴ ⁴⁵a fool undertakes,
 ⁴⁶he reveals to all, he is a fool.

12 The words of⁴⁷ the wise are grace(ful),
 but the lips of a fool embroil⁴⁸ him.
 13 The first words of his mouth are folly,
 and the last of his mouth is ⁴⁹madness.

(ηη) 7, 25 that is, to learn that wickedness is foolishness,⁵⁰ and folly madness

(θθ) 8, 1 his face (υ) 7, 12 the advantage of knowledge is :

(κκ) 10, 10^b the advantage of wisdom⁵¹ is efficiency

19^b yet money grants every thing

(λλ) 3 as soon as (μμ) his mind fails him (νν) 13 evil

VII.

- 2, 1 I said to myself in my heart: i
 Come on, I will try thee with pleasure :
 [Take pleasure] and have a good time !
 but lo, even this, too, was vanity.
 2 Of laughter I thought, it is mad ;
 and of pleasure, what does it avail ?¹
 3 I revolved in my mind how to quicken² ii
 my flesh,² and to lay hold on folly,
 Until I might (clearly) discover
 what is good for the sons of men,
 Which they may enjoy³ under the sky
 the numbered⁴ days of their life.⁵
 4 I engaged in great works, and I built me iii
 (large) mansions, and planted me vineyards ;
 5 I laid out gardens and parks,
 and planted⁵ all sorts of fruit trees.
 6 Pools⁶ also I made me to water⁶
 a nursery full of young trees.⁶
 7^a Both bondmen and bondmaids I purchased, iv
 and slaves were born in my house ;⁷
 8 I amassed both silver and gold,
 and the products of realms and of regions.
 I got singers, both male and female,
 and the delights of the sons of men.⁷

(α) 2, 3 with wine (β) but my mind was guiding with wisdom¹⁷

(γ) 6, 12^a For who knows what is good for man¹⁸
 the numbered⁴ days of his μμvanity?¹⁹

(δ) 2, 6 of water (ε) from them

(ζ) 7^b I also had plenty of cattle, ξξ
 more than any of my predecessors.²⁰

(η) 8 a mistress and mistresses²¹

(λλ) 6, 12^a in life (μμ) life of (νν) that is, he spends them like a shadow²²

(ξξ) 2, 7^b herds and flocks (οο) in Jerusalem

- 2, 9 I was great, more eminent than any v
 ever before in Jerusalem.¹
 10 Whatever my eyes desired,
 that, I withheld not from them;
 Nor did I deny my heart 'pleasure';
 and this was my portion in ¹my toil.

- 11 For when I turned to ¹the toil(s)⁷ vi
 which I had toiled to create,
 Behold, it was vanity all,⁷
 there is no profit under the sun.
 18 So I hated⁸ all my toil(s)⁷
 wherein I toiled under the sun.⁶

- 12^b For what⁸ will he⁷ be who succeeds me?⁹ vii
 19 ⁷and who knows if wise he will be⁷
 Yet will he rule over all my toil(s)⁷
 which have cost me such toil and such wisdom.^{9v}
 20 So at last I began⁸ to despair¹⁰
 concerning all toils⁷ of my toiling.^x

- 21 For is there¹¹ a man who has toiled viii
 with wisdom, and knowledge, and skill,
 To him who has not toiled for it
 he must leave¹² it.^ψ This, too, is vanity!¹³

- (θ) 2, 9 but my wisdom(always) remained with me
 (ι) 10 any (κ) for my mind had pleasure of all my toil (λ) all
 (μ) 11 all the works which my hands had created and
 (ν) and a striving for wind (ξ) 18 I
 (ο) 18 because I must leave it to my successor
 (π) 12^b the man (ρ) the king whom they have already appointed
 (σ) 6, 12^b For who can tell any man,
 what will be after him under the sun?¹⁹
 (τ) 2, 19 or foolish (υ) this, too, is vanity (φ) 20 I
 (χ) 20 under the sun (ψ) 21 his portion (ω) and a great evil

2, 22 What then accrues¹³ to a man
from "his toil and the striving of his mind?"¹⁴

23 Though all his days be grievous,¹⁴ ix
and his task be full of worry,¹⁵
And his mind find no rest at night;¹⁶
this, too, is (all) but vanity.

24^a Nought is good¹⁷ but to eat, and drink,
and (try)¹⁸ to have a good time.¹⁶¹⁹

8, 15 So pleasure I commend, x
since nought is good²⁰ for man²¹
But eating, and drinking, and pleasure,
which to him will cling in his toil
Throughout his allotment of days²²
under the sun; [his portion it is.]

(aa) 2, 22 all (ββ) whereon he toils under the sun

(γγ) 5, 17 Even if his days are all gloomy,²³
and full of sorrow and worry.²⁴

(δδ) 8, 16^b Even if by day and by night
he does not get any sleep.²⁵

(εε) 2, 24 for man (ζζ) in spite of his toil

(ηη) Again have I also seen
that this depends²⁶ upon God;
25 For who can find pleasure in eating
and in any sensation²⁷ without Him?
26 To the man whom He deems good,²⁸
He gives wisdom, and knowledge, and pleasure;
But on the sinner He imposes the task
of gathering, amassing, and yielding it
To him whom God deems good;²⁹
this, too, is vanity and a striving for wind.

(θθ) 3, 12 I know, there is nothing good³⁰
but pleasure and enjoyment³¹ of life.

13 But every man (on the earth)
who eats, and drinks, and enjoys
Any happiness in all of his toiling,
(must hold it as) a gift of God.³²

(ιι) 8, 15 under the sun (κκ) (allotted to him) by God

(λλ) 5, 17 and illness and vexation

(μμ) 8, 16^b in his eyes

VIII.

- 9, 7 Go, eat thy bread with pleasure, i
 and drink thy wine with cheer; *
 8 And white be (all) thy garments, *
 and oil for the head unfailing. †
- 9 Be happy * with a woman ' thou lovest, ii
 through all the days of thy vanity; ‡
 For this is thy portion in life,
 in thy toiling ' under the sun.
- 10 Whatever thy hand may find iii
 to do with thy strength—do it ! §
 For work there is none, nor planning,
 nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol. ¶

-
- 11, 1 Send thy breadcorn across the ' water, iv
 though it take many days,—thou wilt regain it ;
 2 But apportion it 'twixt seven or' eight (ships); §
 for what ' may happen, thou knowest not. †

-
- (a) 9, 7 when God has sanctioned thy doings
 (β) 8 throughout all time (γ) 9 whom
 (δ) 9 Allotted to thee under the sun
 (through) all the days of thy vanity. †
 (ε) wherewith thou art toiling (ζ) 10 whither thou art going
 (η) 4 because for him who is associated with all the living, there is
 some hope; for indeed "a living dog is better than a dead lion."
 5 Though the living know that they must die, the dead do not
 know anything, and they have no reward any more; for their
 6 memory is forgotten—their love as well as their hate, ** and
 their passions are all over, and nevermore have they any
 share in anything that is done under the sun
- (θ) 11, 1 face of the (ι) 2 even to (κ) evil on the earth
 (λ) 8, 7 As he knows not what will happen;
 who can tell him when it will happen?
 9, 1^b Man knows not all that is in store for ^{2b} him

-
- (aa) 9, 1^{ba} love as well as hatred

- 11, 3 If clouds be full [of water], v
 they pour down rain on the earth ;
 If southward^a a tree should fall,⁶
 wherever it^r fall, there it lies.⁶
- 10, 8 Whoso digs a pit may fall in it,⁷ vi
 who pulls down,⁸—a snake may bite;⁸
 9 Who quarries stones may be hurt therewith ;
 who cleaves wood, may be injured.
- 10^a If the [edge of the] iron be blunt,⁹ vii
 it needs more strength [in the using].⁹
 11 If the snake, before charming, should bite,
 his charms avail not the charmer.¹⁰
- 11, 4 Who watches the wind will not sow, viii
 who looks to the clouds will not reap;¹¹
 6 So scatter thy seed in the morning,
 withhold not thy hand at evening.¹²

(μ) 11, 3 or northward (ν) the tree

(ξ) 8, 8 No man has control of the wind,¹³
 nor is any control of the death-day,
 Just as no release is in war ;¹⁴
 nor will wickedness save its adherents.

11, 5 Inasmuch as thou dost not know
 the (future) course of the wind,
 Or the bones in the womb of the pregnant,¹⁵
 even so canst thou never know
 [Every] work (and action) of God
 who does (and ordains) all this.

(ο) 10, 8 a wall¹⁶ (π) 10 that is, if he has not ground the (ax-)head

(ρ) 11, 6 For thou knowest not which will thrive,¹⁷
 Or whether both will be good alike.

(ββ) 8, 8 to check the wind

(γγ) 11, 6 the one or the other

- 11, 9 Take pleasure, O youth, in thy boyhood,¹³ ix
 in the days of thy youth be^c joyous!¹⁷
 10^a Cast worrying out of thy mind,
 but keep away ills from thy body!^{14v}
- 12, 1 Remember thy well¹⁵ in[†] thy youth, x
 ere the days of evil approach,
 And the years draw nigh wherein,
 thou wilt say, I have no pleasure.
- 2 Ere the sun become obscured, xi
 and the light, and the moon, and the stars;
 The clouds return after rain,
 11, 10^b for boyhood and black hair are vanities.¹⁶

- 12, 3 When the keepers of the house¹⁷ are trembling, xii
 and the men of strength¹⁸ are bending;

(σ) 11, 9 thy mind

- (τ) Just walk in the ways of thy heart
 and in the sight of thine eyes;⁴³
 But know that for all these things
 to judgment God will bring thee!

- (υ) 7, 26 I find more bitter than death
 a woman⁴⁵ who is (all) snares;⁴⁶
 He who is good⁴⁶ will escape her;⁴⁶
 but he who is sinful, be caught.

- 27 Lo, this I have found out,⁴⁷ (counting)
 one by one,⁴⁴ to reach the result:⁴⁸
 28 One man in a thousand I found;⁴⁸
 but a woman, ever sought
 By my soul, but never found,⁴⁷
 among them all I found not.

(φ) 12, 1 in the days of

- (δδ) 7, 26 and her heart a great net, and her arms fetters (εε) before God
 (ζζ) 18^b For he who fears God will escape them all⁴⁹
 (ηη) 27 said Ecclesiastes⁵⁰

- 12; The grinders¹⁹ quit work, though they are few;
Those who look through the windows²⁰ are [darkened.
4 And barred are the doors of egress,²¹ xiii
since low is the sound of the mill;²²
And we rise at the birds' first cheep,²³
— though all daughters of music be muffled.²⁴
- 5^a Whatever is high, we fear;²⁵ xiv
and every walk is a terror.²⁶
The almond tree blossoms;²⁷ and inert²⁸
lies the chrysalis,²⁹ till the soul³⁰ emerges.³¹
- 6 Ere the cord of silver³² be snapped, xv
and the golden bowl³³ be shattered,
The pitcher at the fountain be shattered,³⁴
and the wheel³⁵ at the well breaks down.^x
- 5^b For he^{*} goes to his home everlasting,³⁶ xvi
and the mourners³⁷ go about in the street.
- 8 O vanity!³⁸ all is vanity!
11, 8^b and all that is coming is vanity!³⁹

(χ) 12, 7 the dust shall return to the earth (to become) what it was; but the soul⁴⁰ shall return to God who gave it

(ψ) 5^b man (ω) 8 said Ecclesiastes⁴⁰

(ωω) 9 In addition to the fact that Ecclesiastes⁴⁰ was a wise man, he continually taught the people knowledge,⁴¹ thinking out, and
10 composing, and arranging many lines.⁴² Ecclesiastes tried to find pleasing⁴³ words, but what is written is correct.^{44 45}

11 Words of the wise are like points of goads,
But (firm) as nails⁴⁶ are the verses of a poem.^{47 48}

12 Besides, my son, be on your guard against these (sayings);⁴⁹
endless is the making of books⁵⁰ in great numbers; but too much reading wearies the flesh.⁵¹

13 Let us hear the end of all this talk: Fear God and keep His
14 commandments; that is (what) every man (ought to do).⁵² God will bring all doings into the judgment upon all that is hidden,⁵³ be it good or evil.

[leader.⁶⁰

(θθ) 12, 10 words of truth (ω) 11 driven in (κκ) they were given by one

NOTES ON ECCLESIASTES.

I.

(1) The Greek word Ecclesiastes (Heb. *Kohleth*) does not denote an ecclesiastic or preacher, but one who addresses an *ecclesia*, or assembly, a public speaker (Lat. *contionator*) or lecturer (French *conférencier*) especially a public teacher of philosophy; *cf.* 12, 9 (VIII, 66).

(2) Lit., breath of breaths, *i. e.*, How utterly transitory is everything. The Heb. term *hebl* means primarily breath, then anything as unsubstantial as a breath, anything that is in vain, *i. e.*, vanishes as easily as a breath; hence a vain pursuit, a fruitless effort (*cf.* n. 10 on III). All is vain, without any real value, unsubstantial and idle, fruitless, ineffectual, useless, futile, unavailing. Ecclesiastes uses the term *vanity* also in the sense of a fact illustrating the vanity of everything, *e. g.* 8, 14 (II, iv): A vanity done on this earth is, and 4, 7 (V, vi): I have noted a vanity under the sun. *Cf.* n. 5 on VI.

(3) Lit., snorting. This refers to the horses (*Phoebe anhelis equi*, Ovid, *Metamorph.* 15, 418) of the chariot of the sun (2 K 23, 11). The Heb. verb does not mean 'to pant from fatigue.'

(4) Lit., to the place whither the streams are going, there they return to go.

(5) Lit., wearying themselves; *cf.* n. 14 on V.

(6) Lit., the eye is not satisfied with seeing, and the ear is not filled with hearing.

(7) Overruling necessity, destiny.

(8) Lit., his name was called, an old Babylonian phrase for *to exist*. The cuneiform account of Creation begins: At the time when the heavens above were not called, nor the earth below had a name. A name is the expression of the impression; *cf.* Gen. 2, 19.

(9) Lit., it was already in the ages that were before us.

(10) Lit., there is no remembrance of former things.

(11) Lit., to all there is a while, *i. e.*, a (short) space of time; *cf.* n. 11 on IV.

(12) Prop., temporary; lit., to everything there is a time. Nothing is timeless, termless, interminable.

(13) Just as the sea is never full, owing to the constant evaporation (Job 36, 27; JAOS 17, 162) of the water, although all streams run into it, so deaths counterbalance births. If the number of births increases, the mortality among the infants increases; if a great many people die, owing to epidemics, wars, famines, &c., this loss is offset by a marked increase in the number of marriages and births; so births and deaths are transient just as all other human actions. The power of conception and

the capability of parturition last but a certain time (about thirty years), and mortality is greater in certain periods of life: it is high among infants; then it decreases up to the thirteenth year, when it begins to increase again. Even the greatest mortality in the most deadly epidemics lasts but a limited period. The Black Death in the xivth century raged for three years, 1348-1351, but was followed by a period of great blessings with a marked increase in the birth-rate. In the times of the Maccabees a philosopher in Palestine might have observed the same phenomena which we find in Germany after the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). The first three decades (170-143) of the Maccabean period (167-63 B. C.) might be called, in some respects, the Thirty Years' War of Palestine.

(14) Dropping, casting off.

(15) For instance, a lost sheep (Ps. 119, 176); *cf.* n. 12 on IV.

(16) To perish in the wilderness, &c. Abandoning, forsaking.

(17) Lit., embracing and being distant.

(18) Lit., exulting, leaping for joy.

(19) This may mean 'head of a school.'

(20) In nature.

(21) By men; *cf.* 1, 14; 8, 19^a (VI, i and a).

(22) Hölderlin's Empedokles says,

*Geh! Fürchte nichts, Es kehret alles wieder,
Und was geschehen soll, ist schon geschehen.*

II.

(1) Righteous=orthodox, wise=godfearing; wicked=unorthodox, freethinker, Hellenizer; fool=agnostic, atheist; *cf.* Pss. 14, 1; 111, 10 (see also n. 15 on V and n. 36 on VI). In Dan. 12, 3 the faithful (orthodox) Jews are called *they that are wise* (or *of understanding*); *cf.* v. 10. The Book of Daniel was written about 164 B. C. when Ecclesiastes was perhaps ten years old.

(2) Lit., I returned and saw, *i. e.*, I saw again (and again); I saw repeatedly; *cf.* IV, v; V, vi.

(3) *Cf.* note 2 on section I and n. 3 on VI.

(4) Lit., to whom it happens according to the work of the wicked.

(5) *Cf.* Isaiah 57, 2; Wisdom of Solomon 3, 3.

(6) That is, the holy city of Jerusalem. The Arabic name of Jerusalem is *el-Kuds*, Holiness.

(7) For instance, Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. 9, 18) and his elder brother Simon (1 Macc. 16, 16).

(8) *Cf.* Job 21, 7-15; 12, 6; Jer. 12, 1.

(9) Dignity.

(10) *Cf.* *e. g.*, 1 Macc. 2, 41; Matt. 12, 1 ff.; Luke 14, 5.

(11) Big, prone.

(12) Lit., in them.

(13) Socrates was convinced that no one could harm a righteous man, since God would not forsake him; *cf.* 3, 15^b (IV, e) and nn. 12, 23 on IV.

(14) In spite of the short duration of my life; *cf.* n. 3 on VIII.

(15) *Cf.* 6, 12^a (VII, vv).

III.

(1) Do not keep running to the Temple heedlessly, merely out of habit, or out of regard for other people. Consider when thou goest to the Temple, whither, why, and wherefore thou art going.

(2) Expounding the Scriptures.

(3) *Cf.* 1 S 15, 22; Is. 1, 11. 16; Mic. 6, 6-8.

(4) Ecclesiastes believed that God was not only distinct from the world, but also separated from it. According to Epicurus (*cf.* above, n. 7 to the Introduction) the gods resided in the *intermundia*, the spaces between the worlds. The Heb. word for *heaven* means also *ether*, *upper air*; *cf.* the birds of heaven, *i. e.* the air, *e. g.* in 10, 20 (IV, 5).

(5) If a man made a vow which he afterwards repudiated, on the plea that he had made a mistake, he was liable to attachment; his property might be seized as security for the payment of the vow and held as a pledge until satisfaction be made.

(6) That is, high favor with the people; a good reputation is better than the finest flavor (*cf.* our *the odor of his good name* and *a name of evil savor*, a malodorous reputation) sweeter than the most precious perfume; *cf.* Cant. 1, 3: thy name is (thrice-) clarified perfume; see my *Book of Canticles* (*cf.* n. 21 on the Introduction) n. 21 on No. 7. There is a paronomasia in the Hebrew: *ṭōv-šēm miššēm ṭōv*; *cf.* below, n. 12.

(7) Quiet submission to the will of fate (*cf.* I, vi), unresisting acquiescence, resignation.

(8) *Cf.* 2 Macc. 5, 17.

(9) This poor and wise youth is the young king Alexander Balas of Syria (150-145 B. C.) who was a great friend of the Jews (1 Macc. 10, 47). The old and foolish king, on the other hand, is the arch-enemy of the Jews, Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164). Old = patrician, aristocratic; *cf.* elder = prince, chief and our *old man*. For *wise* = religious, friend of the Jewish religion, and *foolish* = irreligious, see n. 1 on II. Alexander Balas was a boy of very humble origin (Justin says, *sortis extremæ juvenis*), but pretended to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his claims were supported (Justin says, *totius ferme orientis viribus subcinctus*) not only by Attalus II. Philadelphus (159-138) of Pergamum, Ariarathes V. Philopator (162-130) of Cappadocia, and Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-145) of Egypt, but also by the Jews under the Maccabee Jonathan (161-143) and even by the Roman Senate.

Ps. 45 seems to be the Heb. version of the Greek *carmen nuptiale* which Jonathan presented at the wedding of Alexander Balas and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, which was celebrated at Ptolemais in 150 B. C. (1 Macc. 10, 58). It is important to note that this poem does not allude to the ancestry of the groom, only his personal virtues are extolled, while the bride is advised to forget her father's house (the famous dynasty of the Ptolemies) and to submit to the King, should he desire her beauty. This marriage was not a love-match but a political union: three years after the wedding Cleopatra left her young husband and mar-

ried his antagonist, Demetrius II. Nicator, the son of Demetrius I. Soter who is alluded to in Ps. 45 (v. 7) as the rival of the groom.

Ps. 45 is to be rendered as follows :

- A love-song with skill I indite, i
 1^b reciting a poem on the King ;
 1^a My mind overflows with good thoughts,
 1^c a ready scribe's pen is my tongue.
- 2 Thy beauty is fairer than human, ii
 thy lips with grace are bedewed ;
 Therefore men^a bless thee for ever,
 3^b and give to thee honor and praise.
- 3^a Gird thou thy sword on thy hip, iii
 4 { } O hero ! hail to thee ! ride
 For truth's sake and humble rightness,*
 and wonders thy right hand will show thee.
- 5^a Thine arrows so sharp { do thou notch, } iv
 5^c and under thee nations will fall ;
 5^b The foes of the King will perish,
 [and, like a snake, lick the dust.]**
- 6 Thy throne⁸ is for ever and ever, v
 a sceptre of right is thy kingdom ; †
 7 Thou lovest right, and wrong thou hatest,
 hast therefore vanquished⁸ thy rival. ‡
-
- 12() With tribute gladden thy face vi
 the richest, { with gold of Ophir ; } §
 9 But thy brightest gem^a is the princess
 who stands at thy right as thy consort. { }
- 8 (With) myrrh, with cassia, and aloes vii
 are (fragrant) all of her garments ;
 From the ivory palace (resound)
 [the harps and lutes] (to) salute her.
- 13() The princess { } in brocaded garments viii
 with gold most richly embroidered ;
 14 The noble virgin is brought to the King, { }
 escorted by her own playmates.⁶

* That is, for the Jewish cause. ** Cf. Mic. 7, 17. † Balas was an impostor.

‡ That is, Demetrius I. (see below, n. 16). The literal translation of this line is: therefore *God, thy God*, has anointed thee *with the oil of gladness* above thy fellow.

§ That is, Rhodesia ; see Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 163, p. 53. n. 21.

- 10 Oh hearken^a and incline thine ear, ix
forget thy race and thy father's house !
11 Should the King desire thy beauty,
submit ; for he is thy lord.
16 In place of thy fathers, thy sons,— x
the princes of earth thou wilt make them ;
17 Thy name will they make ever^a famous,
[^]extolled wilt thou be^a for ever.*

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|------------------------|-----|----------------|
| (a) | 2 God | (β) | 6 O God | (γ) | the sceptre of |
| (d) | 7 through God, thy God, with the oil of triumph | | | | |
| (e) | 13 in all the treasure | (ζ) | 12 that is, the Tyrian | (η) | 13 within |
| (θ) | 15 They are brought with joy and rejoicing ; they enter the palace of the king. | | | | |
| (ι) | 10 O maiden and see | | | (κ) | 17 and ever |
| (λ) | 17 therefore | | | (μ) | by the peoples |

The general enthusiasm for Alexander Balas did not last long : his own father-in-law, Ptolemy VI. of Egypt turned against him, and he was defeated by Demetrius II. in 145 B. C. He fled to Arabia, and five days after the battle his head was brought to Ptolemy—an illustration of Ecclesiastes' saying : 'tis all vanity and a striving for wind.

Transient are seeking and leaving,
transient are affection, aversion,
Transient are love and hatred,
transient are wailing and triumph !

(10) That is, a vain pursuit, a fruitless effort (not *vexation of spirit*) ; cf. Hos. 12, 1 : Ephraim strives for wind and pursues the eastwind, *i. e.*, they strive for what is unattainable, beyond reach. Cf. above, n. 2 on I.

(11) That is, in the right mood, in the proper frame of mind, lit., in the badness (*i. e.*, sadness) of the face the heart (*i. e.*, the mind) is good. Contrast VIII, i.

(12) Lit., thorns. There is a word-play (cf. above, n. 6, and n. 8 on IV) between *str* 'pot' and *strim* 'thorns' in the Hebrew (*K'z-qôl hassirîm taht-hassîr*). The term *strim* may denote the thorny burnet (*poterium spinosum*) which is a most combustible fuel. Thorny and prickly plants abound in Palestine.

(13) This gloss appears to refer to Alexander Balas, who gave himself to self-indulgence, just as his antagonist Demetrius I. and Demetrius I.'s uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes were drunkards. Justin says : *Alexandrum insperatae opes et alienae felicitatis ornamenta velut captum inter scortorum greges desidem in regia tenebant*. With the Jews, however,

* Cf. my notes on the Hebrew text in *Hebraica*, 19, 136.

Balas was popular (1 Macc. 10, 47) in spite of his doubtful origin and his failings. The present gloss expresses a different opinion.

(14) Feast.

(15) Lit., from a house of outcasts (Ewald, *Verworfenen*) he came forth to reign. The Hebrew term *sārīm* suggests the name of the Syrians and the idea of apostasy or heathenism.

(16) The first was Demetrius I. (162–150 B. C.). Balas reigned 150–145. The glossator has evidently overlooked the brief reign of the young son and successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus V. Eupator, who reigned 164–162. Similarly Strabo XVI, 2, 40 (p. 762) disregards the brief reign of Aristobulus I. (104/3) and states that Alexander Jannæus was the first Hasmonean ruler who assumed the regal title, although Aristobulus styled himself King of the Jews. Cf. n. 12 on the Introduction.

(17) Cf. Dan. 11, 20. 21.

(18) Carousing.

IV.

(1) At the time of the Syrian dominion under Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors many unworthy persons, who betrayed the Jewish cause and sympathized with the Greeks, attained great prominence, while the noblest of the faithful Jews were humiliated. Cf. e. g. 1 Macc. 7, 9; 9, 25; 2 Macc. 4, 8. 13. 19. 25. For *fools* see n. 1 on II.

(2) Lit., spirit; cf. n. 48 on VIII.

(3) Contrast 12, 7=VIII, 1; also 2 Macc. 7, 9. 14. 36; 12, 44; 14, 46.

(4) Lit., earth, i. e., the netherworld; cf. my note on Exod. 15, 12 (*Hebraica*, 20, 161).

(5) Constant occupation is a blessing in this world; cf. nn. 4 and 12 on VIII.

(6) That is, the wrongs inflicted *upon* them.

(7) Lit., and in the hands of their oppressors power.

(8) That is, the wrongs inflicted *by* them. The Heb. has in both cases: and there was no *menahhēm* for them; but *menahhēm* means in the first case *comforter*, in the second case *avenger*. The German *Tröster* means not only *comforter*, but also a *club* or rod for inflicting punishment. Cf. n. 12 on III.

(9) Similar pessimistic ideas are repeatedly expressed by Greek writers; cf. Theognis, 425–428; Soph., *Oed. Col.*, 1225–1228. In Cicero, *Tusc.*, I, 48 we read: *Non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori*. Even Socrates regarded death as a recovery from a disease.

(10) Numerous progeny and longevity was the ancient Hebrew ideal of happiness. Cf. Pss. 127, 5; 128, 3 (*Hebraica*, 11, 143, 150)—Exod. 20, 12; Deut. 5, 16; Ephes. 6, 2; Deut. 4, 40; 6, 2; 22, 7; 1 K 3, 14.

(11) Cf. n. 11 on I.

(12) Lit., seeks, i. e., takes care; He does not leave them in the lurch; cf. n. 15 on I.

(13) Persecuted; cf. n. 1.

(14) This addition may be based on the Horatian *Omnes eodem cogimur* (published about 23 B. C.).

(15) Lit., look at that which he will be after him; cf. VI, 7; VII, 8; VIII, 2. Socrates declared that he did not know what was in store for us after death, but he cherished the hope of a life beyond.

(16) Or bribe (cf. e. g. 1 Macc. 2, 18). Oppression, persecution, adversity often develop the sterling qualities of men, while favor (especially bribes) leads to corruption.

(17) Schiller says, *Allzu straff gespannt, zerspringt der Bogen*. Wellhausen quotes this phrase at the beginning of c. 17 of his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1904) p. 258, to characterize the conditions preceding the Maccabean rising in 167 B. C.

(18) Lit., tilled, cultivated.

(19) In spite of all drawbacks a monarchy is best suited to an agricultural country with a settled population. Cf. e. g. Joseph., *Ant.*, xvi, 9, 1; xvii, 2, 1. Even Herod was a good ruler up to a certain point.

(20) The oath of allegiance; cf. Joseph., *Ant.*, xv, 10, 4; xvii, 2, 4; see also Matt. 22, 21; Rom. 13, 1. Socrates strongly emphasized the necessity of obedience to the state and its laws.

(21) Conspiracy, &c. Cf. e. g. Joseph., *Ant.*, xv, 8, 3.

(22) Who can criticize his actions? Even kings under Roman sovereignty (*reges socii*) had absolute power of life and death over their subjects.

(23) Lit., who observes the law will experience no evil. A law-abiding citizen will be unmolested, cf. n. 13 on II.

(24) There will be a day of reckoning; but premature rebellion is unwise.

(25) Lit., if the ruler's spirit should rise against thee.

(26) Lit., causes to rest, stop.

(27) Lit., a rich man; cf. gloss β. Rich (cf. Lat. *rex* and German *Reich* = empire) meant originally powerful, mighty, noble, ruling.

(28) Herod the Great employed a great many spies; often he went out himself at night, in disguise, in order to ascertain the feelings of the Jews toward his government; cf. Joseph., *Ant.*, xv, 10, 4; 8, 4.

(29) Not to have a burial was considered one of the greatest of calamities. At the end of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic we read: He whose dead body is left in the field, his spirit finds no rest in the earth; he whose spirit has no one to take care of him, must eat the dregs of the pot, the remnants of food that lie in the street. Cf. 1 Macc. 7, 17; 2 Macc. 5, 10; 13, 7.

(30) Lit., it comes in(to) vanity and goes in(to) darkness.

(31) Lit., rejoice in them all.

(32) Cf. n. 20 on VII.

(33) The present German Emperor is said to have written in the Golden Book of Munich: *Suprema lex regis voluntas*, an autocratic modification of the Ciceronian *Salus publica suprema lex*; cf. Juvenal's *Hoc volo, sic jubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas*.

V.

- (1) More accurately, *palm*, flat of the hand.
 (2) More exactly, hollows of the hand.
 (3) Lit., the sight of the eyes, *i. e.*, what is within our reach.
 (4) Lit., wandering of the soul, *i. e.*, extravagant wishes, castles in the air. We must strive for what is within reach, not for that which is beyond it.
 (5) Lit., will have no income.
 (6) There is no permanent gain, it vanishes under his eyes; he can not enjoy it all, he can feast his eyes thereon only as long as it lasts.
 (7) Cf. n. 2 on I. (8) Lit., there is no end to all his toil.
 (9) Lit., and if he has begotten a son, there is nothing in his hand.
 (10) This can hardly be a Heb. imitation of the Greek phrase *καλὸν κάγαθόν*. The meaning of the Greek term is different; *καλὸς κάγαθός* is a gentleman, and *καλὸν κάγαθόν* means a noble act. Cf. n. 57 on VIII.
 (11) Lit., for his mouth.
 (12) Inactivity and indifference are foolish and suicidal.
 (13) An absurd enterprise, a fool's or gawk's errand.
 (14) Lit., may weary him, cf. n. 5 on I.
 (15) That is, one who is so stupid that he does not know how to go to town. Is. 35, 8 affords no parallel; there *fools* is equivalent to *ungodly*, cf. n. 1 on II. The phrase seems to be proverbial like our *who does not know enough to come in when it rains*, or the French *il ne trouverait pas de l'eau à la rivière*, or the German (a blockhead) *mit dem man Wände einrennen könnte*.
 (16) Lit., who knows how to walk before the living, *i. e.*, possesses *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre*.
 (17) Nietzsche would have said: *Zweisiedler sind besser daran als Einsiedler*. If a man stands alone, he cannot enjoy the result of his work so well as the man who can share his pleasure with someone near him. If a man is successful in his toil, and can use his gain to make his family or his friends happy, he will have a better reward than the solitary man. Even honors and recognition afford less satisfaction if we have no one near us to share our pleasure.
 (18) Lit., but the one, how can he be warm?
 (19) Cf. Job 1, 21; Ps. 49, 17; 1 Tim. 6, 7.
 (20) Lit., which he may take away in his hand.
 (21) See n. 4 on VII. (22) Cf. 3, 13 (VII, 33).
 (23) Engrosses, occupies; see the last paragraph of n. 47 to my paper *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual* (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 19, 71). LXX, ὁ θεὸς περιπατᾷ αὐτόν; Vulgate, *Deus occupet deliciis cor ejus*.

VI.

- (1) Cf. n. 21 on I. (2) See n. 2 on I.
 (3) Lit., wherefore have I been so very wise?
 (4) Lit., evil upon me were.

(5) Lit., also this I saw as wisdom under the sun, and it was great to me. Wisdom means also *a wise act*, just as *vanity* is used for a *vain pursuit*; cf. n. 2 on I, and n. 1 on II.

(6) This refers to the unsuccessful siege of Bethsura, a small but strongly fortified place on the boundary between Judea and Idumea, commanding the road from Jerusalem to Hebron; cf. 1 Macc. 6, 31; 2 Macc. 13, 19. The son of Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus V. Eupator, who was but ten years old, marched against Bethsura in 163 B. C., but his efforts were fruitless.

(7) The name of the wise defender of Bethsura has been forgotten, but the name of the traitor Rhodocus is recorded; cf. 2 Macc. 13, 21. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* (see n. 17 on IV) p. 261, n. 1 says, the Jews would have forgotten Judas Maccabæus, if the Books of the Maccabees had not been preserved by the Church.

(8) See n. 1 on I.

(9) See n. 19 on I.

(10) Study and explore.

(11) Cf. n. 15 on IV.

(12) Devices, theories, speculations.

(13) Cf. Deut. 4, 2; 12, 32; Prov. 30, 6; Rev. 22, 18, 19.

(14) Eccl. 1, 1 says: *in* Jerusalem; cf. n. 9 and II, v. 00.

(15) Imbibed.

(16) Socrates' conception of wisdom was the knowledge that he knew nothing; and Dubois-Reymond said at the conclusion of his address on the *Grenzen des Naturerkennens* (delivered at Leipzig in 1872): *Ignorabimus*.

(17) Lit., beautiful in its time. Socrates was convinced that whatever the deity decrees must be good.

(18) Lit., He has put obscurity (dimness) in their heart (mind). We must read *ha-lēm*; cf. Talm. *bē-ha-lēm* (or *bē-ālēm* = *bē-hē-ālēm*) 'unconsciously' and *κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται*, 2 Cor. 3, 15.

(19) Lit., far from me.

(20) Theoretically.

(21) Practical experience.

(22) Theoretical.

(23) This polemical interpolation extolling wisdom reflects the Stoic philosophy, which regarded the wise man as the impersonation of perfection.

(24) Lit., wisdom is good with an inheritance, *i. e.*, just as good as an inheritance (so AV, margin).

(25) Lit., those who see the sun. The meaning of the passage is: If a man acquires wisdom, he is as well equipped as a man who has inherited a fortune. Wisdom is even preferable to money: it ennobles life and makes it worth living. A poor wise man may be happier than a rich fool. Money may be lost, but wisdom is a treasure which moths and rust cannot consume (Matt. 6, 19; Luke 12, 33). For Schopenhauer's misapplication of this passage see n. 15 to my lecture cited in n. 2 to the Introduction; cf. n. 43 on VIII.

(26) That is, in the right (proper) place. It does not mean that the heart of the wise man beats on the right side of the body. Cf. the German phrase *das Herz auf dem rechten Fleck haben* and our *right-hearted*.

(27) According to the beliefs of the ancient Hebrews the heart is the seat of the intellect. His heart is at the right means therefore: his mind is sound (sane, rational, sensible).

(28) That is, in the wrong place. Left-hand=inauspicious; left-handed=awkward, unskillful; left-witted=dull, stupid.

(29) Lit., in the way (errand) which the fool goes. In 1 K 18, 22 *he has a way* (AV, he is in a journey) means *he has some business*; cf. also Is. 58, 13: *not doing thy own ways*=pursuing thy business; Jud. 18, 5 *our way which we go*=the errand on which we are going, i. e., our undertaking.

(30) Heb. + the mouth of. Contrast the last line of II, ii.

(31) Confuse, entangle, involve in trouble. (32) Lit., better (than).

(33) Lit., are above the shout of the ruler among the fools.

(34) The fragrant ointment of the dealer in aromatic spices and perfumes; see my Book of Canticles (cf. n. 21 on the Introduction) nn. 7-10 on No. 1.

(35) That is, unfathomable.

(36) Cf. n. 1 on II. Socrates identified virtue with knowledge; he believed that no one consciously did wrong, but only through imperfect cognition. Nietzsche says, many actions are called bad which are merely stupid.

VII.

(1) Lit., what is it doing?

(2) That is, to stimulate, lit., draw, attract (lure).

(3) Lit., do; cf. Greek *ἐν πύρρειν* and below, n. 25, and n. 57 on VIII.

(4) That is, limited, few; AV, margin, the number of the days, i. e., the few days (cf. AV, margin, Is. 10, 19). Shakespeare says: The sands are numbered that make up my life. Cf. the German *Seine Tage sind gezählt*, also 2 Macc. 6, 25 (for Swete's *ἀκέραιον*, for MS. *ἀκαίρων*, read, with Fritzsche, *ἀκαρπαιον*).

(5) Heb. + in them.

(6) Lit., a wood sprouting (out) trees.

(7) Works accomplished, achievements. (8) What sort of a man?

(9) Forethought. Heb. + under the sun.

(10) Lit., I turned to let my heart despair. (11) If there is a man.

(12) Lit., give it, surrender it. (13) Lit., falls. (14) Lit., griefs.

(15) Lit., and his labor much worry.

(16) Lit., to make his soul see good. (17) Cf. below, gloss *θ*.

(18) Not only one, but plenty of them; not only one wife, but a whole harem.

(19) Cf. IV, *μ*; VI, *γ*.

(20) Lit., in darkness, even if his whole life is dreary and cheerless, destitute of joy, gladness and comfort; if he experiences nothing but unhappiness, grief, and worry.

(21) Lit., is from the hand of.

(22) Lit., who can eat, and who can feel?

(23) Lit., who is good before Him.

(24) Heb. + for them.

(25) Lit., to do well; cf. above, n. 3.

(26) Cf. 5, 19 (V, *σ*).

(27) Cf. 8, 13 (II, *vv*).

VIII.

(1) As though you were continually feasting and rejoicing; *cf.* Ps. 23, 5; Prov. 27, 9; Is. 61, 3; Luke, 7, 46. Contrast 7, 3 (III, ι).

(2) Lit., see (*i. e.*, enjoy) life. *Cf.* 2 Macc. 14, 25 (*ἐγάμησεν, εὐστάθησεν, ἐκοινώνησεν βίου*).

(3) Temporary existence, fleeting life; *cf.* II, ι.

(4) Here Ecclesiastes preaches the gospel of work; see also n. 5 on IV.

(5) Do not be too anxious about the future. You must run some risk if you want to succeed in this world. Act like a merchant who sends his grain to distant lands across the sea. Do not be timid, but cautious. Do not put all your eggs into one basket, do not ship all your goods in one bottom. Be prepared for all contingencies, for we cannot control the future.

(6) Unforeseen occurrences out of the range of ordinary calculation are liable to happen at any time; but if you do not dare to run any risk, you can accomplish nothing.

(7) Even the commonest occupations are attended with risk.

(8) Snakes abound in Palestine and are often found in dilapidated buildings the stones of which are not unfrequently used for new houses. Hillah on the Euphrates *e. g.* is built entirely with bricks from the ruins of Babylon.

(9) Lit., its wielder must put forth more strength. The risk is not so great, but then it requires a greater effort.

(10) Do not lock the stable door after the steed is stolen. All your precautions help you nothing if you miss the proper moment.

(11) You must not be over-cautious, otherwise you will never accomplish anything.

(12) Work whenever you can; *cf.* above, n. 4.

(13) These lines form the basis of the well-known German students' song *Gaudeamus igitur*, originally a penitential song of two stanzas. Stanzas ii and iii are found in a manuscript of 1267; stanzas i-iii were probably known about 1717. The tune, which is a saraband, can hardly have originated prior to 1750.

(14) Amuse yourself while you are young. Pluck those flowers of pleasure which grow alongside the path of life. Be no hermit or ascetic, but do not ruin your health! *Cf.* the German (or rather, Swiss) song: *Freut euch des Lebens, weil noch das Lämpchen glüht; pflücket die Rose, eh' sie verblüht!* (by H. G. Nägeli, of Zurich, 1793).

(15) That is, thy wife; *cf.* Prov. 5, 15-18. In modern Palestinian love-songs a girl is often termed a fountain or a well; *cf.* my *Book of Canticles* (see n. 21 on the Introduction) n. 36 on No. 8. The meaning of the passage is: Do not neglect your lawful wife! Try to build up a family while you are in the full possession of your manly vigor!

(16) The sun is the sunshine of childhood when everything seems bright and happy; the moon is symbolical of the more tempered light of boyhood and early manhood, while the stars indicate the sporadic mo-

ments of happiness in mature age. More and more the number of rainy days increases, but seldom interrupted by bright moments ; and when we are going down the hill, there is no sunshine after the rain, but the clouds return, and everything seems painted gray on gray.

(17) The hands. (18) The bones, especially the backbone.

(19) The teeth.

(20) The eyes begin to lose their luster, and sight becomes dim.

(21) Lit., the doors toward the street are closed, *i. e.*, the exits are barred: secretions are insufficient, or vitiated, or cease ; he begins to suffer from retention (*ischuria*) and intestinal stenosis.

(22) His digestion is impaired.

(23) His sleep is short ; he awakens when the birds begin to chirp at daybreak.

(24) He is unable to hear sounds distinctly, and becomes hard of hearing.

(25) He hates to climb a hill, or to go upstairs, because he is short of breath.

(26) Lit., fears are on the way, *i. e.*, he dreads a walk even on level ground.

(27) His hair turns hoary. Dr. Post, of Beirut, says of the blossoms of the almond tree: Although the petals are pale pink toward the base, they are usually whitish toward their tips, and the general effect of an almond tree in blossom is white. Bodenstedt in his *Tausend und ein Tag im Orient* (2, 237) speaks of the white blossoms of the almond tree as falling down like snow-flakes.

(28) Lit., becomes a burden.

(29) The Heb. term is generally used for locusts in one of their stages of development. It may have been loosely applied to many kinds of insects, just as *bug* is sometimes used here in America.

(30) Lit., the poor one. In the same way we read in Ps. 22, 21 :

From the jaws of the lion save me,
my wretched (life) from the unicorns.

Cf. Wellhausen's translation in the Polychrome Bible.

(31) Lit., breaks through. The soul is freed from the body, as the butterfly emerges from the chrysalis. The Greek word *psyche* means not only soul but also butterfly.

(32) The spinal chord.

(33) The brain.

(34) The heart loses its power to propel the blood through the body.

(35) The waterwheel, *i. e.*, the whole machinery comes to a stop (*paralysis cordis*) and this stoppage means dissolution.

(36) The grave.

(37) The hired mourners (*qui conducti plorant in funere*, Hor., *Ars poet.* 431).

(38) Lit., before them. *Cf.* IV, μ .

(39) In 1 Macc. 3, 56 we read that when Judas Maccabæus (165-161) organized his army, he discharged all men who were building houses, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful (*cf.* Deut. 24, 5 and the late

Deuteronomistic addition, Deut. 20, 5-8) but at the time of the author of the present gloss there were no exemptions in time of war; John Hyrcanus (135-104) and his successors had no national Jewish army, but mercenaries (Joseph., *Ant.*, xiii, 8, 4). The soldiers of Alexander Jan-næus (see n. 12 on the Introduction) were Pisidians and Cilicians. In the army of Herod the Great (37-4 B. C.) there were numerous Thracians, Germans, and Gauls (Joseph., *Ant.*, xv, 8, 4).

The meaning of the present passage is: Just as no one can avert the wind, so no one can avert his death-day. There is no exemption, just as there is no discharge from the ranks, no furlough in time of war. Even the righteous must yield to the inexorable law of death, and wickedness will certainly not exempt those who are given to it, for the wages of sin is death (Rom. 6, 23).

(40) Cf. 2 Macc. 7, 22.

(41) According to Winckler this may be an allusion to Alcimus who commanded that the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down (1 Macc. 9, 54); see, however, n. 3 on the Introduction.

(42) Do what you feel inclined to, and enjoy what pleases your eye. This ironical addition is based on Num. 15, 39.

(43) This passage is an interpolation. Ecclesiastes was no misogynist; cf. stanzas ii and x of section VIII (9, 9; 12, 1). Schopenhauer, who quotes Ecclesiastes twelve times, remarks: *Der geniale Koheleth sagt: "Unter Tausend habe ich einen Menschen gefunden, aber kein Weib unter allen diesen;"* but three of the seven passages of Ecclesiastes, which Schopenhauer quotes, are interpolations, viz., 7, 4 (III, 1) quoted in Schopenhauer's works, vol. 3, p. 731; 5, 78;—7, 12 (VI, 0) quoted 5, 352; 6, 462;—7, 29 (VIII, v) quoted 4, 32. See Schopenhauer's *Werke* edited by J. Frauenstädt, and W. L. Hertslet's *Schopenhauer-Register* (Leipzig, 1890) p. 22; see also above, n. 25 on VI.

(44) Examining and counting one case after the other, making a statistical investigation.

(45) Lit., calculation (ratio, proportion).

(46) Diogenes is reported to have gone to the market place, with a lighted lantern in broad daylight, to find men. Napoleon I. said to Goethe: *Vous êtes un homme.*

(47) That is, an ideal woman.

(48) Lit., spirit; cf. n. 2 on IV.

(49) Cf. nn. 1. 19 on I.

(50) More exactly, double-hemistichs, hemistichal pairs; each line in Heb. poetry consists of a pair of hemistichs (with 3+3, 2+2, or 3+2 beats).

(51) Graceful, elegant. (52) He never sacrificed substance to form.

(53) Lit., lords (members) of the assembly, i. e., parts of a collection, lines forming parts of a coherent poem, not isolated apothegms or detached aphorisms. An isolated maxim, a single proverb, as we find them in the Book of Proverbs, which was commonly ascribed to Solomon, is like the point of an ox-goad: it pricks one particular spot for a moment, urging on and stimulating, but has no lasting effect. Sayings, however, which are systematically arranged in a special collection form-

ing a coherent didactic poem, are as impressive as nails firmly driven into a board: they have a firm hold on us. This is said also with reference to the relative difficulty of memorizing isolated sayings as contained in the Book of Proverbs, on the one hand, and the coherent didactic poem of Ecclesiastes, on the other. It is much harder to learn the Book of Proverbs by heart (owing to the lack of connection between the individual verses) than the Book of Ecclesiastes which is written by one shepherd (or leader) on a definite plan and with a definite object in view.

(54) Of Epicurus and his followers.

(55) On Greek philosophy. The Greek philosophers were very prolific writers. Cf. M. Friedländer, *Griechische Philosophie im Alten Testament* (Berlin, 1904) and E. Sellin *Die Spuren griechischer Philosophie im Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1905).

(56) Schopenhauer says, Much reading deprives the mind of all elasticity; it is like keeping a spring perpetually under pressure (quoted by Dr. James Moffat in his Literary Illustrations of Ecclesiastes in *The Expositor*, Jan. 1905, p. 79) cf. J. Frauenstädt's *Schopenhauer-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1871) p. 57 and W. L. Hertslet's *Schopenhauer-Register* (Leipzig, 1890) p. 127.

(57) This is supposed to be a Grecism, = τούτο παντός ἀνθρώπου (τοῦτον ἔργον); cf. n. 10 on V; n. 3 on VII. LXX, however, renders: οὗτο τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

(58) Cf. 2 Macc. 12, 41.

(59) Viz., the snares, nets, and fetters, and other pitfalls.

(60) Lit., shepherd.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AV = Authorized Version; —c. = chapter, cc. = chapters; —EB = Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica* (New York, 1899-1903); —JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; —K = The Books of The Kings; —l. = line, ll. = lines; —n. = note, nn. = notes; —p. = page, pp. = pages; —v. = verse, vv. = verses; —ZAT = Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; —ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

In the translations from the Hebrew, parentheses, (), indicate words implied, but not expressed, in the Hebrew, or words supplied for the sake of the rhythm. Brackets, [], on the other hand, indicate words or clauses which must be restored in the Hebrew text. In the translation of Ps. 45 (see n. 9 on III) braces, { }, indicate transpositions, the traditional position of the words in the Received Text being marked by { }, while the transposed words are enclosed in { }. Similarly (§) and [v] indicate transpositions of glosses.

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II.—A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE INDO-IRANIAN NASAL VERBS.¹

PART II.

I. The *-nā-* class verbs.²

K. Verbs meaning 'caedere, scindere', etc. (= p., B, above).

1) Skr. *dṛṇāti* 'splits': *n*-flexion in Gothic *af-taurnan* 'to break off, cease'.³

For their semantic interest note

dépei 'flays'

déprpov 'caul, net z haut'

dépua 'skin, hide'

Goth. *ga-tafran* 'to destroy'

Germ. *zehren* 'to eat (and drink)'

2) *lunāti/lunōti* 'cuts': '*n*-flexion in Goth. *fra-lusnan* (intrans.) 'to be lost'. I divide *lu-snan*, *sn* belonging to s)NĒ(Y)- 'to cut'; but the division *-lus-nan* is attested for the Gothic popular feeling by *fra-lius-an*.

Base LĒ(Y)-/LŌ(W)- (see d. above and nos. 23, M., 26, 141, 166).

Lat. *li-ra* 'ridge, furrow'

li-tus 'shore'⁴

li-tera 'scratch, letter'.

lo-rum 'lash'

lū-ra 'strap'

lū-is 'smooth'

(?) *lō-mentum* 'powder'

Skr. *lṛkhā* 'tear'

λη-νός 'trough'

ληίς 'booty'

Skr. *lāvas* 'cutting'

λαίπα 'ravine, cut'

Skr. *lavandm* 'salt'

¹ See A. J. P. XXV p. 369 foll.

² The classification of these verbs by meaning will not accord in all respects with the semantic grouping essayed under p., above (part I, p. 379), but this lack of symmetry will be remedied by cross references.

³ Except in cases of special semantic interest only one flexional example will be cited from the Indo-Iranian group.

⁴ I am citing 3^d sg. presents even where that particular form is not attested, generally when the flexional type is attested by other forms, but sometimes merely on native learned and lexical authority. The actual forms in use may all be controlled by Keller's lists.

⁵ Cf. Skeat's Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, s. v.

Of semantic import :¹

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| λύει 'looses' | O. N. <i>lyja</i> 'to knock, beat' |
| λύνει 'washes' | Goth. <i>fra-lusnan</i> 'to lose' |
| Lat. <i>lavat</i> 'washes' (See M. below, and no. 23) | |

3) *kuṣṇāti* 'tears': no *n*-flexion. Originally *s)ku-ṣṇāti* (cf. no. 19), subsequently *kuṣ-ṇāti* (cf. *kuṣāti*), see on Goth. *-lusnan/-liusan* in no. 2.

Cognates (cf. no. 1):

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Lat. <i>cutis</i> 'skin' | <i>scutum</i> 'shield' |
| κύτος " | σκῦτος 'hide' |

4) *mṛdnāti* 'rubs, crushes': no *n*-flexion.

Cognates with R.

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| σμερδαλέος 'frightful' | Eng. <i>smart</i> |
| σμερδόνος " | Lat. <i>merda</i> 'dung'. |

Cognates with L.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Skr. <i>mṛdās</i> 'soft' | ἀμαλδύνει 'crushes, softens' |
| ἀμαλός " (without -D-). | |
| μαλθακός " (with -DH-) | Skr. <i>mṛdhati</i> 'neglects, forgets' (cf. <i>temnit</i>) |

5) *mṛṇāti* 'crushes': *n*-flexion in *μάρναται*; also cf. *mṛṇāti* (with -NO-/-NE-, see q., above).

Cognates with R.

| | |
|--|---|
| μαραίνει 'rubs out, quenches' | μαραίνεσθαι 'dies' |
| Skr. <i>maradyati</i> 'destroys' | Skr. <i>mārate</i> " |
| Av. <i>marəncaite</i> " | Lat. <i>mortuus</i> ('tot-) geschlagen' |
| Lat. <i>marcet</i> 'droops, languishes' | <i>murcus</i> 'short' |
| Skr. <i>mṛṇālam</i> 'edible lotus' (so Uhlenbeck). | |

Cognates with L.

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Lat. <i>molat</i> 'grinds' | Arm. <i>malem</i> 'zerstosse, -malme' |
| <i>mulcet</i> 'strokes, soothes' | Skr. <i>mṛṣṭi</i> 'touches' |
| <i>mulcat</i> 'beats' | μαλακός 'soft' |

¹ Note German *los-bindet* 'loose-binds' = unlooses; Eng. *breaks loose*.

² Fr. *ordure* 'dung', derived from Lat. *horridum* 'frightful' justifies *merda* 'dung': σμερδόνος 'frightful'.

³ Cf. Germ. *stöszer* 'pestle', *stösst* 'grinds, pulverizes'; primitive sense 'tundit'.

⁴ Cf. Germ. *sie stossen an einander* 'they touch' and Eng. *strikes* (= touches) a piano key.

⁵ Hesychius glosses φλᾶν 'to crush' by μαλάσσειν πλῆγαις; μαλαχθεῖς = 'crushed'.

6) *vlīnāti* 'crushes, squeezes': NO-/NE-flexion in Lat. *vellit* 'plucks, pulls' (see no. 51.); *vlī-* is derived from the dissyllabic base *WELāY-*.¹

7) *ḡrñāti* 'crushes': *n*-flexion in O. Ir. *ar-a-chrinim* 'difficiscor' (': *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit'); see no. 29.

Of semantic import, Lat. *caries* 'decay': Skr. *ḡrñás* 'rotten'; on *κορίννοι* see Q., below.

8) *bhrñāti* 'wounds, injures':² no *n*-forms; *bhrī* from a base *BHERaY-*. Cognates:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Av. <i>brāi-brā</i> 'axe' | <i>phēi</i> 'splits' | Lat. <i>ferit</i> 'strikes' |
| O. Ir. <i>berraim</i> 'tondeo' | Lat. <i>forat</i> 'pierces' | O. N. <i>berja</i> 'to beat' |
| O. B. <i>briti</i> 'tondere' | O. B. <i>brati</i> 'pugnare' | |

9) *jīnāti* 'overpowers': *n*-flexion in *βίει* 'violat, stuprat', which is a -NĒ(Y)-suffix verb with thematic flexion (cf. Keller, l. c. p. 196, 1 c.) The base *G*ĪNĒ(Y)-* exhibits the variation *i/z* seen in *vlīnāti* (no. 6), or else *i* in *βίει* develops as compensative lengthening from **βr-omyei* (cf. no. 2).

Cognates: Lith. *į-gyjiù* 'I acquire, gain'.³

10) *kṣīnāti/kṣīnōti* 'destroys': NE/NO-flexion in *φθίει*, (? for **φθi-oyei*, cf. no. 2) 'wastes away' (for the sense, see nos. 5, 63); cf. also *κρίννει* 'destroys' (P.). Further see nos. 174, 175.

11) *kṛñāti* (Dhātupāṭha) 'injures, kills', Av. *kṛrmaoiti* 'cuts', NE/NO-flexion in *cernit*, *κρίει* (? for **κρi-oyei*, or like *vlīnāti*, no. 9) 'scheidet, sichtet, sondert; unterscheidet'.

Base S)KER-

κείπει shears⁴

O. N. *skera* 'caedere'

¹ In this paper *a* is the transcription for *a** or *a**.

² Whitney defines by 'consumes'.

³ From a more primitive 'strike, hit' (cf. P. below)? But if Skr. *jyā* 'violence' and *jyā* 'bow-string' are cognate, *į-gyjiù* may have meant something like 'ich packe' (= I tie up and carry off for myself). Even so, the sinew-thread of the primitive bow was got by cutting, not by weaving, and thus the base *G*WYĒ-* may have had a primitive sense 'to cut' (see nos. 39, 63).

⁴ It is customary to derive *κείπει* from *KĒRYETI* and *κουπεύς* 'cutter, barber' from *κορF-* or *κορo-*. It is not impossible but the base was *K*WĒ(Y)-R-* / *K*Ō(W)-R-*, an *r*-extension of a base to be subsequently discussed (no. 119). Sabine *curis* 'hasta' would derive from *KŌ(W)-R-*, *quiris* (?) from *K*WĒ(Y)-R-* cf. *κῑπει* 'strikes, hits', *κῑρυνος* 'leathern bag' (cf. Skr. *dṛtis*, same meaning: *dēpei* 'splits, flays'). On the guttural variation in this root, see below in this number. The type of base represented by *KĒ(Y)-R-* gives rise to participles of the type *KĪR-NŌS*, cf., e. g., Skr. *ḡrñás* 'rotten': Lat. *caries* 'rot' (no. 7). The base S)KĒY-R- is attested by *κίρνημι* 'I mix', no. 29., (cf. Skr. *kirdti* 'scatters', with *κ*), as the base *SKHĒY-D-* is attested by *σκιόνημι* 'I scatter' (cf. no. 119).

Of semantic interest:

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Du. <i>schortem</i> 'to lack' (= to fall short) | O. Ir. <i>cruth</i> 'forma' |
| Base s)KEL- Lith. <i>skelùs</i> 'scindo' | O. B. <i>kolja</i> 'caedo' |
| Lat. <i>culler</i> 'knife' | <i>celer</i> 'swift' (see R.) |

Of semantic interest:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| O. Ir. <i>scailim</i> 'σκεδάννυμι' | Skr. <i>kirdti</i> 'scatters, pours' |
| Skr. <i>kalā</i> 'part' | <i>kdlis</i> 'division, quarrel'— 'ace' (dice) |
| <i>κηλὶς</i> 'spot' | Lat. <i>calidus</i> (ā from ē?) 'spotted' |
| Skr. <i>kalañhas</i> " | <i>caligo</i> 'mist' |
| " <i>kdluqas</i> 'dirty' (cf. no. 7) | O. B. <i>kalū</i> 'dung' (cf. Kluge, s. v. <i>scheissen</i>) |

Base SKER-P-

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Skr. <i>kṛpāṇas</i> 'sword' | <i>κρόπιον</i> 'sickle' | Lith. <i>kerpū</i> 'tondeo' |
| Lat. <i>carpit</i> 'plucks' | <i>καρπός</i> 'crop' | |

Of semantic interest:

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lat. <i>corpus</i> 'body' | Skr. <i>kṛp-</i> 'forma' |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|

Base s)KEL-P-

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Skr. <i>kdipate</i> 'arranges' | Lat. <i>scalpit</i> 'scratches' |
| Lat. <i>sculpat</i> 'graves' | <i>culpa</i> 'fault, crack, gebrochen' |

We can hardly escape the question whether Skr. *kṛnóti* 'makes' is a cognate, with specialized sense, of *kṛnāti*; cf. Lith. *kuriù* 'I build'.⁵ We may compare Eng. *shapes*, Germ. *schafft*: Lith. *skabėti* 'cuts', Lat. *scabūt* 'scrapes' (so Skeat); while Lat. *figit* 'shapes, fashions, moulds' is an ultimate doublet, I take it, of *figit* 'pierces, sticks, fastens'.⁶ On Lat. *parat* 'procures, produces, makes' (: *pepei* 'cuts') see Am. Jr. Phil., 25, 182.

¹ Not from **culptro-* as I suggested in Am. Jr. Phil. 24, 73, nor from *kertru-* (Skutsch, B. B. 22, 126).

² So Eng. *crop* (noun) from *to crop*, see Skeat, l. c., s. v.

³ Cf. *forma* 'shape': *forat* 'pierces' (?).

⁴ Cf. Skr. *chidra-* 'hole, defect': *√chid-* 'scindere', Eng. *blemish*: O. Fr. *blesmir* 'wound' (see Skeat, l. c.). See Am. Jr. Phil. l. c. p. 73.

⁵ Uhlenbeck (Etym. Woert. d. ai. Sprache), in view of Cymric *peri* 'machen', writes a labialized velar for *kṛnóti*; Brugmann (Gr. I³ § 631, 641) writes for it and for *kṛnāti* a pure velar. Cf. also *kṛnāti* (no. 7). See v. below.

⁶ The roots are DHEYĜH- 'to mould' and DHEYG- 'to stick' (cf. Lith. *dėgti* 'to smart', *dygūs* 'pricking'). On the variation of *ḡh* and *gw* see j. above and cf. *thygánei* 'touches' (see no. 5 for a parallel semantic relation); also see v. below. The Latin doublet *figit*/*fivit*, as well as Av. *dacsayēiti* 'heaps up':

12) *mināti* / *minōti* 'damages, lessens; gets lost': *nu*-flexion well attested, Gr. *μνίθει*, Lat. *minuit* 'lessens'. Original sense 'caedit'. Cognates:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Lat. <i>dim-minuit</i> 'splits open' | <i>minat</i> 'agit' (Festus) ¹ |
| <i>minatur</i> 'threatens' | <i>minor</i> 'smaller' ² |
| O. N. <i>mei-ða</i> 'nocere' | Skr. <i>mī-th-ati</i> 'offendit' |

Of semantic interest:

| | |
|--|---|
| Lat. <i>mutat</i> 'swaps' ³ (from * <i>moitat</i>) | Av. <i>mae-θ-</i> 'to cheat' ⁴ |
| Skr. <i>māy-ā</i> 'decoy' ⁵ | |

The relation of meaning between *mināti* ('breaks, injures') and *minōti* 'walls, builds' (no. 91) does not differ from the relation of *κηνāti* / *κηνōti*, discussed in the last number (see especially the last fn.). Note

| | |
|--|---|
| Lettic <i>mī-t-s</i> 'stake' | O. N. <i>meiðr</i> 'stake' |
| Skr. <i>me-th-īś</i> / <i>me-dh-īś</i> 'stake, tree, pillar' | Lat. <i>moī-nia</i> / <i>mū-ri</i> 'walls' (see no. 29) |

Skr. *dēghdhi* 'smears' (cf. Uhlenbeck, s. v. *dehas*), attest the variation *gh* / *gw* (*h*) and so perhaps does *τῖφος* 'teich' (cf. Kluge, s. v.): *τειχος* 'wall, dike' (cf. *πηλός* 'mud', Lat. *pālus* 'swamp': *pālus* 'stake'). Whether the original meaning of the group was 'to stick clay together' or 'to stick timbers together with pegs' is unessential. It is a question for the historian to determine whether the first *τειχος* was a 'stockade' or a 'dike'. It may very well have been both at once, and one "cuts a ditch" (doublet of dike = 'trench and embankment') as one cuts stakes for a stockade. Whether the mason or the joiner preceded in time, the terms of the one craft were liable to adoption by the other: cf. Eng. *wall*—made by the mason—from Lat. *vallum* 'stockade' (: *vallus* 'stake')—made by the joiner (see also no. 52). On the cognate base DHĒ(Y)- see no. 54.

¹ The sense is rather 'verberat', cf. Apuleius, the archaizer, Met. III. 27 *asinum . . . minantes baculis exigunt*.

² Cf. Skr. *kṣudrās* 'small': *kṣḍati* 'beats'

³ The colloquial verb *swaps* originally meant 'cuts (wheat) by chopping instead of reaping, strikes, beats' (so The Standard Dictionary and Skeat, l. c.). An essential part of the bargain seems to have been some form of blow.—*schlag*, *gegenschlag*, *durchschlag* (see Meringer, l. c. pp. 170-171).—cf. our 'to strike a trade' and *schlag* = 'festgesetzter Preis'.

⁴ For the sense of 'cheats' cf. *κάπηλος* (1) 'trader', (2) 'cheat, rogue'; Lat. *ferit*, *per-cutit*, Eng. *beats* and *strikes* all come to mean 'cheats' in one sphere or another.

⁵ Cf. *δόλος* 'trick': *√DEL* 'to split'; perhaps, *frau-d-* 'dolos': *frus-tum* (from **frud-tom*) 'bit' (= 'gespaltenes'); Germ. *schlag* ('bird-) trap': *schlägt* 'caedit'; *scheide* 'snare'.

The common base of all these words was $\text{MĒ}(Y)$ - 'to cut, stick, thrust'.¹ Further cognates:

Lat. *me-t-it* 'reaps'² *mē-ti-tur* 'measures'³
maia 'midwife' (= die entbinderin) O. B. *mi-nē-ti* 'put a re' (see no. 25)⁴

Base $\text{SMĒ}(Y)$ -, $\text{SMĒ}(Y)$ -K-

σού-λη 'chisel' *συνή* 'hoe'

σμικ-ρός 'small' (cf. *minor* above) *σμί-λαξ* 'yew' (cf. Lat. *taxus*⁵ no. 85)

(?) *Σμι-ν-θείς* 'smiter' (?) *σμι-ν-θος* 'mouse' (if = 'biter', cf. no. 38)

Lat. *mū-c-ro* (? : $\text{SMŌ}(Y)$ -K- or $\text{SMŌ}(w)$ -K-) 'point'

i-minet 'sticks out' *prō-minet* 'sticks forward'⁶

μέ-τ-αλλον 'fo d i n a'⁷ *manet* 'remains'⁸

13) *kliġ-nāti* 'tortures': no *n*-forms. Uhlenbeck suggests that *sam* + $\sqrt{\text{kliġ}}$ 'to crush, squeeze' adumbrates the primitive meaning and hesitatingly compares Czech *klestiti* 'to hew, cut'. Add Lat. *clingit* 'cludit' (if = *zu s c h l ä g t*) and the gloss *clinsit* (? = *clinxit*) 'decurtavit'.

L. (= A). To bind, fasten, splice, etc.

It was noted in m. above how contrasting meanings had developed in *stick* > *stitch*, Germ. *stechen* > *stecken*.⁹ A similar contrasting pair is found in *split* > *splice*, and like contrasts have developed in many other words describing mechanical processes, e. g.:

Lat. *stringit* 'strips' > 'binds' (cf. *strix* 'groove, striga' 'swath'), *ligat* 'binds' > 'ligo' 'grub-axe', Skr. *kṛṇāti* 'cuts' > *kṛṇāti* 'spins,¹⁰ twists', *āpis* 'auger' > *āpāpiskei*

¹ Cf. Skr. *mīmāti mīmīte* (with *mī-* from *māy*). The roots in $\text{-Ē}(Y)$ - may have been the source of the reduplication type in *i*.

² Cf. *swaps*, above.

³ (1) 'measures, estimates, judges'; (2) 'steps, paces, traverses'. The sense 'measures' is generalized, perhaps from 'distributes' (e. g. *frumentum militibus metitur*), but cf. Eng. *strike* = 'a leveller for measuring corn', Germ. *getreide eins chla gen* = 'frumentum metiri'.

⁴ With *-nē-* from $\text{-NĒ}(Y)$ -

⁵ Cf. Schrader, l. c. s. v. Eibe.

⁶ A semantic parallel in O. E. *seorian* 'to project, jut out', which belongs with *SKER-* 'to cut, stick' (no. 11). The *nē* of *-minēre* corresponds with the *nē* of Lith. *grabinėti* (see q. above).

⁷ For the suffix cf. *κρύσ-τ-αλλος* 'ice'.

⁸ Cf. Goth. *beidan* (no. 14), Germ. *bleibt* (no. 167).

⁹ Cf. the Slavic bases *ī tūk-* 'weben' > *< 2 tūk-* 'einstecken, stechen'.

¹⁰ Cf. *κροτῆι* 'smites': *κε-κροτημένος* 'close woven' (Lid. and Scott, s. v. II. 5), from the process of "striking the warp home".

'joins, fastens,' Eng. *botch* = Du. *butsen* 'strike > < patch up', Ital. *piccare* 'to pierce' > < *ap-picare* 'to hang up, fasten together', Lat. *mordet* 'bites' > < grips' (Seneca), Eng. *swaddles* 'beats (?) > < wraps', *πάσσαλος* 'peg' > < Skr. *pāṣaḥ* 'rope', Lat. *pangit* 'figit, pegs' > < *παγίς, πάγη* 'noose, trap' (see no. 168), Little Russ. *stebnutý* 'caedere > < nere', *δαίραι* 'share' > < *δίδομαι* 'binds'.¹ With prepositions, Skr. *sam-hanti* 'joins, unites' > < breaks', Germ. *anstösst* 'makes touch, unite' > < *stösst* 'strikes, thrusts'.

Other locutions generally illustrative of the notion 'to split' > < splice' are German "bretter zusammenstossen", "haare in einen knoten schlagen", "das tuch über dem kopf schlagen", "papier um ein paket schlagen", "zu Faden schlagen" = 1) 'ordiri', 2) 'to baste', 3) 'to twist (rope)'; Eng. *nails* 'to fasten with nails'; *tacks*, 1) 'to fasten with tacks', 2) 'to baste, sew' (cf., with generalized sense of 'to fasten', at-tach, de-tach); "to batten (down)" = 'to fasten (down) with battens' (batons),

¹ It is customary, because of *δᾱμος* 'scharr, district, folk', to write the base of *δαίραι* as *DĀ(Y)*-, but I write it as *DĒ(Y)* because of *δει-π-νον* 'feast' (: *δαίνομαι* 'feasts', Skr. *dā-p-ayati* 'shares', cf. Prellwitz, Woert. s. v. *δαπάνη*), regarding *ā* in *δᾱμος* as secondarily lengthened *ā*. The base of *δίδομαι* 'binds', generally written *DĒ*, ought also to be written *DĒ(Y)*, cf. Skr. *dī-sva* (impv.) ptc. *dī-nas*, defined by Uhlenbeck 'nieder geschlagen', ('vinctus), *chēlif*' (= Lat. *captivom*), *dy-dti* 'cuts' (like *chy-dti* 'cuts', from *SKHĒ(Y)*-, so Prellwitz, s. v. *σχάζω*); Homeric *δόνον* 'caedebant', though obscure in its morphology, also belongs here, probably; *δίει* 'whirls, (twists), spins round': Aeolic *δίννα* (? from **dī-sva*) 'vortex' correspond semantically with Lat. *vertit* 'turns': *verticillus* 'spindle', that is, if the verb be defined by 'spins'. Availing ourselves of Lat. *omentum* (1) 'caul' (2) 'fat', we may derive *δημός* 'fat' from *DĒ(Y)*- 'to cut', cf. *δέπτρον* 'caul': *δέπει* ('cuts,) flays'. If Lat. *con-dire* meant originally 'to tie together (bunches of herbs)', we see from Germ. *würnen* how it may have developed the sense 'to preserve, spice, pickle', cf. Gr. *ἀπρβει* 'seasons', a specialized derivative of *ἀπαρίσκει* 'joins'. Beside the base *DĒ(Y)*- 'to cut, divide, share' stood *DŌ(W)*- (cf. O. Lat. *du-it*, Gr. *δοF-έναι*, Skr. *dāu-dne*) 'to give, bescheren', a generalization of meaning as in *schenkt* 'gives': *schenkt* 'pours in'. The allocation of the generalized meaning 'to give' to the base *DŌ(W)*- (not *DŌ*-, cf. Meillet, *Introd. Étud. Compar. Lang. Ind.-Eur.* p. 75) is an interesting semantic phenomenon. To *DŌ(W)*- 'to bind' we may refer *δοῦλος*, *δῶλος* 'bond man', *δόναξ/δοῖναξ/δῶναξ* 'reed, arrow', *in-du-tiae* 'foedus' (see no. 14); while Goth. *tēwi* 'scharr von fünfzig mann' may be derived from *DĒ(W)*- 'to cut' > < bind'. From *DĒ(Y)*-/*DŌ(W)*- 'to cut' we may derive Goth. *tau-jan* 'to make' (see no. 11 on *κηρότι*), with a more original sense in O. Eng. *tēwian* 'to tan, dēfein' (see no. 87).

a locution comparable with Lat. *claudit* 'closes' (: *clāva* 'club', *clāvis* 'key', *clāvus* 'peg').

14) Skr. *badhnāti* 'binds': *n*-flexion in Goth. *and-bundnan* 'to be loosed'.

It is customary to write the base as BHENDH- with permanent *n*,¹ but cf. O. Ir. *co-beden con-bodlas*,² *buden*, 'army', O. Brit. *bodin* 'manus', plur. *bodinion* 'phalanges'. Add O. Ir. *bodar* (: Skr. *badhirās*) 'deaf', supposing the original sense to have been 'deaf-and-dumb' as in *ἐνέος* (if = "tongue-tied", see above A. a.), cf. Goth. *baups*, *κωφός* 'deaf, dumb';³ (?) Lat. *surdus* 'deaf': *serit* binds, *sera* 'fastener, bar' (cf. *absurdus* glossed by *ἀν-ἄρμωστος* 'dis-cordant'). In view, however, of the *b*- of Skr. *badvam* 'troop, army', and the uncertainty of the definition of *badhirās* as ['dumb], deaf', the argument for permanent *n* is the stronger. But if we study our root in the sense 'to split > < splice' the argument against the permanence of *n* is conclusive:

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Lith. <i>bedą</i> 'I dig' | Lat. <i>fodit</i> 'digs' |
| Lith. <i>badý-ti</i> 'fodicare' | O. B. <i>bodą</i> 'fodico' |
| Cymric <i>bedd</i> 'fossa' | |

Other words of cognate meaning attest a base BHĒ(V)DH- 'to split > < splice', viz.:

| | |
|--|---|
| Lat. <i>fodit</i> (pf.) | Skr. <i>bádhatē</i> 'constrains' (: Ital. <i>costringere</i> 'draw tight with cords') |
| <i>fibula</i> 'buckle' | O. B. <i>béditi</i> } |
| (?) <i>fib-ra</i> 'division, entrails' | Goth. <i>baidjan</i> } 'costringere' |

¹ The syllable *-bund-* of *and-bund-nan* is supposed to be final proof of *n* in *badhnāti*, but it is only final proof of *n* in *and-bund-nan*, and even here *n* is not necessarily primary, but may have been introduced from the pret., *-bundum*. That we should expect a weak syllable before accented *nā* is true, but the intrusion of the *ē* grade on the zero grade, attested by a participle form like *πεπρός*, is also attested for the nasal verbs of the Indo-Iranian group (cf. Keller, l. c. § 16), and we have no means of demonstrating that in the proto-ethnic stage the same intrusion did not take place.

² Verifiable by me only in the lexica of Prellwitz, s. v. *πεισμα* and Fick's Woerterbuch, I⁴, p. 90.

³ *κωφός* 'maimed': *σκάφος* 'pit', Lith. *skabėti* 'to cut'.

⁴ Pace Brugmann Gr. I³ § 166.

⁵ Stokes in Fick's Woert.⁴ II p. 166.

It is hard to decide whether Lat. *foedus* 'truce' comes from the sense 'to join' or the sense 'to strike' (see no. 12 above, and cf. *foedus ferire* 'to strike a truce'). So *παγείς* in *ὄρκος παγείς* 'a sure and steadfast oath' may be derived either from the primitive sense of 'fasten' or '(fest-)stecken' (cf. Menge's Woert. s. v. *πήγνυμι*). Whether the explanation of *ferire* in the locution *foedus ferire* is as simple as the German word *schlag* suggests (see no. 12 fn. 3) is uncertain to my mind. Some form of ascertaining genuineness by tapping (striking), as in the Greek locution *κίραμον κρούειν*, may have underlain the contract making, or some breaking of a tessera hospitalis may have been the chief symbolic act of a treaty-making, cf. Gr. *ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμείν* which lends itself to the interpretation 'symbola <pactionis> fissi-facere' as well as to 'foederis causa <hostiam> caedere', though the cutting up of the animal sacrificed for distribution among the treaty makers was certainly a part of the ceremonial (cf. Aristophanes, *Lysis*. 192).¹

Lat. *fidus* we may interpret by (1) *παγείς*, (?) *ve-rus* ('true, reliable': wǣv- 'to plait') or (2) by ('split,') open, frank, loyal', cf. Il. 15. 26 *πεπισθούσα θυέλλας* 'procellas findendo resolvens'.² Illustrating the latter definition, at least roughly, stand the glosses *certus sum*: 'πίπεισμαι, persuasus sum', *certus* 'fidelis', *fidus*: 'amicus fidelis, certus', — *certus*: SKER- 'to cut' (no. 11) = *fidus*: BHĒY-D(H)- 'to split'. Further, the relation of BHĒY-D(H)- to BHENDH- 'to bind, bend' (see T., β.,) enables us to define *πειθεῖν* by 'flect it, κάμπτει' (cf. the gloss *flectit* 'persuadet'). Or did *fidus πιστός* mean 'tried, tested by splitting', cf. *fidiculae*: 'genus tormentorum, sunt ungulae (l. *unculae*?) quibus torquentur <rei> in euleo (= rack) adpensi'.

Further cognates of semantic interest are:

φιδίτιον 'δαίς'

πιθάκνη/φιδάκνη 'fidelis'⁴

¹ Cf. *pignus* 'pledge, earnest of a bargain', which seems an ultimate cognate; see the root discussed in no. 168.

² Lat. *foedus* 'ugly' meant either (1) 'scarred, cut' or implied (2) 'sourness' of face, (cf. Eng. *bitter*: √BHĒ(Y)-D 'to split, bite'). From *foedat* 'mutilates' I judge the former to be the more probable interpretation.

³ Cf. Skr. *dāna-bhīnnaś* 'best ochen, bribed' with *μσθῶ πειθελιν*.

⁴ We may suppose the earthen pot to have followed the plaited water-basket as it demonstrably did in North American civilization (cf. Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pg. 97). Eng. *cask* derives ultimately from *quassare* 'to break, burst' (see Skeat, l. c.), cf. *dolium* 'cask': √DEL (in no. 1). Unless indeed the original cast was a 'hollowed log', a 'trough' (*ληνός*, no. 2).

An additional base belonging in this group is BHENEDH- which perhaps appears with the sense 'to split' in Lat. *fenestra* 'cut, hole, window' (cf. on the semantic question Meringer, l. c., p. 126), from BHENEDH-TRĀ. I derive BHENEDH from BHĒ(Y)- + NĒDH-, as in c. above, though NĒDH- is attested only in the sense 'to splice' (see A. γ. above).¹ The grade BHENDH- is, barring *fenestra*, the grade in evidence. The relation of BHENDH- to BHĒ(Y)DH- has parallels in Goth. *fra-slinda* (base SLINDH- or SLENDH-): O. B. *slēdū* (base SLĒYDH-), Lith. *sprindis* (base SPRIND-): O. Ir. *srēdim* (base SPRĒ(Y)D-), cf. Reichelt KZ. 39 p. 75-6.

Only bare traces exist of the mutation BHŌ(W)-DH-, at least with transparent associations of meaning, and Goth. *baups* 'dumb, deaf': Skr. *badhīrās* 'deaf' (see above in this no.) has had its *au* explained by analogy with *daufs* 'deaf'. Skr. *budhnā-* 'bottom' may be a straggler, primarily meaning 'pavimentum, battuto',² cf. *πυθμῆν* 'root, stump (?)'. The base of *πυθάνομαι* and its kin is BHĒ(W)DH- and it may be cognate with BHĒ(Y)DH-, if the original sense was 'to learn by inquiry, by probing' (see T. ζ., below).

The base BHĒ(W)-, if 'to be, become' was the original meaning, could hardly be a cognate. But, though this sense is indubitably proethnic, it is not necessarily primary. I think that 'to become, be' is developed from 'to grow' (see k. above and no. 41, and note the definition "wachsen, werden, sein", given by Miklosich, Etym. Woert. d. Slav. Sprachen, s. v. *by-*), which in its turn may be secondary, cf. Germ. *bauen*, 'to build, construct', etc., a definition already discussed under no. 11; see also *struit* in no. 26.

We might expect differentiation of meaning to attach itself to differentiation of phonetic form: this is the way of doublets, witness our English yard/garden. But this differentiation would not be always thorough. Thus we have *findere sarculo* (Horace,

¹ Hirt also (Ablaut, 644) writes a base BHENEDH- 'to splice', deriving NEDH- from (BH)NEDH-. The explanation by addition, by blending of independent words of like meaning, seems to me more in accord with the observed and observable linguistic processes in operation about us.

² A nearly similar metaphor in *κρηπίδα βάλλεσθαι*, Lat. *fundamenta iacere* 'to throw, strike foundations'; *κρηπίς* belongs with Lat. *crepat* ('breaks, cracks, rattles', the sense of 'shoe' (cf. Lat. *crepida* 'solea') having developed from the cobbler's manufacture by beating.

Carm. i. 11) where *fodere* would seem more idiomatic. So in *defendit, offendit, -fend-* has rather the meaning of Skr. *bādhate* (cf. Lanman's Sanskrit Reader, Vocab. s. v.),¹ while in *offendix, offendimentum* 'cap, band' *-fend-* belongs to *badhnāti*. Nor can we decide whether Alban. *bint* 'I persuade' is a closer cognate to *πειθω* than to *badhnāti* (see above), or whether Goth. *bidjan* belongs to *πειθω* rather than to Skr. *bādhate* (see Uhlenbeck, got. Woert. s. v.).

15) *sināti/sināti* 'to bind': *n*-flexion in Lat. *sinīt* 'lets, allows' (see below). The original meaning was 'to stick > <stitch.' Base *SẼ(V)/-SŌ(W)*-

| | |
|--|--|
| Skr. <i>śhyakas</i> 'weapon' | ¹ <i>de-sivare</i> 'desinere' |
| Lat. <i>si-ca</i> 'dagger' | Skr. <i>sū-ct</i> 'needle' |
| Skr. <i>śi-ta</i> 'furrow' | Lat. <i>sū-bula</i> 'awl' |
| <i>śi-ram</i> 'plough' | ῶα 'seam' (96) |
| Lat. <i>si-num</i> 'bowl' (=cavatum) | Lat. <i>snit</i> 'sews' |
| O. B. <i>šyā</i> 'suo' | O. E. <i>sāw-an</i> , O. Sax. <i>sāian</i> 'to sew' |
| <i>šē-ti</i> 'net' | οὐδός } 'threshold' |
| Lith. <i>si-tas</i> 'rope, sieve' | ὀδός } (cf. <i>fenestra</i> , no. 14) |
| Lat. <i>sae-ta</i> 'bristle, mane' | οὐδός } 'road' |
| ἰνερ 's i n e w s' (see m.) | ὀδός } (see R. below). |
| Lat. { <i>salix</i> 'willow for | Lat. ¹ <i>sē-mi</i> 'half' |
| <i>siler</i> } plaiting' | (?) <i>satis</i> 'a bursting, teeming' |
| <i>solum</i> 'pavimentum, battuto', cf. | ² <i>similis</i> 'like' |
| Skr. <i>budhnd-</i> , no. 14 | <i>simila</i> 'flour' |
| ⁴ <i>sō-lus</i> 'alone' (=cut off) | <i>silex</i> 'cos, flint' |
| ⁵ <i>so-spes</i> } 'cut loose' (=freed, | <i>solea</i> 'slipper' (?) 'tie' or <i>crepida</i> no. 14) |
| <i>si-spes</i> } delivered, saved) | ³ <i>soluit</i> 'cuts loose' |
| <i>si-nus</i> 'cut, sink, fold' | <i>solatur</i> 'relaxes, releases' |
| <i>si-nuat</i> 'folds, bends' | ⁶ ἰσσε 'throws' |
| ⁶ <i>serit</i> (pf. <i>sēu-i</i>) 'sows' | ⁷ <i>sērus</i> 'late' |
| ⁷ <i>si-mit</i> 'leaves, allows' | ⁸ Skr. <i>śu-yati</i> 'sews' |

Notes:

(1) *sēmi*- 'half', cf. Goth. '*halbs*' (which Uhlenbeck derives from a root meaning 'to cut': Lat. *scalpit*), Skr. *ardha-* 'half': Lith. *ardyti* 'to separate', Lat. *arbiter* 'halver' (see Rev. de Ling., 1898, no. 4, p. 375, and cf. no. 96). The base *SẼ-M*- 'to cut' in *δμάλος* 'cut smooth, level' (cf. *lēvis*, no. 2); cf. also *similis*; *SMĒ(V)*-,² no. 12, is cognate.

¹ For the meaning, cf. Lith. *ginù* 'defendo, arceo' (=propulso): O. B. *sinja* 'caedo, meto', Skr. *√han-* 'to strike'. It is not impossible, to be sure, but *-fend-* belongs in this group.

² Is *SMĒY*- a compound root, *sē-* + *mē(V)*-, or *sēm-* + *ēY*- (see nos. 45, 46, and cf. f., fn.)?

(2) *similis* 'like,' cf. Skr. *viddhās* 'split, ähnlich'; note also *par* (no. 35) which, with *pars* and *portio*, belongs with *πείρες* 'pun-git, caedit'.

(3) *soluit*,—blended of *so-* + *luit* (no. 2), each member meaning 'to cut loose'.¹

(4) *sōlus*, cf. *cae-lebs* 'solitary': *caedit* 'cuts', and note the Festus glosses of *solox*, viz.: a) 'lana crassa' (cf. *sae-ta*), b) 'pecus quod passim pascitur non tectum'.

(5) With *sō-spes* cf. *cae-spes* 'turf, sod' (: *caed-it*), defined by Festus, terra in modum lateris caesa . . sive frutex recisus et truncus. Is the suffix *-spet-* cognate with *σπῆ* 'draws off, strips'?—cf. *σπά-δις* 'twig' with *cae-spes* 'frutex recisus'.

(6) The primitive sower was not like Millet's Sower, a broadcaster of grain, but rather a 'digger' of holes; he was more like the Teita women (cf. Mason, l. c. pg. 149) "who till the soil with implements of the rudest and simplest form . . . A small cavity is made with the finger, into which a few seeds are dropped, covered over loosely, and Nature is left to do the rest". Tree-planting, as described by Cato, R. R. 133 (cf. also Caecilius ap. Cic., Tusc. I. 31), who uses the verb *serit*, was not a process of sowing but of planting, the setting out of cuttings. The planting of hedges and vegetables we may safely put at an early period (cf. Schrader, l. c. p. 263). Apropos of Skr. *sī-ram* 'plough' and *sītā* 'furrow' it may be noted that *ἀρόω* 'I plough' develops the sense of 'sow'. Or the notion of 'scatter' may have been immediately developed from that of 'cut' (cf. O. Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter': $\sqrt{\text{SKEL}}$ in no. 11, and see N.).

(7) *sinit*. Eng. *lets*, Germ. *lässt* are derived from a base meaning 'to relax, release', and their Greek cognate *λῆθαι* is glossed by *κοπιᾶν* 'to tire' (: *κόπτει* 'cuts, beats, tires'—Liddell and Scott, s. v. I. 12—so in colloquial English *beats* = 'tires'). Note the curious semantic proportion, Eng. *lets*: *late* :: Lat. *sinit*: *sē-rus* (: Skr. *sāy-ām* 'evening', cf. *-λῦτος* in *βου-λῦτος*).

(8) *stū-yati* 'sews: the base *sōiw-* is of the type designated above as triphthongal (see f.), but the division *sī-vyati* is possible, explaining the formation as a blend of *sī* + **vyati*. Analogous with **vyati*: *wē(y)-* are *syāti*: *sē(y)-* 'to bind', *dyāti* 'cuts > < binds': *dē(y)-*, *chyāti*: *s)kHē(y)-* 'to cut', *ḥyāti* 'sharpens': *ṛō(y)-*. Though **vyāti* is not extant in Sanskrit, I infer its

¹ So *κοζοῦναι* 'clips, docks' is a blend of *κο(λ)-* (no. 11) + *Lōw-* (no. 2).

existence from *vyáyati*, which I regard as a blend of *váyati* and **vyáti*; but the blend was probably proethnic as Latin *vière* 'to wind, plait' suggests.

Beside *sĕ(y)*- 'to stick > < to stitch' stands *sĕ(y)-k-* 'to cut' (Lat. *sica* 'dagger': *secat* 'cuts'), and *sĕ(y)-d* 'to bide (see no. 14), dwell, sit' (see Brugmann, Gr. I² § 549 c.), to which *sīdus* 'mond ha u s', *sīdīt* 'tarries, settles' belong.

16) *grāhnāti* 'ties': *n*-form in no. 137 (q. v.).

17) *ubhnāti* 'confines' (= holds together, covers); *n*-flexion in *ὑφαίνει* 'weaves'. Base was *wĕ(y)-BH-* (see no. 135).

18) *vrñāte* / *vrñāti* / *ārñāti* 'covers, encloses': *n*-forms of divergent meaning in no. 52. For the development of meaning see no. 19.

19) *skunāti* / *skunōti* 'covers'; no *n*-flexion. The cognates *cutis* 'skin', *scūtum* 'shield' warrant the definition of *skunāti* by 'skin-wraps', cf. *κεύ-θε* 'skin-dons'; the use of skins for clothing and for disguise sufficiently justifies these definitions, cf. Lat. *cēlat* 'hides': Lith. *kāilis* 'skin' (base s) *kĕ(y)-L-*. The base s) *kō(w)-* is attested by Skr. *skāūti* 'tears', *ā-skunoti* (AV.) 'makes incisions', *kū-lam* 'scaur, shore', *kū-p-as* 'pit, fossa'; cf., with *k̄*, *ḡ-las* 'spit, stake'. The primary sense was 'to stick, cut' (cf. Germ. *stecken* 'to hide') and *cutis* meant *δέψμα*; in *κῶας* 'fleece' *κῶας* 'caves', the long vowel is attested, as well as in *cavus* 'hollow' (from *kāvōs*, cf. Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 202,¹ and see Mikko, IF. 16, 100). A further discussion of the base s) *k(H)ĕ(y)-* / *sk(H)ō(w)-* in no. 119.

20) *stabhnāti* / *stabhnōti* 'props': *n*-flexion in Little Russ. *stebnuty* 'lashes, sews'. The etymological definition of *stabhnāti* is 'shores up' (*shore* 'prop': *shears* 'cuts'), a development exhibited afresh in Ital. *puntellare* 'to shore up', denom. to *puntello* (from *pungit* 'pierces') 'a stick pointed for the support of walls'. In primitive house building 'shoring' and 'lashing' were a conjoint operation, which accounts for the sense of *stebnuty*; cf. *τίκτω* 'joiner', Lat. *texit* 'weaves': Skr. *tākṣati* 'hews'. Cognate in meaning with *stebnuty* 'to lash': *στέφανος*, *στέφος* 'wreath, sarta'; Germ. *stab*, Eng. *staff* reflect rather the sense of 'prop'. Lat. *tabulinum* 'balcony' (i. e. 'propped') exhibits an earlier sense than *tabula* 'board' (for 'prop', cf. Lith. *stėbas* 'post', Wharton, l. c., s. v. *tabula*).

¹ Hereinafter referred to as Studies.

21) *skabhñāti / skabhñōti* 'props': no *n*-flexion (but cf. Lat. *scamnum* 'bench'). On the relation of Skr. $\sqrt{\text{skabh-}}$ to $\sqrt{\text{stabh-}}$ see j. above. Of semantic interest *σκήπτεται* 'props oneself, leans upon (a staff)'; but *σκήπτει σκήπτεται* 'throws, hurls (a spear)'.

22) *ḡrathñāti* 'loosens, slackens':¹ no *n*-flexion.

O. E. *-hred-dan*, Germ. *retten* 'to save' show the sense of *λύει* (no. 2), *soluit*, *sospes* (no. 15). I suppose *ḡrath-* to be ultimately akin to *ḡrñāti* 'splits' (no. 7), and more closely with *ḡrátkeṇoti* 'gives assurances', *ḡráddadhāti* 'trusts', with semantic and historic development on the lines suggested for Lat. *foedus* (no. 14).

In a passage like Plautus, Persa, 243, *fide data, credamus*, I suppose *credamus* to repeat the sense of *fide data*. Accordingly, *ḡrath-* was, I take it, a sample cut off as a guarantee of genuineness, or as an earnest for the fulfilment of a bargain, as in later times the sale of land was symbolized by the delivery of a turf cut from the land. The metaphor were easier, more natural to our modern psychology, if *ḡrath-* meant 'to bind' as well as 'to cut loose'. This is not impossible, perhaps. At any rate, Skr. *kṛñāti* 'cuts' and *kṛñāti* 'binds' belong to a base *KERT-*, and *ḡrath-* seems to attest *ĀRET(H)*, of the same meanings, cf. *ĀER-* 'frangere' in *ḡrñāti*, but *S)KER-* 'caedere' in *kṛñāti* (see v. below).

23) *lināti* 'sticks to': *n*-forms in Lat. *linit* 'smears' (= *streicht*), pf. *lēv-i*, O. Ir. *lenim* 'I hang, stick on', O. N. *lina* 'mulcere'. The base is *LĒ(V)-*, mutating with *LŌ(W)-*, see no. 2.

M. (= C.) To strike, beat; cleanse, wash;—bathe, swim.

In a discussion of the vocalism of Latin *lavit* 'washes' (in *Studies*, p. 200) I set up a base *LĒW-/LŌW-/LĀ(W)-* 'to cut, scrape, scour', justifying the semantic question involved by O. Ir. *faiscim* 'I squeeze': Ger. *waschen*, O. B. *myti* 'lavari': Lith. *máuju* 'I strip'. Add Lith. *scalbiù* (; *κολάπτω* 'caedo', Prellwitz, s. v.) "wasche, mit dem Waschholz schlagend"; Lith. *peĩti* "baden, mit dem Badequast schlagen", O. B. *perq* "schlage, wasche" (BB. 28,6). So in English a beetle is a 'batte de blanchisseuse', and *to batle* = 'to wash (clothes); 'to scrub' is ('to scratch), rub, wash' and Skr. *áḡata* is defined as "nicht geschlagen, nicht gewaschen". One who has seen a Mexican peasant woman wash has got a glimpse of the industry in nearly a primitive form, and the highly developed Turkish bath for the

¹ Classified as a negative verb of 'binding' (cf. Germ. *losbindet*), and = "to cut loose".

person has been described in my hearing as "a beating, pounding". Washing, in the earlier periods, when men were clad in skins, must have been one of the processes in tanning, and not a process of laundrying or of bathing.¹

That all applications of water, or actions performed by or with water, had a common nomenclature, or derived their nomenclature from one semantic source is by no means likely.² Anybody who has ever seen a puppy or young child swim has seen a noisy beating of the water. "Swimming" is unlikely to have developed through "bathing", from "washing", but it seems to me likely to be of denominative origin, and to come from "boat". Was the boat a "cutter" or a "dug-out"? More probably the latter, cf. σκάφος: σκάπτει 'digs'; κελύς, Lat. *celox* "despatch boat": KEL- or KĒL-(?) 'to cut' (cf. no. 11);³ Eng. *boat* (from pre-Teutonic *baito*): BHID 'to split'(?); Lat. *linter*—dismissing the legendary connection with πλυντήρ, but not the spelling *lunter*—: *lu-nāti* (see no. 2). The *linter* was unquestionably a "dug-out" (cf. Vergil, Georg. I, 262, Livy, 21, 26). But these water-words enjoy a wide range of meaning, as for instance πλεῖ 'sails, swims'; πλύνει 'washes': *pluit* 'rains'. The connotation of 'abundance' (= *ab-unda-ntia*) seems also well established in this group, e. g. in ράει, ραίει 'flows, drips with, abounds in',—a common figure, "a land flowing with milk and honey".⁴

24) *pru-ṣnāti* 'sprinkles: *n*-flexion in O. B. *prysnāti* 'lavare' (Lith. *prausiū*). On the division *pru-ṣnāti* see no. 2. A parallel *l*-form in πλύνει 'lavit' (? from πλύνει). The primitive meaning is reflected in πλύνειν τινά 'to score (abuse) one'; πλυνός 'trough, tub' (= dug-out, cf. λη-νός, no. 2). With the bases PR-U- and PL-U- cf. the bases PER- 'to strike, pierce' (περᾶ and its kin) and PEL- 'strike' (Lat. *pellit* and its kin); see also nos. 27, 35. With

¹ But I have before me a soap advertisement: It "will cut paint, grease, coal soot or any kind of dirt".

² French *couler*, denominative to Lat. *colūm* 'strainer' has reached a very wide range of meaning: trickles, runs; drops, falls off; flows, melts, leaks; insinuates; sinks, etc.

³ (?) Eng. *ship*: σκάφος from a base SKĒ(V)BH-?

⁴ Add κελύβη 'cup', κελός 'wood-pecker', κελεφός 'breaking out', κέλυφος 'pod, shell': could the boat have been conceived as a shell (see *nausci* above in C)?

⁵ Accordingly, I would identify the base of Lat. *plēnus* 'full', with the base of *pluit* 'rains', viz. PLĒ(W)-, cf. πλέως 'full', from PLĒWO-. Note particularly πλοῖτος 'abundantia, opes', from PLŌWTOS. See no. 27.

a *d*-determinative, Lith. *plūduriu* 'nato'. Forms of this root also show the sense 'to hasten', e. g. AV. *fravaiti*, O. Ir. *conludium* 'eo': *luath* 'celer' (cf. R. below).

25) *punāti* 'cleanses, purifies': no *n*-forms. Lat. *putat* in *amputat* 'cuts about' exhibits the primary sense 'caedere', the compound here preserving, as often, the more original sense; but *putat* 'thinks' is derived from 'cuts, notches, reckons'; cf. *puvire* 'ferire' (Paulus-Festus): Skr. *po-th-ayati* 'mutilates', Lat. *puleus* 'pit', *puter* 'rotten' (if = 'breaking, decaying'; or 'pungent', cf. *caries* 'decay' in no. 7). O. H. G. *fowen* 'to sift' has developed like Lat. *cernit* 'separates, sifts'¹ (: KER-, see no. 11). I write the base as *PĒ(Y)*-/*PŌ(W)*- 'caedere' (see nos. 41, 51, fn., 102, 168), not *PEWə* 'to strain', *pace* Meringer, l. c. 188.

Further cognates:

| | |
|---|--|
| πῑ-νοϛ 'λυθρον, lutum' | πινυρός 'bescheiden' |
| πῑ-νοϛ 'board' (no. 26 fn.) | <i>pavet</i> 'scares at' (no. 14) |
| Skr. <i>pṛnāham</i> 'club' | <i>pavit</i> 'strikes' |
| O. B. <i>pīnī</i> 'truncus' | <i>pavei</i> 'breaks off, ceases' (= <i>retundit</i> , |
| Lat. <i>paulum</i> 'little' (12, fn. 2) | <i>resecat</i>) |

N (= F.) (1) To cut, pierce, fix; arrange; (2) spread out; pile up; mix.

The development of meanings in (1) will, I take it, be clear to any English-speaking person who knows that *fix* comes from *figere* 'to pierce'. The sense 'to spread out' may have developed from a sense 'caedere, scindere', cf. O. Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter' (no. 11), and σκαίδάννυσι 'scatters', Eng. *sheds*, 'pours, spills' (: SK(H)Ē(Y)D- 'to cut' see no. 119); σκαίπει 'scatters, sows': *πείπει* 'pierces, broaches' (no. 31). Spreading out by some mechanical process of beating or splitting would also afford a point of departure for the development of meaning here in question. The development of Eng. *piles* from Lat. *pilum* 'shaft' (= javelin), *pila* 'shaft' (= pillar), and of *stacks*, denominative to *stake* (: *sticks*) sufficiently explain the sense of 'piles up'. The development of the general notion of 'filling' was noted in M.; see also no. 27. The action of 'mixing, stirring' was performed with a *stick*, and verbs of this meaning seem to be denominatives; cf. Fr. *touiller* = Lat. *tudiculare*.

¹ Germ. *schlagen* means 'to pass through a sieve'.

For the general development of ideas cf. Eng. *strikes* = "packs fish in a barrel, lades wine in a cooler", Germ. "*schlägt* waare in ein papier". Eng. *batter* is dough (= a mixture) beaten together. Eng. *rams* 'strikes' has developed the sense of 'tamps, beats, fills up'.

26) *stṛṇāti/stṛṇōti* 'strews': *n*-flexion in *στέρνω* 'I spread, smooth': Lat. *sternit*. The base *STER-* may be of denominative origin = 'to put down a skin', cf. the gloss on *storia* 'omne quod sterni potest sive de pelle factum sive aliquo [= alio?] genere storiā dicebant'.¹ But a sense 'caedere, forare' may be seen in *τεῖνω* (see the cognates in Prellwitz, s. v.); note *stria* 'furrow', *στορεῖς* 'fire-drill', a meaning likely to be primitive in view of the sacredness attaching to fire-making (see Schrader, l. c., s. v. Feuerzeug); while *στέρ-φος/τέρ-φος*, Lat. *tergus* may be semantically interpreted by *δέμμα* (no. 1). The passage from 'beating' to 'smoothing, spreading out' is easy. I note the German denominative *breiten* 'to strew, spread', from *breit* 'broad'; cf. the locution *breit schlagen* 'to spread out, flatten'.²

Of semantic interest:

struit 'heaps up, builds'

στορχάζει 'pens in, stockades'³

27) *prṇāti/prṇōti* 'fills': *n*-flexion in O. Ir. *linaim* 'pleo'.

The sense 'fills' has been touched already in F. and in M. and fn., but a fuller discussion seems necessary. Taking what we may call the modern verb root *pack*, denominative to *pack* 'a bundle', note *packs* = 'fills, stuffs', Germ. *packt* (*häringe in die*

¹ The primitive sense was 'scatters' (?).

² See above on *skunāti* (no. 19) for the general problem involved, and cf. Fr. *joncher* which from 'strewing' with *rushes* has come to be used for 'scattering' with flowers—blood, corpses.

³ It is unessential whether or no *breit* is from **mrailos*: Skr. *√mrī-* 'to fall to pieces', for its combination with *schlagen* 'caedere' shows that 'broadness' is the condition produced by 'beating, striking'. If we combine *breit* with *ferit* 'strikes' we may set up a proethnic locution BHRĀITOM BHERĀITI 'breite ferit'. Similarly BHRDHOM BHERĀITI yields 'board ferit' (= scindulum scindit). Along the same semantic lines we may explain Eng. *wide* 'breit' as a derivation of the root of Skr. *vidhyati* 'pierces', Lat. *dī-vidit* 'splits', Skr. *vidhātis* 'solus', Lat. *viduus* 'separated, bereaved' (no. 15). The base LĒ(Y)-DH- / LŌ(W)-DH- (see no. 2) 'to split' has parallel formations in Germ. *ledig* 'solus'; *liber*, *ἐλευθερος* 'free', cf. Lat. *liber* 'peel, bark': Germ. *leder* 'δέρμα'.

⁴ Cf. *munire* 'to build a wall, a road', from *moenia* 'ditch-and-dam, stockade' (no. 12).

tonne, wir werden in die kutsche *gepackt*) which show a different development of the sense 'filling' in special contexts.¹ Another concrete development in *farcit* 'stuffs': *φράσσει* 'fences in', which I suppose to have meant 'puts up stakes, tamps with a stick',² cf. Lat. *stipat* 'crowds, presses, crams', denominative to *stip-s* 'stake'.³ Eng. *stuffs* is late Lat. *stuppāt* 'fills with tow' (: *stuppa* 'tow'). The German locution 'der fresser schlägt sich den leib voll' and *stoss* (holzstoss) "von dem was aufeinander gestossen, aufgeschichtet wird" seem to conform to *farcit*, *φράσσει* in their development. So (*com*-)*plet* 'fills' (cf. its sexual sense = 'crams') may be specialized from (*com*-)*pellit* ('zusammen—) schlägt, stösst'.⁴ Further cognates of PEL-/PLĒ- are *πόλις* 'city' (i. e. 'stockade', cf. *φράσσει*), *πολύς* 'many' (i. e. 'frequens': *farcit*); English parallel, *stack* 'pile, heap, quantity—plenty' (: *sticks* 'pierces', *stake*, *stockade*=*φράγμα*); cf. the Latin gloss *speltum* 'telum missile'.

The base s)PEL- has, in Lith. *pilti*, the special sense 'to pour',⁵ shed', and as *sheds* is a specialized sense of SKHĒ(Y)-DH- 'to cut', we may infer a similar development of meaning in *pilti*⁶: Eng. *spills*, Germ. *spallet*; *pilti* also has the violent sense of 'prügeln', as well as the sense 'to fill' (cf. Eng. *rams*.).

As the mutation PLÖ(W)- has been found in *πλούτος* (see M. fn.), so PLĒ(Y)- occurs in Gr. *πλείων*, Skr. *prāyas*, and PLĒ(Y)-DH- in *πλί-ν-θ-ος* (: Lettic *plīēt* 'schlagen') 'brick' (i. e. *caespes*, see no. 15, n. 5).

A cognate base s)PER- in no. 35.

¹ Cf. for their semantic value *sich packen*, 'sein bündel schnüren und fort gehen'; die hunde haben ein tier *gepackt*; Fr. *paqueter* 'to bind, imprison'.

² Cf. Cicero, Or. 69. 231 *inferciens verba quasi rimas expleat*.

³ Cf. Eng. *rams* in N. above.

⁴ Note the *n*-flexion of *pellit*.—Cf. the gloss *rumpent* pro implebunt (Vergil, Georg. 3. 328); Lewis and Short define *rumpit* by 'fills to repletion'.—If Lat. *pallidus* 'pale' has gone through the semantic development of Eng. *wan*, which meant 'dark, black' before it meant 'pale', we might define *pallidus* by 'bruised' (: *pellit* 'strikes'), cf. O. Fr. *blesme* 'wan, pale': *blesmir* 'to wound, stain, make pale'.

⁵ See M., end, for PLĒ(W)- 'to overflow'.

⁶ Note Germ. *schüttet* 'sheds, spills, pours', base SKHĒ(W)-DH- 'to cut', further attested by *κύβων* 'cup', *κρίβις* 'dice box', Lat. *cudo* 'helmet' and, with different determinatives, Skr. *khuddti* 'futuit' (= *stösset* hinein), Lat. *scutula* 'little dish'. The kinship of *khuddti* with *caedit* 'futuit' (Catullus, Auctor Priapeus) seems certain; see no. 119.

28) Av. *varəmənte* 'schwanger machen'.

Cognition with Skr. *vāras* *ēpos* 'breadth', (base WER-), or with the base WEL-, to be described in no. 52, is equally possible. For the sense—which is closely involved with the flexional type—cf. Lat. *com-plet* (: *com-pellit*)—in low English—'knocks up' (see no. 27).

29) *crīṇāti* 1) mixes; 2) boils, roasts:¹ *n*-flexion in *κεράννυμι* / *κίρηνυμι* 'I mix', O. E. *hrinan* 'to touch'. I take the primary meaning to have been "to beat,² stir with a stick" (= Ital. *mestare*),³ as, for instance, one stirs boiling clothes; the same stick used as a spit would give rise to a denominative 'spits, roasts'. German forms [O. H. G. *hruoren*] show a base extended by *s*, and perhaps *κεράννυμι* is for **κερα-σνυμι* (see no. 2); cf. also Skr. *ḥṛīyati* 'sticks on',⁴ *ḥṛīyati* 'sticks together' (= makes touch). I infer a base *ṛ(ṛ)ṛē(y)-s-* 'to pierce, stick, stir with a stick', cognate with *ṛer-* (see no. 7), and ultimately with *s)ker-*, (see no. 11). Cognates: *cribrum* 'sieve',⁵ Lith. *szerys* 'brush', Lat. *crinis* 'hair', *crista* 'tuft', *cris-pus* 'curly' (= woolly). The meanings 'hair, tuft, brush' are derived as in *lāvas* (cf. no. 2) "abgeschnittenes, schur, wolle, haar", the meaning 'sieve' as in Fr. *sas* from Lat. *saetacium* (: *saeta*, 'hair, bristles', cf. Lith. *šėtas* 'rope, sieve' in no. 15), *κόσκινον* 'sieve': *κεσκίων* 'tow'.

30) *mathnāti* 'stirs': no certain *n*-forms. This verb is of denominative origin (see no. 39): *mánthan-* / *math-* / *mathi-* 'stirring-stick', Lith. *mentūris*, Lat. *mentula* 'membrum virile'. The *n* is an infix, cf. O. B. *motati* *sq* 'agitari'. Is *mathi-* akin to *methi-* 'stake' (no. 12), base *mē(y)-t-* / *mē(y)-dh-* (see j. above)? Note Lat. *mēta* 'goal-post'. The *mēta* was a phallus,⁶ see the illustration in Schreiber's Atlas, pl. 27. 1.

¹ Whitney subdivides, writing 1 *crīṇā-* 2 *crīṇā-*.

² Cf. Eng. *batter* 'dough' (= beaten up), and Fr. *touriller* (no. 25).

³ Cf. *frucare*, defined in Körtling's Lat.-Roman Woert.³ 3521 by "circare tentando con bastone, mestare"; *mestare* 'to mix, mingle, blend' (from Lat. *mixtus*) has the specialized sense "to stir with a pot-stick". In *frucare* (from Lat. *furca* 'fork'), the development of ideas is perfectly transparent.

⁴ Cf. Eng. *strikes* 'adheres'.

⁵ Is *cribrum* from *ṛis-rom*, or from *ṛī-dhrom* (: Eng. *riddle*)? Gr. *κηπέρα* (? *σ* from *σσ*) 'sieve' may also be derived from a base *ṛēy-s-*.

⁶ This is still clearer for the *mēta*-stone in a cornmill, which is clearly a 'glans penis' (see Mau-Kelsey's Pompeii³ fig. 321). In Greece, the *vibassa* was either a goal-post or a gravestone, both phallic, as the earlier Homeric

With *mēta/mentula* cf. *μή-δεα* 'genitalia' (base *ME(Y)-D-*).

O. To strike, kindle.

The development of senses here assumed is in thorough accord with the known facts of primitive fire-making, viz. by 'striking' a flint (cf. *feuer schlagen*), by 'boring' it out with a fire-drill or other process of friction; or we may think of fire as produced by the lightning 'stroke'. An implement known as a 'strike-a-light' is still in use. Accordingly, we may derive Skr. *pāvakās* 'fire' from the root of Lat. *pavit* 'strikes' [cf. *πῦρ* 'fire': *pū-rus* ('rubbed) clean'—see no. 25]. There is no phonetic reason why Eng. *hot* does not belong with *hit*, and both to Lat. *caedit* 'cuts', cf. Goth. *hais* 'torch' (Uhlenbeck got. Woert. s. v.): *KEI-* [? *kē(Y)-*], with meaning as in *derai* 'faggot, torch': *DĒ(Y)-* to split > < splice' (see L. fn.). Very clear is the metaphor in Germ. *ans teck t* 'kindles', cf. Gr. *ἀρρει* 'puts touchwood to', O. N. *kynda* 'to inflame, kindle', ultimately denominative to Lat. *candela* (Skeat, l. c., s. v. 2 *kindle*). There is yet another way of mediating between the notions of 'burning' and 'piercing', and that is by noting the metaphor in locutions like 'prickly heat', 'die hitze sticht', which describe the effect of 'burning' on the sentient human; cf. Eng. *stinging nettle*=Germ. *brenn-nessel*. Furthermore, fire was perhaps the most effective cutting instrument at the command of the neolithic woodworker (cf. Mason, l. c., p. 32), 'burning' being derived from 'cutting', rather than conversely, as I have it set down in *Studies*, p. 202. If the root *SNĒ(Y)-/SNŌ(W)-* nowhere reaches the sense of 'kindle' it approaches it in the frequent combination *νηεῖν ξύλα*—*ύλην*,

description shows: "A fathom's height above the ground standeth a withered stump . . . and two white stones on either side thereof are fixed at the joining of the track . . . Whether it be a monument of some man dead long ago, or have been made their goal (*νύσσα*), etc. (Lang's Version, *Iliad*, Φ 327 sq.).—A word on the etymology of *νύσσα*: it belongs with *νύσσει* 'pungit' (: *NU-GH-*) and with Lat. *nuc-s* (*NU-R*) 'glans, acorn', 'acorn' being subsequent in meaning to 'glans' (sc. penis); so, I take it, *gladius* 'sword' and *βάλανος* 'pessulus' show an earlier sense than their cognates *glans*, *βάλανος* 'mast' (i. e. *nucēs*); in short, the 'acorn' was named from its likeness to the glans penis, and not conversely. Were not the *nucēs* distributed at Italian weddings *glandes*, phallic symbols outright?—In English, *mast* 'stake' (= *gladius*, *νύσσα*) and *mast* 'glandes, nucēs' are phonetically identical, and have been so as far back as their phonetic history is of record [? base *ME(Y)-S-D-*: Skr. *mādhās* 'fat', remotely cognate with *math-* 'stirring stick', cf. *meth-* 'stake' (no. 12)].

etc. (cf. $\pi\upsilon\rho\tau'$ εὖ νηῆσαι, ο 322), but in these contexts it is of "building" rather than of "kindling" a fire we must think.

Supposing a verb to have developed a sense 'to kindle' from a more primitive 'to strike', it may well have been that the derived sense completely ousted the original sense, or that the two meanings were allocated to different grades of the root (see no. 93). Something might also be said for the 'split and rayed' conception shown by primitive pictures of the sun; cf. Ital. *spuntare* (= 'to prick apart') used of the 'bursting forth of the sun's rays'. This admits of interpreting Lat. *candel* 'shines' and its kin as from $s)KH\tilde{E}(Y)-N-DH-$ 'to split, burst'.

31) *subhnāti* 'entzündet, inflammiert' (= accendit): no *n*-flexion. The definitions are figurative only, but the primitive sense was 'schlägt' (see Johannson, I. F. 3, 237). The base $SU-BH-$ is an extension of $s\tilde{O}(w)-$ 'to split > < splice' (in no. 15).

As to form, *subhnāti* 'schlägt' may be a blend of $s\tilde{O}(w)-$ 'to strike' + $*bhnāti$: O. Ir. *benim* 'I strike, cut'.

32) *uṣṣāti* 'kindles': no *n*-forms. Possible cognates are *uṣya-lam*, 'δέμνιον', *uṣṣīṣas* 'head-band' (both in the Atharvan, the folklore Veda): *εὐνή* 'bed' (cf. *δέμνιον*). These words might be held to attest as base $US-$ 'to bind', cf. *ἄπτει* 'binds > < kindles' (Eng. *torch*: *torquet* 'twists', *derai*: $D\tilde{E}(Y)-$ 'to split > < splice'). The *Dhātupāṭha* cites a root *vas* 'stossen, stechen, futuere' (cf. *uṣas* 'amator'), which admits of our setting up a weak base $US-$ 'to split > < splice'. Add Skr. *uśrās*, *uṣṭā*, *uṣṭras* 'bovis (i u g a - t u s)', *ῥο-πληγῆ* 'snare', *ῥο-κλος* 'lacing' *ῥο-γη* 'bunch of flowers'.

33) *pluṣṣāti* 'burns, sings': no *n*-forms. Was the primary sense 'sticht'? Cf. *plūṣ-is* 'stinging insect', Lat. *prurīt* 'itches, burns to'.

P (= H) To strike, hit, attain, obtain.

The correlation of ideas here assumed is so well set forth by the meanings of *τυγχάνει* that I may spare myself any further demonstration; cf. *κτάομαι* 'I get', *κέκτημαι* *habeo*: *κτείνωμι* 'I slay, schlage', (? with *-νν-* for *-σν-* as in no. 2): $KP\tilde{E}(Y)-$. In a primitive period the most important obtaining was the getting of game, by means of the spear or the snare or pit-fall. Thus we may unite Skr. *nāṣati* 'nanciscitur' (= trifft) and *nāṣyati* 'wird getroffen' (: *necat* 'kills', *nocet* 'hurts'). Here belongs:

34) *aṣnīlē* 'attains' (from $*n\hat{k}-$): *n*-flexion in Armen. *hasanem*.

35) *sp̃r̃h̃āti* 'wins, liberat, saves': *n*-flexion in *sp̃r̃nit* 'strikes off, rejects', M. E. *spurnen*. Base S)PER- 'to pierce':

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>sp̃arum</i> 'spear' (Lucilius) | <i>πείρει</i> 'broaches' |
| <i>σπείρει</i> 'scatters, sows' (N.) | <i>par-vus</i> 'small' (12, fn. 2) |
| <i>parat</i> 'procures (P.), makes' (see no. 11) | <i>par</i> 'similis' (15, n. 2) |
| Base S)PEL- no. 27 | <i>πρ-άττει</i> 'makes' |

36) Av. *vānaiti/vanaoiti* 'siegt', M. Pers. *vānistān* 'besiegen, schlagen': *n*-form in Lat. *vīnātur* 'hunts'.

Base wĕ(y)- 'to split > < splice'. The first of these contrasting meanings has not hitherto been demonstrated. I infer it from

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Skr. <i>वृक्ष</i> 'axe' | (?) <i>νερξ</i> 'needle' |
| Av. <i>vīnaoiti</i> 'necat, caedit' | |

and, with determinatives,

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>√vad̥h-</i> 'to kill' | <i>√vid̥h-</i> 'to pierce' (cf. no. 55) |
| <i>vdd̥hris</i> 'ρομῖας' | <i>vdp̥ati</i> 'schert' |
| <i>vdp̥ati</i> 'throws, strews, sows' (cf. N) | <i>vella</i> 'litus' (no. 2) |
| <i>vap̥ā</i> 'δέστρον' (no. 1) | Lat. <i>vincium</i> 'culpa' (no. 14) |
| | <i>vīat</i> 'shuns' (if = 'cuts loose from') |

This base appears in no. 51, in the form wĕy-L-.

37) *gr̥bh̥h̥āti* 'seizes': *n*-flexion in Lith. *grabiñ-ti* 'to pull to and fro'.

In q. above, it was held that in *grabiñ-ti*, *-nē* = -NĒ(Y)-. Further note that *-iñ-* corresponds to *-avei-*, in *λανθ-άνει-s*, e. g.

The cognates of this group no longer strongly attest the primary sense of 'hit', if that ever existed, but Germ. *garbe* 'sheaf' does not disprove it, cf. *ἀμᾶλλα* 'garbe' ('*ἀμᾶ* 'cuts, reaps'), even though it has developed the sense of 'manipulum'. The sense of 'pluck, gather, seize' may be derived on the lines shown in 'pinch, nip'; cf. Lat. *stringit* 'plucks, gathers': *striga* 'swath, furrow'. With *garbe* we may unite Lat. *forbea/herba* 'fodder' (cf. Germ. *heu* : *hauen*), Gr. *φορβή* 'pasturage', assuming primitive G^wHORB(H)Ā.

38) *mũqh̥āti* 'steals': no *n*-forms, and no certain cognates, thinks Uhlenbeck, who hesitatingly compares *mũqtis* 'fist'. Add

¹ Cf. *φειδομαι* 'I avoid': Skr. *bhid-* 'to split' (in no. 14), see also nos. 162-3.

músalas 'pestle', ἀμύσασθαι¹ 'to beat, surpass, conquer', μύστρον 'spoon' [*spoon* means 'splinter'], μυστίλλει (? for μυστίλλει) 'crumbles, breaks up'; Lat. *mustus* 'gepresstes'. The base s)MŌ(w)- is attested by Lat. *movet* 'stösst', *mōles* 'stosz' (see no. 27), pile', μᾶλος 'schlachtgetümmel'. The base s)MĒ(y)- (see no. 12) is parallel, cf. σμίς (Hesychius), σμί-ν-θος 'mouse': MŪ-s- 'mouse' (= 'cutter, nibbler'). For the general semantic problems involved note Eng. *strikes* "takes by force, fraud or stealth, as money; steals" (Standard Dictionary).

Of some semantic interest is *mušitas* 'naked', the primitive sense of which must have been 'stript', cf. Ital. *spoglio* = 'nudo' (see B. β, above).²

39) *jināti* 'robs': *n*-flexion (and cognates) only in Iranian, it would appear (but see no. 60); cf. O. Pers. *a-dinā* 'ademit' (*d* from ḡ). So far as the sense goes, there is no need to separate from βιάομαι 'I defraud, cheat' (see no. 9). I set up as base ḡĒ(y)- 'caedere':

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| γέ-νυς 'edge, point', | γέ-νυς 'jaw' ⁴ |
| Goth. <i>kinuus</i> (nn from <i>nw</i>) 'jaw' | <i>keinan</i> 'buds' (no. 41) |
| Skr. <i>jé-h-ate</i> '(splits, gapes, pants' ⁵ | |

40) *ḡamñite* 'labors, zurichtet, bereitet': *n*-flexion in *κάμνει* 'forges, tills, labors; wins by labor'. With the general sense attained in Greek (cf. Liddell and Scott, s. v. κάμνω I) cf. Eng. *shapes*, Germ. *schaft*: Lith. *skabėti* 'dolare'.

The base is RŌM- 'to split > < splice' (?):

| | |
|--|--|
| Skr. <i>ḡdmalam</i> 'macula, culpa' (no. 11) | <i>ḡamith</i> 'schlächter' |
| <i>ḡimas</i> 'zertheiler, arranger' | (?) Lat. <i>cōm-it</i> 'fixes (: figit), arranges' |

¹ Cf. *muṣṇāti* in the half śloka (Böhtlingk, Chrest. 251. 5)

tasya muṣṇāti sāubhāgyam tasya kāntim vilumpati
'surpasses (con t u n d it) his good luck, destroys his lustre'.

Here the smaller Petersburg lexicon expressly renders *muṣṇāti* by "übertrifft".

² May not an Indo-Iranian **muṣpids* be reflected in the initial *m*- of Av. *mayno*: Skr. *magnds*?

³ Whitney defines by 'injures', a definition that would put *jināti* under class K.

⁴ I have heard children recite the following rigmarole: "forehead bender; eyes seer; nose smeller; mouth eater; chin chopper."

⁵ If *ā* is a determinative, but if we have broken reduplication, from a parallel base ḡHĒ(y)- (see no. 53).

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| καμάρα 'pit, arch' | κάμινος 'forge' |
| κάμαξ 'stake, prop' | κάμυξ 'bundle, tuft' ¹ |
| κόμη 'hair' | κώμος 'village' (if = stockade) |
| κόμβωμα 'robe, band' | Skr. <i>ḥimbas</i> 'pod-fruit' |

With the neuter sense of *ḥamyati* 'is tired, rests, ceases' cf. *κοπιᾷ* 'is tired,' *κῶπος* 'weariness': *κῶπτει* 'caedit', noting colloquialisms like *beats* = 'tires', is (dead) *beat* = 'is (very) tired'.

The classification of this no. is admittedly inadequate; true, *κάμνει* means sporadically 'to attain, win by labor', but the sense of 'labors' in the group develops immediately from 'strikes' or 'digs', without passing through the stage 'attains'. In no. 41 also, the sense 'thrives' does not develop from 'attains', though it possibly might have done so, for in English 'thrives' has developed from 'to grasp, seize'.

41) *puṣṇāti* 'thrives': no *n*-forms and no base *PUS-* 'to thrive' attested out of Sanskrit. The definitions of \sqrt{pus} would of themselves show that the sense was 'blooms, flourishes'; cf. also *puṣkaram* 'lotus', *puṣpam* 'flower'. The notions 'bloom, flower' develop, however, from 'to burst, split', as in the following examples,

Lith. *dýgti* 'to bud, sprout' (: *dygys* 'pointed')

Skr. *sarṇudayati* 'buds, sprouts' (: \sqrt{tud} 'to strike')

spḥuṣṭati 'berstet, aufblüht' (: Germ. *spaltet*, no. 27)

O. H. G. *brisan* 'to break, bud' O. E. *cinan* 'to burst, bud' (no. 39)

Ger. *ausschlägt* 'buds'.

Fr. *brocher*, *poindre*, *pointer* describe the 'coming to a point' of buds, and we speak of buds 'bursting'; cf. Skr. *ud bhid*, like Germ. *aufbrechen*; Ital. *s-puntare* (cf. Fr. *brocher*) means 'to bud, bloom'. Further note the locutions Spargel stösst, erdbeeren stossen ranken, das korn ist in die höhe geschlagen; jetter des bourgeons,—des scions,—des racines. If we look for a similar development for \sqrt{pus} or *pu-*² [for *pu-snāti* may be the ultimate division (see no. 2)], we may connect with the base *PŌ(w)-* of no. 25. This is the base of *pu-trás* 'son', *-πῶλος* 'colt', *waís* 'son', Lat. *pover/puer*—i. e. 'scion', which is of the com-

¹ Uhlenbeck, s. v. *ḥamī*, sets up a root *ḥem* 'to cover'.

² It is possible to divide *pu-ḥkaram*, defining *pu-* as 'breaking, bursting' and *skaram* as 'splitting, bursting' (see no. 11). Note the sense of *puṣṭakam* 'scriptum' (: *scribere* 'scratch, write').

monest metaphors, e. g., *ἔπος, φέρυμα*,¹ *ἄλος*, Skr. *túk/tokám* 'liberi': Av. *taoxma* 'bud'. In view of the frequently approved explanation of *materies*—"das zu mater gehört, denn die 'mutter', das kernholz des stammes, ist das baumaterial wie Solmsen, Berlin. Phil. Woch. 1902, Sp. 1140, gesehen hat" (Meringer, l. c., p. 158)—*pu-trás* might be defined in the light of the phrase "a chip of the old block".

Q. To split, bite, eat.

This semantic chain is clearly exhibited by *φιδίτιον* 'cena', Eng. *bites*: Lat. *findit* (no. 14), as well as by Germ. *zehren* (no. 1). Also note *mordet* 'bites, eats' [: no. 4, cf. *μηάλαμ* 'edible lotus' (no. 5)], *cibi-cida* 'glutton', *κόπτει* 'pecks, gnaws'; *κοπίννυσι* (with *-νν-* for *-σσ-*, no. 2?) 'stuffs, (feeds)': Lith. *szėrti* 'füttern', belonging to the base of no. 7, if we define *κοπίννυσι* by 'rumpit', as in the gloss cited in no. 22; Lat. *satis* 'bursting, teeming' (in no. 15), as we say "full to bursting"; Eng. *browzes* (see Skeat, s. v.), which derives from O. E. *brēolan* 'to break'. In the German locution "der fresser schlägt sich den leib voll" (see no. 27) we find a kindred metaphor; Germ. *frisst* 'edit' = Eng. *frets* 'eum piget (: *pingit* 'tattoos, pricks, punctures', *piger* 'lazy' = 'sticking',—cf. *νωχελής*, above, C. β—, see Am. Jr. Phil. 21, 198), edit' (= rodit).

In this pastoral land of Texas 'staking' means 'tying a horse to a stake for him to graze',² and 'holding' means 'to hold a horse by a halter for him to graze'; and I have heard of one housekeeper that used to say with homely kindness, when bidding her guests to fall to, "lariat yourselves out".

42) *αφνίστι* 'eats'. This verb, without plain cognates, it would appear, is but a special case of *αφνίλλε* 'strikes, attains',—no. 34.

¹ I have no great confidence in the derivation of *φέρυμα* from *φει-*, but rather connect it directly with the base *BHĒ(Y)-* 'stossen, schlagen' in no. 14. The mutation *BHŌ(W)-* 'to thrive, grow' became specialized in the sense 'to become, be' (no. 14, fn.). As to *BHĒ(Y)-* 'to strike, hit' / *BHŌ(W)-* 'to become, be', at least as violent a shift of meaning obtains in *κυρεῖ* 'hits' (Homer): *κυρεῖ ἔσσι* (Trag.); note also Germ. *lebt* ('sticks,.) *vivit* (no. 167).—The primitive sense of *BHŌ(W)-* persists in Lat. *fruttilis* (why *-utt-* for *-ūt-*?—cf. *mitto* for **mito*?) 'brittle' (: O. E. *brēolan* 'frangere', cf. *fragilis*). The obscene word *futsuit* 'battuit, caedit' also attests *BHŌ(W)-* 'to strike'.

² Skr. *√vaṣ-* has developed the sense of 'graze' from 'shear'; the other *√vaṣ-* 'to scatter, strew, sprinkle' is secondary, having developed from *√vaṣ-* 'κολούει' as Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter' from *SKEL-* (no. 11).

43) 2 *gynāti* 'swallows': *n*-flexion in Sanskrit only. A reason for the Sanskrit *n*-flexion in this verb and the last may be sought in the proethnic nasal flexion of the type Lat. *findit*: Eng. *bites*.

The notion of 'swallows' may have been derived from 'splits, gapes, yawns—swallows up', but the following words warrant the development discussed under Q. (but see no. 61).

Lat. *veru* 'spit' (Umbr. *beru*-)

Skr. *gṛdā* 'pruriens'

βάπτειν 'pit'¹

Skr. *gīrti* 'mons' (: *mentula*, see no. 30)

gārtas 'fossa'

R. (= D.) Verbs of Motion.

The development of verbs of motion from verbs of the general sense 'caedere' is attested by words and phrases like the following: "to strike out,—for,—across" [M. E. *stricken* is an out-and-out verb of motion, though the primary meaning of the root (in no. 26) was 'ferire']; "to cut through,—across"; Germ. "schlagen—, streichen durch"; "to hit the road" = *τρίμνειν ὁδόν*; M. E. *swappen* 'to strike, go quickly'; *pricks* 'spurs on, hastens'; "futura pungunt" 'the future hastens'; *tuditans* 'pushing, driving on, agile'. In nouns, note Germ. *schneide* "durch den wald gehauenes weg".² In the phrase 'to cut and run' cut connotes, among other things, motion; cf. also Germ. *sich links schlagen*. Still different is 'tears along'.

In conformity with the above locutions one is in a position to understand the semantic relation of *πειπει* 'pierces', *ἀναπειπει* 'spits, broaches': Eng. *fares*; Lat. *terit* 'bores': Skr. *tārati* 'crosses', *tvārate* 'hastens': T(W)ER- 'pierces, drills', cf. Eng. *splits* = "walks or runs rapidly"; Lat. *celer* 'swift': KEL- 'to cut' (nos. 11, 51 fn.).

¹ Beside *βάπτειν*, Ion. *βέπειν*, stands *βέθρον* and *βόθρος*, both = 'pit'. In view of doublets like *πιθάκνη* / *φιδάκνη*, the dogmatism which has separated *βόθρος* from *fodit* 'digs' was never justified, though as for *βόθρος*, its *β*- might be explained from *βάπτειν*, etc. A thorough and unprejudiced study of all the occurrences will, I venture to predict, reveal a state of facts we might graphically represent by writing B(H)ED(H)-, which means that dissimilation of aspirates was a process already at its beginning in the proethnic period.

² Cf. the following (from Munsey's Magazine, Apr. 1904, p. 19): He and his wife had ridden for three hours through the Timli forest without seeing more than the cut of the "ride" before them.

In *wends*, from *winds*, we see how a verb of motion might have developed from the verbs discussed in L.

Or, if we start with 'drives', a causative of 'hastens', one who has ever seen an Italian donkey goaded and beaten along (cf. Boccaccio, Decam. 8. 9) will be satisfied of the part played by beating in driving. So Germ. *schlagen* means 'to drive (cattle)', cf. *δρύνει* 'goads on'. Most convincing is *λαίνει*; I 'drives' (intrans. 'pushes on'); II 'strikes'; III 'beats, forges', though I and III should be arranged as specializations of II, in my opinion.¹

44) *inlê/inđti* 'sends, drives, pushes (= thrusts); schaltet' (: *schilt* 'scolds'): no *n*-forms. Cognate with *ēti* 'goes'. The root *ey-* is probably of pronominal origin, and the nasal suffixes have been picked up from other verbs, semantically developed along the lines discussed in R., but see no. 45.

45) *iṣ-ṇāti* (or *i-ṣṇāti*, as in no. 2) 'sends': no *n*-forms of clearly related meaning; *ινάει, ινάει, ινάει* 'cleans, empties out', if cognate, are interesting for their triple vocalism.

Was the base, *ēy-s-* 'caedere'?² Cf. *αἶρων* (from **αισρων*) 'πρίσσω' (= 'ventilans' or 'pinsens'), *αἶμους* (from **αισμε-*) 'ὀβελίσκους, αἰμύλος' *ὀξύς ἐν τῇ λέγειν*; *αἶμος* would be a grade of *lós*, Skr. *izus* 'arrow', *iṣikā* 'reed', cf. Lat. *aer-umnula* (Festus) 'carrying stick', *acro* 'basket'.

46) Av. *miθnāiti* 'sends': no *n*-forms known to me. Lat. *mittit* (i. e. **mī-tit*) is doubtless a cognate, with the violent meaning of 'hurls' (cf. *βάλλει*, 1) 'strikes', 2) 'throws'), cognate with *minat* 'drives' (= strikes, in no. 12, cf. also *mathnāti* in no. 30). For the meaning, cf. *ἵημι* 'sends' which, whether it be cognate with *iacit* (Hirt, Ablaut, 52 anm.) or with *serit* 'sows' (see 16), seems to have developed from ('cuts,') scatters, throws'.

47) *junāti* 'hastens, drives on': no *n*-forms, and no cognates out of Indo-Iranian. The base *ḡō(w)-* may be a mutating form of *ḡē(y)-* in no. 39, the former meaning 'to strike out for', the latter 'to strike' = 'to steal' (no. 38); cf. nos. 9, 105.

¹ So far as the verbs comprised in D. above are concerned, they may have developed from the motion of flowing water, cf. Skr. *śmāti* 'drips', Germ. *rinnen / rennen*, Gr. *θίω* (of racers, of ships).

² This is the base I have written *ais-* (for *ais-*) (1) 'capit', (2) 'captat', (3) 'festinat', in Am. Jr. Phil. 25, 170. The meaning 'capit' is a specialization of the meanings in P. (H.), above.

48) *riṇāti* 'sets flowing': *n*-flexion in Gr. *ὀρίει*, *ὀρίει* (-*vv*- for *av*-) 'stirs, raises, incites, drives', O. Bulg. *rināti* 'stossen, fließen', Goth. *rinnan* 'rennen, rinnen'. The original meaning seems to me preserved in Greek and Old Bulgarian. What the original source of the metaphor was in 'sets-flowing' is not ascertainable, perhaps: was it the 'breaking out' of water from the ground in springs, the 'breaking out' of water from the clouds by the thunderbolt, or the 'riving' (cf. Skeat, l. c., s. v., *rive*) of a channel by the stream itself? It would seem possible, in the terms of this triune metaphor, to unite the Sanskrit base *ray-* 'sets flowing' with the base *rav-* (see Uhlenbeck, s. v.) 'breaks in pieces, splits up', with the mutation *ṛē(y)-/rō(w)-*. To this base would belong Lat. *rēs* 'share': Skr. *rayis*, *rāti* ('shares,') gives', Lat. *rō-dit* 'gnaws', *rū-dus* 'broken stone', *rē-tur* ('scores,') reckons, thinks' (see no. 25, above). With the sense 'to splice' <to split' Lat. *rē-te* 'net', *ra-tis* 'raft'. Beside the Sanskrit base *ray-* 'to flow', note the base *srav-*.

S. Verbs of Emotion.

The psychology of our time recognizes that the emotions are produced by what the scientific call '*stimuli*', impulses which the language of the people knows how to describe as 'pricks' and 'itches' (cf. Lat. *scabies* 'itch, longing': *scabit* 'scratches', Lith. *skabėti* 'dolare'). Sensations of pleasure and displeasure 'seize' upon us (cf. ein pack endes, fesselndes buch), or 'strike' us (cf. *perculit* 'strikes, impresses'; stösst=ärgert mich), even sensations as generalized as a 'thought' or 'notion'. Our pains 'pierce' and 'sting'¹ and 'bite' us (*mordemur* 'we are bitten by pains', *σμερδαλέος/σμερδνός* 'painful'; *dolet* 'it grieves': *dolat* 'hacks'²—see my explanation of other impersonals of emotion in Am. Jr. Phil. 21, 197). We 'strike' ourselves in token of 'mourning' (*κόπτεσθαι*—*τύπτεσθαι* τινα); fears strike us (*perculit* 'shocks, frightens'; schreck schlägt in die glieder)³. Joys 'prick' and 'tickle' us (late Lat. *mutuum scabere* 'to praise one another' = "you tickle me and I'll tickle you"). We 'split' and 'burst' with anger; 'scratching' and 'massage' (= 'chafing') may be at once a solace or an irritation (Lat. *mulcet* 'strokes,

¹ Cf. Browning (The Return of the Druses, III prope finem), And stinging pleasures please less and sting more.

² Cf. Eng. *hurts*: Fr. *heurter* 'to knock, hit'.

³ Cf. *pavet* 'scares at': *pavit* 'strikes' (no. 25).

soothes': *mulcat* 'beats'). In German, *reizen*, which seems to be a cognate of *reissen* 'to incise, tear', is used of the arousing of either 'anger' or 'joy', and implies 'to vex' or 'to charm'. General considerations like these justify us in supposing that the base SNĒ(Y)- 'caedere' (see B., above) has entered into the flexional system of verbs of emotion.¹

49) *prīṇāti* 'delights, satisfies': no cognates with *n*-flexion. The definition of Persian *ā-frīdan*, 'to shape', justifies setting up a base *prī* (from PRĀY-), which would be cognate with the base S)PER- 'to pierce' of no. 35 (see for the correlation of meaning no. 11); cf. *πρί-ων* 'saw'. 'Biting' is a well-known gesture of physical pleasure (cf., e. g., for the Roman poets, *morsus* in Pichon's de Serm. Amat. s. v.), and plays a rôle in the sexual life of animals. Further, cf. Lat. *privus* 'solus' (see no. 15), *privat* 'cuts off, separates, robs'. With *privus* 'solus' cf. *prīṇāti* 'solatur'.

50) *ramṇāti* 'delights, calms': no *n*-forms. The definitions 'steht still, ruht' and 'pflegt der liebe' may derive from the sense of 'sticks' (cf. Goth. *beidan* in no. 14, and Skr. *ūṣas* 'amator' in no. 32), cf. also *ἱ-ρημ-ος* 'solus' (?), a definition in curious accord with Germ. *einsiedler* (cf. SĒ(Y)D- in no. 15) 'eremite, hermit'.

51) *vr̥ṇīṭé/vr̥ṇōti* 'chooses': no *n*-forms of immediately related meaning. In the oldest language only middle forms are used, and a development from 'hit, seize, grasp' may be suspected, as in *αἰρεῖσθαι* 'to choose': *αἰρεῖν* 'to seize, strike, capture' (see P. above), cf. also *ῥεῖγασθαι* 'to grasp—, reach—, strike at; desire'.

I suppose *vellus* 'skin' (from **velnos*) to have had the ordinary development from a verb meaning 'caedere', cf. *δίρμα* (no. 1), Skr. *cārma*, *ḡārma* 'cover' (: *ḡalāḡkā* 'scindula', base KĒR- / KĒL- in no. 7). The base WEL- 'to cover' (no. 18) is identical (see the semantic discussion in no. 19), and the primitive meaning was 'to split > < splice'. The special sense 'to choose, wish' may have developed as in Eng. *picks* 'chooses'.²

¹ Particularly appropriate for a discussion of the ideas in the verbs of emotion is the following citation from Meringer, l. c. p. 180: *ich denke, wir müssen es aufgeben mit bedeutungsansätzen wie 'sich gefallen' 'sich irgendwo freuen' uz rechnen.*

² The history of *picks* is semantically most instructive, if Skeat is right in referring it to the Romance "root" *pic*, *picc-*, set down by Körtling, l. c., no. 6119. The Latin *picus* 'wood pecker', (*pica* 'magpie') gave a name to a

Cognates of WEL-:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| <i>vellus</i> ¹ 'wound' | Skr. <i>vrapds</i> | <i>vellit</i> 'picks, ² plucks, tears' |
| <i>vellus</i> 'skin' | | |

Base WEL- \bar{K} -.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Skr. <i>vdikas</i> 'twig' | Av. <i>variso</i> | O. B. <i>vlasä</i> 'hair' |
| <i>vulrit</i> (pf. to <i>vellit</i>) ³ | <i>Volcanus</i> 'smith' | |

Base WEL-G-.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Skr. <i>vdrgas</i> 'schar' | Lat. <i>volgus</i> 'crowd' |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|

Base W \bar{E} (Y)-L- (see no. 36).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>villus</i> 'vellus' ⁴ | (F) <i>εἰλβει</i> 'covers, wraps' |
| <i>εἰλη / ἰλη</i> 'schar' | <i>vulvit</i> 'wraps' |
| <i>Εηλει</i> 'covers' | <i>vēlat</i> (or from * <i>ves-lat</i> ?) 'covers' |
| <i>villa</i> 'cover, shed' (?) | <i>vēlox</i> 'swift' ⁵ |
| <i>vallum</i> 'stockade' | <i>vallus</i> 'stake, picket' |
| (?) <i>vēles</i> 'sharpshooter, picket' | <i>vilis</i> 'piccolo' (Körting, l. c. 6), <i>σμπρός</i> (no. 12) |

52) *ἡρητίε* 'is angry': no *n*-forms, and no cognates cited by Uhlenbeck.

I would connect with *χόλος* 'gall', *χολῆ*, *χολοῦται* 'is angry',⁶ noting the *n*-flexion of Lat. *fel*, gen. *fellis* for **felnis*.⁷

cutting and digging tool, whence a verb root 'to cut, dig', etc.; in Spanish and Portuguese this took the form *picar* "gleichsam festpicken, anmachen"—generalized = 'to splice'.—We see a somewhat similar idea, developed from a different point of departure, in Fr. *fouiller* (from *fodicularē* 'to dig') which means 'to search', and in Ital. *frucare* (see no. 29) 'to search' (= 'hunt for').—That *picus* and *pica* were onomatopoeic words of Italian origin is possible, certainly, though nothing hinders their being derivatives of a root P \bar{E} (Y)- 'to cut, strike', mutating with P \bar{O} (W)- (nos. 25, 41).

¹ With syncope, cf. *ὠλένη* / *ὠλλός* 'elbow'.

² Cf. *vellicat* 'pinches, nips'. The specialized meaning of *vellit* is comparable with that of *carpit* (see no. 11).

³ The exhibition of a \bar{k} in the perfect is on a line with the Greek aor.-pf. sign -κ. To *vulrit*, *vultus* (ptc.) was fashioned on the analogy of *rosi* / *rosus*, *rasi* / *rasus*, etc. The normal participial formation is exhibited by *vultus* 'προ-τομή';

cf. *vultur* 'seizer' (= ac-cipiter) *vulva* 'scheide'.

⁴ Cf. *ἀγγελος*, Skr. *āṅgiras-* for a like variation between -o- and -es- stems.

⁵ *vēlox* 'swift': *vellit* 'tears away': *rapidus* 'swift': *rapit* 'tears off'; cf. *volat* 'speeds' with Eng. 'tears along', and note *ὀξύς* 'acutus, celer'.

⁶ It is customary to derive the sense 'gall' from 'yellow', but I would reverse this process, cf. color names like 'buff', 'pink' and 'violet'.

⁷ The *f*- of *fel* is for G^{WH}, the χ of *χόλος* for GH-: this variation is attested also by O. B. *zīāzī* / *zīāzī* 'gall' (Miklosich, l. c., s. vv. *zelēi*, *zelētī*). Uhlenbeck (s. v. *hāris*) gives GH for G^{WH}, but Lat. *f*- would seem to prove that G^{WH} is the right form, unless all three gutturals be admitted.

What was the notion the primitive man had of 'gall' and the 'gall-bladder? That far from primitive man, Sophocles, in the archaic language of augury, used the plural *χολαί* for 'gall-bladder', in this context (Antig. 1010) *μετάρσιοι χολαί διεσπείροντο*, interpreted to mean "the sacrificer could no longer trace the divided gall-ducts." Euripides also attests the importance in augury of the forking of the gall-ducts in Elec. 827-8, "The *σπλάγχνα* had no lobe, and the gates (*πύλαι*) and receptacles (*δοχαί*) of the gall hardly showed to the augur unpropitious entrances." It would seem possible, then, to fix upon the forking of the gall-duct as the characteristic to which its name was due.¹ But the gall-bladder itself lies in a 'fissure' (*fossa*, *furche*) of the liver, which it divides into right and quadrate lobes. It seems inadmissible to separate *χολος* from *χολάδες* 'guts, Gedärme', for we may suppose *χολάδες*, like the two definitions cited for it, to have meant etymologically 'channels', or 'fissures'. Accordingly, *χολος* may be suspected of belonging with *χηλή* (with *ā* in the dialects, from secondarily lengthened *ǵ*) 'cleft, a hoof', with *χιλος*/*χιλλος* 'lip' (from **χελνος* or **χελφος*, cf. *χελύνη* 'lip') and with Skr. *halā-* 'plough' (? cf. Armen. *dslem* 'furrow, plough'). The base would be *GHĒ(V)-L-* 'to split', intrans. 'to gape', derived from *GHĒ(V)-*, in Lat. *hi-scit*, Gr. *χάσκει*. To this base belongs Lat. *hilum* 'straw' (?) (splinter, particle?), *χιλός* 'fodder, heu' (: *hauen*), and *hillae* (from **hilnae*) 'smaller intestines', cf. *χολάδες*; *hi-ulcus* 'gaping, cracking' is of morphological interest, having the look of being a compound of *hi-* and *ulco-* 'a sore, split'. More on the base *GHĒ(V)* in no. 126.

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¹ The 'forking' of the gall-duct and the plural use of *χολαί*, let us surmise that Lat. *bilis* 'gall-bladder' is for **dwi-* + **helis* (*hel-* with *GH-*) 'having two ducts'.

III.—NOTE ON THE HISPERICA FAMINA.

I venture to think that the papers of Geyer in the *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie* (II 255), of Stowasser (III 168), of Thurneysen (III 546), and the recent paper by Prof. Robinson Ellis (*Journal of Philology*, No. 56), have rendered the task of ascertaining the meaning of much that was unexplained in the *Hisperica Famina* much easier than before.

The text which, for the present, must be held to be authoritative is that of Stowasser in the "*Dreizehnter Jahresbericht über das K. K. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*" (Vienna, 1887). This work is very hard to procure; but after much trouble I succeeded in getting a copy lent me by Mr. Stevenson, of St. John's College, Oxford, and have thus been able to use Stowasser's text. In 1893 appeared "*Nennius Vindicatus*" by Zimmer (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung); the "*Anhang*" to this work is an essay "on the *Hisperica Famina*, and other S. W. British records of the 6th century." Zimmer throws much light on the history and the contents of this extraordinary piece of ecclesiastical euphuism. He arrives at the conclusion that it is the work of a British monk in S. W. Britain about the sixth century. Stowasser conceived it to be the work of an Irish monk, and Geyer thought that the work was produced in Spain. A perusal of Zimmer's chapter proves, I think, convincingly that his theory is right. The few notes here appended are intended to supplement those given in the edition of Stowasser and the references are to his text.

I have translated the first three chapters and have added a few notes on a few difficult passages.

The work seems to be an attempt by a monk to show off his learning to the world, and must not be taken as representing any Latin style prevailing at any period. He coins new Latin words and borrows at large from Greek and Hebrew. He seems to have modelled his cadences on the so-called "golden lines" of the Roman poets, employed by them to close a period with special gravity, as Vergil's *Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem*. The paucity of Celtic words is striking. The transition from

classical to vulgar Latin forms is seen in *oleda* for *olida*; in words like *spatha* for *gladius*; and the use of words like *ceteri* answering to *alii* seems to point to an imperfect knowledge of classical Latin.

The first three chapters, which I have translated, seem to contain the following train of thought:

"1. I have fallen in with a company of rhetoricians and I rejoice at it, but I check my joy and give rein to my wonder. Whither are they bent, and what mean they to discuss? Questions of peace, or war? or will they describe a shipwreck or a battle? In any case I am as good as they are, and I challenge any one of them.

"2. These rhetoricians profess to speak the purest Latin, a Latin as pleasant to hear as the hum of bees. They are a choice and rare company; but sometimes they will meet with a blockhead dull as a tortoise, who would paralyse them unless they averted this crisis by a prayer—Would that I were only a master of pure Italian Latin, I would utter a flood of classical utterance—(ac-costing one of the company) what is the special task to which you are addressing yourself? Are you going to turn builder, smelter or maybe fluteplayer?

"3. Ah! I can divine it now! You are coming to your own home! You follow with your gaze the well-known flocks and are dressed in holiday attire—You bid farewell to wise disquisitions (*sed* (28) should be *nec*, or else the word seems used in a strange sense). Hence I see that you long for your home, which is brightened up at your approach: your mother, your children, await you: all is gay at your home-coming."

Much of the diction of the author of the *Hisperica Famina* resembles that of the grammarian Virgilius Maro. An excellent commentary upon Cap. 1 of *Hisperica Famina* is afforded by Maro, *Epistolae* p. 138 Edit. Huemer. "De his formis uerborum inter Regulum Cappadocum et Sedulum Romanum non minima quaestio habita est, quae usque ad gladiatorum pene conflictum pervenit. Quindecim namque noctibus totidemque simul diebus insomnes et indapes mansere, tribus militibus utrimque sumptis." But much of the diction of Maro resembles that of our author: e. g. his use of *palare* = *revelare*.

The inflated language may be paralleled by the mock euphuism of Sir Piercie Shafton in the "Monastery", e. g. "Marry, and I am glad of it, young Audacity (I will call you my Audacity,

and you will call me your Condescension, while we are on these terms of unnatural Equality), I am glad of your ignorance with all my heart. For we martialists proportion the punishments which we inflict upon our opposites to the length and hazard of the efforts wherewith they oppose themselves to us. And I see not why you, being but a tyro, may not be held sufficiently punished for your outrecuidance and orgillous presumption, by the loss of an ear, an eye, or even a finger, accompanied by some fleshwound of depth and severity suited to your error."

Text of Chs. 1, 2, 3:—

1. *Ampla pectoralem suscitāt vernia cavernam, mestum extrico pulmone tonstrum, sed gaudifluam pectoreis arto procellam arthereis, cum insignes sophiae speculator arcatores, qui egregiam urbani tenoris propinant faucibus linpham vipereosque litteraturae plasmant syllogismos. Cui mundano triquadrae telluris artico rhetorum florigera flectit habenas caterva et qui remota vasti fundaminis deseruere competa? Utrum fabulosas per ora depromunt gazas? Num trucida altercaminum (M. 480) inter soboles pubescunt litigia? An placorea abucat proles sceptrā?*

Utrum saevus armatorum coetus toxica corrui certandi in acie, ut fusis ostrei cruoris vivis candida olivarent madiada? Seu spumaticum bombosi tithis flustrum inertes oppressit naufragis remiges? An horridum communi stragi vapuit acculas letum? Quos edocetis fastos? Quique adheretis rhetori? Hinc lectorum sollertem invito obello certatorem, qui sophicam plantaverit avide palestram. Et trinos antea dimicavi athletas, inertes mac-tavi duelles ac robustos multavi coaevos fortioresque prostavi in acie ciclopes. Hinc nullum subterfugio aequaezum. Dum truculenta me vellicant spicula, protinus versatilem evagino spatham, quae almas trucidat statuas. Arboream capto iduma peltam, quae carneas cluit tutamine pernas. Ferralem vibro pugionem, cuius pitheum assiles macerat rostrum cidones, ob [hoc] cunctos lastro in agone coaevos.

2. *Haec compta dictaminum fulget sparsio, at nullos vitioso aggere glomerat logos, ac sospitem lecto libramine artat vigorem et aequali plasmamine, mellifluam populans ausonici faminis per guttura sparginem, velut innumera apium concavis discurrunt examina apiastris melchillentaque sorbillant fluenta alveariis, ac solitos stemicant rostris favos. Hic comptus arcatorum exomicit coetus, cui dudum (M. 481) per lapsa temporum stadia parem non*

crevimus phalangem nec futura temporalis globi per pagula
aequiparatam fulgidi rumoris speculabimur catervam. Sed
praesto horrendus asstat chelidrus, qui talem vipereo ictu saucia-
bit turbam, nisi vasti exigerint rectorem poli, qui florigerum
agmen reguloso solverit discrimine. Novello temporei globa-
minis cyclo hispericum arripere tonui sceptrum; ob hoc rudem
stemico logum ac exiguus serpit per ora rivus. Quod si amplo
temporalis aevi stadio ausonica me alligasset catena, sonoreus
faminis per guttura popularet haustus ac inmensus urbani tenoris
manasset faucibus tollus. Quod propriferum plasmas orgium?
Utrum alma scindis securibus robor, uti eo quadrigona densis
stemicares oratoria tabulatis? An flammigero coctas obrizum
clibano, auriferas solidis cudere lunulas marthellis? Seu tinolam
tensis suscitās odam chordis? Forte concavas sonoreis proflās
cicutas harmoniis?

3. Sed non intelligibili mentis acumine praestulor, quod lani-
gerosas odorosa observas per pascua bidentium turmas, qui obessa
arcatorum assiduo tramite sectaris concilia, ac cicniam gemellis
bai[u]las curvanam scapulis, rutulātem alboreis artas calamidem
madiadis, pexamque carneis tolibus amplecteris camisiā. Nec
sophica ingenioso acumine auscultas mysteria, sed doctoreas
effeto conamine comitaris historum turmas. Hinc mirificum tibi
ingenioso (M. 482) libramine palo consultum, proprigenum
natalis fundi irruere solum, ut agricola robusto gestu plasmaveris
orgea, et pantia [.] raptis astant septa termopili.
Pubescentes pecorea depascunt segetes agmina, veternas mesta
genitrix lacrimosis obugat genas guttis, et infantilis mu[r]murat
in [.] vagitus, ac florigera resonat clangore per arva.
Externum proprifera editrix abucat marem placoreasque blandis
concelebrant nuptias thalamis. Haec pantia natalem te stignant
orgea adire limitem.

Translation of Chs. 1, 2, 3:—

1. A vast joy makes my heart throb to its depths. I dismiss
bewildered sorrow from my vitals, but I repress a current of glee
in the veins of my heart, when I look at the renowned repositories
of wisdom, who administer the precious draught of city life, and
who patch up poisonous potpourris of literature: to whatever
region¹ of the three-cornered land is the flowery throng of

¹ The meaning seems to be 'whither are these rhetoricians going?' If this
was written in Britain the *triquadra tellus* may refer to that island.

rhetoricians turning its course? and who are these virtuosos who have turned their backs on the lonesome tracks of the waste earth's end? are they dispensing the rich treasures of their talk for the public? Can it be that the deadly strife of controversy is waxing strong among this brood? Or does this assembly call for the sceptre of peace? Does a savage gathering of armed warriors muster eager for the wild line of battle, to stain white bodies with dark runnels of purple blood? Or has the creaming tide of echoing Tithis whelmed the exhausted rowers in a wreck? Or has some grim death carried off their neighbours in a common disaster? What stories are you preaching? And to which rhetorician give you your allegiance? To this literary duel¹ I challenge the champion who to his satisfaction has trodden a school of wisdom. And I have before now defied three athletes together; I have trounced cowardly combatants and I have pounded stout fighters of my own age, and have knocked down giants, stronger than myself, in battle. So I shun to meet no one of my own age. While their savage arrows prick me, straightway I unsheathe my handy sword which kills those complacent dummies. I clutch with my hand my white² target which defends the flesh of my legs with its shelter. I brandish my dagger of iron whose venomous beak makes mincemeat of the lathy tricksters.³ I break up⁴ all my coevals in a fight.

2. This precious shower of words glitters, by no awkward barriers confining the diction, and husbands its strength by an exquisite balance and by equable device, trilling sweet descant of Ausonian speech through the speaker's throat⁵ by this shower of words passing through Latin throats⁶; just as countless swarms of bees go here and there in their hollow hives, and sip the honey streams in their homes and set in order, as they are wont, their combs with their beaks. Here the precious collection of

¹ Obellum = avellum. Explained by Götz, Thes. Gl., as bellum civile dum in duas partes dividitur. See Ellis, Journal of Philology, p. 210.

² I read 'alboream' for 'arboream'.

³ Pitheus is explained by S. after Rhÿs as derived from the dragon Pytho, and so poisonous. I take cidon = κιδων, a subst. connected with κιδάρος. Vide L. and Scott s. v.

⁴ Lastro = lastrico.

⁵ I read 'pipitans'.

⁶ I. e., those *rhetores* who should speak good Latin prefer an Euphuistic jargon.

closet-writers coruscates: we have never seen a phalanx to match it in the stages of past time, nor shall we in the future limits¹ of this contemporary world gaze on a similar crowd so showy and so bustling. But mark the horrid deaf-adder at hand, who shall wound this crowd with his poisonous dart, unless they can dethrone the ruler of the spacious heaven, who (there) might free yon flowery troop from its perils from snakes.²

Only in this last cycle of our temporal globe, I have tried to seize the sceptre of the western land; hence it is that the parlance which I compose is untutored, and hence the current of words which from my mouth flows scanty.

If, however, for a longer space of time the Italian chain had riveted me, then a resonant wave of speech would run wild³ and a boundless torrent of refined language should have come sweeping from my jaws. (Here, I take it, the speaker addresses himself to one of the rhetoricians.) What particular work are you designing? Are you cleaving the gentle oaks with axes, that you may construct square chapels with solid planks? Or are you heating pure gold in fiery furnace, to forge golden crescents with stout hammers? Or are you raising some harmonious tune and stringing the chords? Or chances it that you are filling the hemlock reeds with your harmonies of sound?

3. But I am remarking with a most transcendent keenness that you are observing the woolly flocks of sheep ranging over the fragrant pastures; you who pursue with course undeviating the packed meetings of the closet philosophers, and carry a scarlet sunshade over your two shoulders, fitting a red cloak on your white body,⁴ and you clasp to your fleshly frame a blouse of fine linen.⁵ These are no philosophic mysteries to which you are listening, but you are accompanying the learned throng of savants with exhausting efforts. And so I disclose to you my singular

¹ I retain 'pagula' and understand it as = repagula, vide Stowasser ad loc.

² The meaning of this seems to be: "but there is a student as stupid as a chelydrus: against dullness even the gods fight in vain." *Regulosus* is from *regulus*, a kind of snake.

³ If the proper reading be 'popularret' the word must be used absolutely: it is possible that some word like 'pipilaret' may be the real reading,—with the meaning "sound melodiously".

⁴ I read *coccineam gemellis bailas (baiulas) curvanam scapulis, rutulantem (aliter rectulantem) alboreis artans calamida (chlamyda) madiadis*. If *cicniam* = *κύκνειον* the meaning will be 'white'.

⁵ I read 'camisia' for 'camina'.

purpose, balancing my thoughts [this way and that revolving my swift mind], to pass into the domain of your native farm, and see how you have carried out the rustic work with your stout efforts, and all your sheepfolds stand by the gushing (read rapidis) warm springs. Your herds of cattle browse the springing crops; your old mother is watering her aged cheeks with dropping tears; and the cry of your children sounds muffled, and echoes its notes over the flowery fields. The dam who claims him summons her spouse: and they keep the pleasant festival of their union by their merry meeting. All these signs bear me witness that you are approaching the eve of your natal day.

Commentary:—

Page 1. line 2. Tonstrum: probably from *tono*, in the sense of bewilderment, hence grief: cf. Spanish *tontar*, to bewilder. Pulmo seems not used in classical Latin as the seat of other passions than mirth. Spatham = Spanish *espada*, *espaza*. 19. Protinus versatilem evagino spatham quae almas trucidat statuas. 'Straightway I unsheathe my active sword which cuts down the complacent idiots'. The statuae seem to be his empty-headed adversaries; cf. Juvenal, VIII, 52. At tu Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Hermae. He may even be thinking of the mutilation of the Hermes statues. 22. Cluit = cludit. Cf. Fr. *clôre*. Assiles cidones, 'the slender, lathy weaklings'. May not cidones be connected with Sp. *chotar*, to suck? Cf. Ital. *ciotto*, a dolt. Lastro = laxico, I dismember. Cf. *pastrico*, but see note ad verb. in translation below.

2. Arripere tenui sceptrum: Tonui = tenui, in the sense of the French *j'ai tenu à*, I have desired. Tollus 'a stream,' perhaps from *tubellus*, but explained by S. as probably from *θαλλός* *mud*. The meaning of the end of paragraph 2 seems to be 'If I had only more mastery of the Ausonica lingua (i. e. good Latin), I would speak more volubly on any subject that might be desired: on any task you might care to make your own; whether to build a chapel, or to work gold, or to sing and play on the flute'.

3. Cicineam (cicineam) gemellis bailas (= baiulas) curvanam scapulis: rutilantem (*aliter* *rectulantem*) alboreis artas calamidem madiadis, pexamque carneis tolibus amplecteris camisiā. 'You carry a red sunguard over your two shoulders: you fit to you a white cloak over your white limbs and clasp a delicate shirt to your bodily frame'. Cicineam probably with Stowasser from

cici, the castor oil plant, from whose seeds some dye was extracted, or from *kúrpelos*.

4. *Macides*: evidently means 'steeps' or precipices: cf. *Sp. macía*, a wall. It might mean 'waste lands', and might thus be connected with the Corsican word *mâquis* used for 'rough forest land'. *Veluti rosea aestivi laris veternas cremat pyras rubigine amarcas, ac aruca favellosis minorat robora tumulis*—read here *pyra*. 'Even as a ruddy fire burns with a glow the old boughs of larch wood in the summer, and reduces to nothing the uprooted stumps on ashy mounds'. *Aruca* seems a corruption of *eruca* from *exrun-care*: the roots are grubbed out from the low, round hills where they grew. *Quatinus vitreum tetigeris patula poli samum cuba*. *Samus* is no doubt the Greek word *σάμος*, a height: *cuba* = *cupa*, the hollow hand, explained by *S.* as the elbow. *Arotus* can hardly mean anything but "a star": possibly 'the thrower of light', from *arruo*. Cf. *Sp. arrojar*, but more probably from Hebrew *orr*, "light", pl. *orôth*, from which word the Latin is taken. So *S.*

5. *Bis senos exploro vechros qui ausonicam lacerant palatham*. 'I am tracking out twelve defects which mar the pure diction of the Romans'. So Prof. R. Ellis, no doubt rightly: but none have explained *vechros*, which undoubtedly means faults, defects: and is to be explained as a Germanic loan-word: OHG *brecho*, a fault: Vide Kluge s. v. Surely *palatham* means nothing but palate. Cf. *Fr. palais*: *Sp. paladar*, gums. *Alius clarifero ortus vechrus solo, quo hispericum reguloso ictu violatur eulogium: sensibiles partiminum corrodit domescas*. *Stowasser* is clearly right in regarding *clarifero solo* as signifying 'solecisms' from *Soli*: the *clariferus* probably refers to the *claras Asiae urbes*, and *regulosus* is the adjective formed from *regulus* = *basiliscus*. *Domescas* seems to me to = *domesticas partes*, and to signify the qualities, home-properties: cf. *Provençal domesgue*. "Another fault arises from the land of sunny Solus, whereby the glory of the Latin language is by a poisonous attack impaired: it spoils the plain properties of the different parts of speech".

6. *Cibonea Pliadum non exomicant fulgora*. This seems a reference to 'polus dum sidera pascit.' 'The heaven-fed sheen of the Pleiades does not shoot forth'. *Exomico* seems a hybrid, *ἔξω* and *mico*. *Merseum solifluus eruit nevum tractus*. 'The sunny tract drives forth dun colour of night'; *merseus* is

explained by S. as = nightly, from *mersa*, night; *nevum* used of the colour of the wart or excrescence, "brownness". *Sudos*—from *sudum* which is used by Arnobius in the sense of thick or clotted. *Sennosis motibus* "with movements of their teeth"; *sennosus* is a Latinized form of Hebrew *shen*, a tooth. *Sablones* 'sands' = Sp. *sablon*. Surely *attritas arrigas* means the 'crumbling furrows',—Prov. 'arrega', said to come from a Celtic word *ricā*; but if with S., *artiga* be read, the word remains in the modern Spanish *artiga*, a fresh ploughed field. For this word Körting s. v. *artica* assumes an Iberian origin. See Körting s. v.

7. *Uchas* may be right; cf. Prov. 'uchar, to cry'; but S. reads *echas* = ἡχάς. *Framis* = *frameis*, here used for 'axes'.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

TWO BOOKS ON ROMAN TOPOGRAPHY:

- I. The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1904.
- II. Das Forum Romanum. By CH. HUELSEN. Loescher and Co., Rome, 1904.

(1). Professor Platner declares that his book "is intended to serve as an introduction to the topography of ancient Rome for students of Roman antiquities and history, and incidentally as a book of reference for those who have any special interest in the monuments which still remain". A book written with such a purpose, in English, bearing the date 1904, will surely be hailed with joy by many, especially by those who read French, German and Italian only with difficulty or not at all. A heavy weight of responsibility, therefore, rested on the author to make his book absolutely correct, at least in matters which are simply questions of fact and not wholly or largely matters of opinion or interpretation of fact.

How has the author met this responsibility?

There are twenty chapters, with titles as follows: Sources of Information; General Topography of Rome and the Campagna; Building Materials and Methods; History of the Development of the City; The Tiber and its Bridges; Aqueducts and Sewers; Walls, Gates, and Roads; The Palatine Hill; The Forum; The Imperial Fora; The Capitoline Hill; The Sacra Via and the Velia; The Campus Martius; The District between the Forum, the Tiber, and the Circus Maximus; The Aventine; The Caelian; The Esquiline; The Via Lata and the Pincian Hill; The Quirinal and the Viminal; The Transtiberine District. An index of seventeen pages closes the book.

The book attempts to cover the whole field of the topography of ancient Rome; it locates and describes not only existing ruins, but includes many structures of which no vestige now remains. From this point of view the book has value, in that it will give to the student information not so readily accessible elsewhere, at least in English. The very numerous references given in the footnotes, first to the sources of information in ancient literature and inscriptions, and, secondly, to the most important material in current periodicals and foreign manuals of topography constitute a very valuable, if not the most valuable, part of the book. The maps, plans and illustrations are likewise helpful, though one wishes more of them had been given.

One thing the book is not, a convenient guide-book to the existing remains in Rome. The description of the Forum, for example, is worked out on a plan quite different from that followed by Professor Huelsen in his *Das Forum Romanum*. Mr. Platner begins by devoting four pages to the history of the successive rebuildings of the Forum. Then he discusses the streets that ran into or through the Forum; then all the temples in the Forum (in the narrower sense) are treated together, next the two basilicas. Further on all the arches in the Forum are treated together. I cannot help feeling that this scheme of treating the monuments by classes rather than in topographical sequence will be confusing to a reader who has not seen the Forum, even though he has the help of Professor Platner's plans. Again, one on the ground who followed the author's description would traverse and re-traverse the Forum till he lost all sense of the points of the compass.

In certain respects the book in its present form suffers from grievous blemishes. In his preface the author says he has not been able to visit Rome since June, 1900. Yet the book is pre-eminently one that should have been written in Rome; at least the manuscript or the proof-sheets should have been compared with the monuments themselves.

Numerous inconsistencies show that the author has not orientated himself properly. Thus, on page 127, the Cermalus is called the north, the Palatium the south side of the Palatine; on page 33 they are described as the western and the eastern halves of the hill. On page 129 the author calls the S. Teodoro side (i. e. the Cermalus) the western. Had the author adhered throughout, with reference to the Palatine, to the convenient if somewhat inaccurate terminology current concerning the Forum, by which the Tabularium end is called the western, he would have saved himself and his readers, here and elsewhere, much confusion. Professor Platner does indeed often use this system with reference to both Forum and Palatine, but he is far from consistent, employing often a points of the compass system.

On page 138 the altar of Aius Locutius is said to stand "On the *northwest*¹ slope of the (Palatine) hill"; on page 139 we read "There are on that part of the hill which lies between the domus Augustana, the domus Tiberiana, and the *southwest*¹ edge (of the hill) the remains of two temples". These statements, on successive pages, refer to precisely the same part of the Palatine.

On page 214 the author says: "Caesar *decided to remove* the Rostra to the Forum, but his definite plan seems not to have been carried out until after 42 B. C. Thenceforth the Rostra of the Empire was a long platform extending across the *west* end of the Forum". Now, on page 179 we have already read that "Julius Caesar *erected* a second platform, the rostra Iulia, at the *east* end of the Forum, in front of the Regia", etc.

¹ The Italics here and elsewhere are mine.

On page 302 the jambs of the Arch of Titus containing the famous reliefs are described as the west and the east sides of the arch, though the arch stands at the east end of the Forum and itself faces east.

On page 373 the Pons Sublicius is described, in passing, as "later pons Aemilius". On page 80 the author says of the Pons Sublicius: "The strongest evidence seems to indicate a point between the porta trigemina and the ruined ponte rotto, and very probably close to the latter". On this same page (80) a paragraph is headed, "Pons Aemilius, perhaps the ruined ponte Rotto"!

On page 137 we have a brief discussion of the temple on the Palatine which in recent times has been generally regarded as that of the Magna Mater. It closes thus: "Inscriptions relating to the Magna Mater, a portion of a colossal female figure—undoubtedly the goddess—seated on a throne, and a fragment of a base with the paws of lions, the regular attendants of Cybele, have been found near the podium of this temple". From all this one would naturally infer that the author believed the temple to be that of the Magna Mater. Yet on page 140 he expresses his opinion that these very ruins are those of the Templum Victoriae, though from page 135 one would infer that this latter temple stood on the west side of the hill near the Church of S. Teodoro.

On page 149 we read that the *western* portion of the peristyle of the domus Augustana has not yet been excavated; on page 150, line 12, the author refers to the corresponding unexcavated portion of the triclinium of this palace as the *eastern* portion. The latter, not the former statement, is correct.

Again, cross-references are lacking often where their insertion would have been most helpful, even to the author himself in forcing him to correlate his statements at various places in his book. Thus, on page 74 the Septizonium is called "a seven-zoned structure". There is nothing to explain this till we reach page 156. On page 17 it is stated that the accumulation of the fragments heaped together in the Monte Testaccio began as early as the last century of the Republic; on page 399 we read "it is certain that the dumping of debris on this spot began as early as the time of Augustus". On page 149, in the discussion of the so-called lararium in the Domus Augustana, reference is made to an altar once found in this room, but now non-existent. On page 137, we read "The stone needle itself (sc. which represented Cybele) was removed by Elagabalus (from the Templum Magnae Matris) to the lararium of the Flavian Palace, where it was probably seen by Bianchini in 1725". The two passages refer to the same thing (i. e. the altar and the stone needle are one), but there is nothing in the text or notes to show it. See Haugwitz, *Der Palatin*, pp. 24, 25.

Sometimes names are employed which may well be misleading. On page 73 we read "To the Flavians Rome owed . . . the . . . stadium on the Palatine". On page 144 the same structure is called Hippodromus. Cf. page 152: "Adjoining the domus Augustana . . . is the Hippodromus, which has usually, though erroneously, been called the Stadium of Domitian". On page 153 the author declares "This Hippodromus was the garden of the Flavian Palace". On page 154 the opinion is expressed (without hint that it had previously been advanced; but cf. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, p. 155) that the puzzling oval in this structure was a private menagerie of the emperors. On page 152 the exedra on the east side is called an "imperial box". What is one to make of all this? What is the appropriateness of the term Hippodromus, if this place was a garden? Some light was surely needed here, especially since "race-course" is the only meaning given for *hippodromus* in Lewis and Short, and *ἵπποδρόμος* is similarly defined by Liddell and Scott. Even Georges's statement that *hippodromus* denoted a "Rennbahn für Rosse und Wagen bei den Römern in Privatgärten oder Villen" does not help very much here, for in this Hippodromus, at least in the form in which the visitor sees it to-day, driving a chariot or carriage was impossible. For the needed light one need go only to Haugwitz, *Der Palatin*, p. 80. Cf. also Richter, l. c.

A few other points, out of many, may be noted. On page 154 it is stated that the masonry enclosing the oval in the Hippodromus is three *meters* high; it is not at any point more than three *feet* high. On page 203 we read: "Many of them (i. e. the statues of the Vestals in the Atrium Vestae) have inscribed pedestals". One would naturally infer that the statues and the pedestals now to be seen there belong together. They do not. Huelsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, p. 167, describes how statues and pedestals were found together in a great heap. "Infolge dessen lässt sich zu keiner Statue die zugehörige Inschrift constatieren".

On pp. 216, 250 it is stated categorically that the so-called marble *plutei* (or, as others call them, the rostra reliefs) now standing on the floor of the Forum once stood somewhere on the Rostra. Not a particle of proof is adduced. One regrets that the author was not so sceptical here as he seems to have been concerning the identification of the buildings represented on these *plutei*. (It occurs to me to ask why, if these reliefs were originally intended for the sides of the Rostra, as e. g. Huelsen assumes, they were made so small; they are only about half as long as the sides of the Rostra. Why did the architect, in spite of the fact that he might have taken about twice as much room, limit himself so, and hence deliberately interfere with the careful and complete presentation of the buildings now only hinted at in the reliefs?)

On page 270 we read that the *north* hemicycle of Trajan's Forum is well preserved and has been partially excavated, but

nothing is said to indicate where it may be seen. Professor Platner's terminology with reference to this Forum as a whole makes this omission especially unfortunate. For example, on page 272 he declares that the doorway in the base of the column is in the *east* side; on page 273 he calls the bibliotheca side of this Forum its *west* end. As a matter of fact, the excavation, as one looks at it now, runs northwest to southeast. Repeated testing of the matter by the sun, by compass readings, maps and statements in other books leaves no doubt on that subject. Indeed, we shall not err greatly in saying that the square in which the column now stands runs north and south. The door in the base of the column is on the *south* side. The two Churches lie on the *north* side (here the bibliotheca lay in ancient times). The hemicycle which is yet partially extant lies to the *east* of the houses which line the *east* side of the square. The Place Vendome in Paris lies somewhat as does the Piazza del Foro Trajano (to be accurate, it runs from northeast to southwest); to bring out more clearly the extent to which the Trajan column was here imitated, we may note that the door in the Vendome column, too, is in the south side.

On page 273 it is stated that the shaft of the Trajan column consists of 23 blocks or drums. I ascended the column last summer and counted the drums; there are 18 in the shaft itself. The interior of the column is entirely clean and sweet and fairly well lighted; the drums in the inner column, if I may so describe it, round which the staircase winds, correspond exactly to those in the outer column. There is thus a double means of securing a correct count. The number 23 describes rather the number of divisions in the spiral of sculptures (I may note that I cannot reconcile Lanciani's description of this column, given in his *Ruins and Excavations*, etc., p. 317, with the facts. He, too, among other things, gives the number of blocks in the shaft as 23). Lastly, I note that, so far as I can judge, Professor Platner accepts without reserve (see pages 268, 269) the statement of the inscription on the Trajan column, that the column was erected to indicate "to what height the hill was cut away for this great work". I must confess to some unwillingness to accept the inscription literally. See also Middleton, *Remains*, ii. 24, 25: "Brocchi (*Suolo di Roma*, p. 133) has shown from geological evidence that the ridge can never have approached the height of 100 feet, and he suggests that the inscription means that the hill was cut back to a point where the Quirinal was 100 feet high—a very probable explanation".

Lack of space forbids the consideration of other points. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that the book needs a thorough revision.

(2). Professor Huelsen's book falls into two parts, the one treating the general history of the Forum, the other describing its monuments.

Part I is subdivided into three sections: (a) the Forum in antiquity, (b) the Forum in the Middle Ages, (c) the excavations in the Forum since the Renaissance. The three sections cover 47 pages. In the first section (pp. 1-23) Professor Huelsen considers the etymology of the word *forum*, the use of the Forum in the various stages of its development as market-place, the center of civil and political life, etc., the development of the imperial fora, the Forum of the later empire, and finally the destruction of the Forum. In the second section we have the history of the Forum from the days of Theodoric to those of Rienzi; in the third section we have an account of the excavations from the fifteenth century to the present time. Discoveries as late as those of March, 1904, are noted.

In Part II, pages 48-174, the several buildings and monuments now existing in the Forum, in the narrower sense of the term, are discussed. The author begins with the Basilica Iulia, the first building into which one steps as he enters the Forum from the Via delle Grazie, and takes the reader round the Forum, first along the west or Tabularium side, then along the north side, etc. On pp. 175-203 we have an account of the buildings adjoining the Sacra Via, from the Templum Faustinae to the Templum Iovis Statoris. From first to last the book is written with a view to use on the spot, in the presence of the monuments.

There is a list of source passages and references to new literature on the Forum (pages 204-211), a list of the 109 illustrations in the text, and three excellent plans.

Taken as a whole the book deserves high praise. Its plan is excellent. The general history of the Forum is given in Part I; the detailed history of the individual buildings is set forth in Part II, in small type, prefixed to the description of the actual remains of each building. Thus the reader is saved from embarrassment as he studies the ruins on the spot; when he needs to know the history of a building as an aid to its reconstruction he can readily find it. Again, the existing ruins are treated, in the main, in topographical sequence. This arrangement is most helpful to one on the spot, indeed, to any reader. The photographs, plans and reconstructions are all most useful. The test of actual use on the ground shows that the book subserves excellently the purposes for which it was written.

Yet there are blemishes. The proof-reading, nay, even the writing in some places, was evidently done with haste and the printing leaves much to be desired.

Of far more consequence, however, is the fact that there are errors in matters wherein errors might have been avoided entirely, at least by one situated so favorably with reference to the Forum as Professor Huelsen is; had the manuscript or the proof-sheets been compared throughout on the spot with the monuments themselves, the defects to which I shall take exception might easily have been wholly obviated. Few students of the Roman

Forum are privileged to visit it frequently; some can never see it. There is, therefore, an especial obligation laid upon those who may see it frequently to be absolutely accurate in their statements of fact: they have no right to mislead their less fortunately situated brethren, who must rely on their eyes.

On page 119 it is stated that on each side of the entrance to the Basilica Aemilia lie five quadrangular rooms, not connected with one another, used as offices, etc. The plan on page 111 shows six quadrangular rooms, of nearly equal dimensions, on each side of the entrance: no account is given by the author of three other much smaller rooms, one at the east end, two at the west, shown in his plan. Now, one clearly sees six large rooms east of the entrance. On the west side it is not so easy to count, since the side walls of the rooms do not here project above the floor of the basilica as they do on the east side. Besides, a sewer here complicates matters. But there are doubtless six large rooms here. Again, on page 115 we read that the south (or Forum) façade of this basilica consisted originally of "14 grossen Bogenöffnungen". Why then does Abb. 49 on page 114 show 16 arches? The plan on page 111 makes provisions for but 14. On page 115 Professor Huelsen gives an inscription found in this building as L· CAESARI· AUGUSTI· F· DIVI· N· PRINCIPI IUVENTUTIS COS· DESIG CUM ESSET ANN· NAT· XIII· AUG· SENATUS. As a matter of fact the *ti* of IUVENTUTIS is not visible; *cum* is somewhat broken, and the initial *e* of *esset* is gone.

On page 122 we read that on the southern edge of the open space in the Forum, opposite the Basilica Julia, are eight large cubical bases which originally carried colossal statues. One can make this total only by counting in the very large structure (40 feet by 20) at the eastern end of this line: but this is described separately on page 123, in very different terms, and is there certainly thought of as independent of the eight of page 122. Nor did the author mean to count in the column of Phocas, for he had already described that on page 81. A glance at Plan I confirms my criticism.

On page 83 an inscription is given as

vindicata reBELLione et africae RESTitutione laetus.

It should rather be given as

vindicata reBELLione et africae reSTITutione laetus.

On the same page we read of a metrical inscription said to consist of two pieces of stone and to read

ar]mipotens Libycum defendit Honorius [orbem (?)

The inscription really covers three pieces of stone. Again, the *r* of *armipotens*, the *yc* of *Libycum*, the *t* of *defendit*, and the *s* of *Honorius* are not now on the stones. In fact, only the left stroke of the *u* in *Honorius* is clear. We should therefore print

ar]mipotens Lib[yc]um defendi[t] Honoriu[s] orbem (?)

On page 85 it is stated that the animals of the so-called rostra reliefs are "um den Leib geschmückt". This is true only of the *sus* and the *taurus*. So on the other suovetaurilian relief still visible in the Forum it seems highly probable that the sheep was not "um den Leib geschmückt", though here the body of the *taurus* overlaps that of the *ovis* in such fashion that absolute certainty is perhaps not attainable.

In one or two cases the author's taste may be called into question. On pages 66, 67 in seeking to account for the great size of the rostra (the one with the hemicyclium, by the Schola Xantha, the Umbilicus and the Arch of Septimius) Professor Huelsen states that often many persons beside the speaker were on the rostra. By way of proof, seemingly, he paraphrases two passages from ancient writers. The latter of these deals with the funeral of Pertinax in 193 A. D., and takes up a full page of small type, yet, as Professor Huelsen describes the scene, there is no proof at all that any one except Severus ascended the rostra. Why abuse the reader's patience thus with impertinent matter?

On page 52 the author calls the more northerly of the two *porticus* on the north or Sacra Via side of the Basilica Iulia "die Vorhalle" of the Basilica. This term seems to me unfortunate, for its use destroys, at least to my mind, that impression of symmetry which the actual remains of this basilica make on one who sees them, for this description gives us but one *porticus* on the north side of the central hall, whereas there are two *porticus* on each of the other sides. Exigencies springing out of the limited extent of ground at the disposal of the builder of this basilica compelled him to set the floor of the northernmost portico on a level lower than that of the other porticoes and the main hall (had he not done this, he must have made the basilica considerably smaller, in order to find room for a long, high stairway from the Sacra Via), but this would not have interfered seriously, if at all, with the impression of symmetry made by the whole on the observer, when the building was intact, whether he stood within the central hall or on any of the surrounding streets. I may note that Professor Huelsen's language is none too clear here, but my interpretation of the phrase "die Vorhalle" is confirmed by his use of the same term, on page 109, in connection with the Basilica Aemilia; there his meaning is unmistakable.

In several places passages might be rewritten with great gain in clearness. This is especially true of pages 88, 89, which seek to describe the so-called rostra reliefs. The buildings which seem to be represented here Professor Huelsen describes from right to left, an unnatural way at best. He is seeking to prove that these buildings give a complete representation of the Forum from the Basilica Iulia, via the west side, to the Basilica Aemilia. Yet, in his detailed description he names the buildings, in each case, from the eastern end in toward the center (or west) side of the whole group, and thus destroys the very impression of sym-

metry which he is trying to create. Further, a sad misprint on page 88 makes matters still worse, for each relief is referred to in turn as "die zweite Schranke". The second "zweiten" on line 23 should be corrected to "ersten". The whole account should be rewritten, and the contents of each relief should be given in sequence from left to right. It might have been well, too, to present proof that these reliefs ever stood on this rostra. Cf. above, p. 216.

On page 61, speaking of the much-discussed arches back (west) of the Schola Xantha, Professor Huelsen says, "hat man neuerdings vermutet, der Bau sei die von Caesar ans Ostende des Forums verlegte Rostra gewesen". Now, since these arches are at the west end of the Forum, I fail to see how any one could ever have fancied them to be part of a structure built at the east end. The author has written hastily, it would seem, and in too Tacitean a fashion; he means, I take it, "hat man neuerdings vermutet, der Bau sei mit den von Caesar verlegten Rostra identisch, aber diese waren ans Ostende verlegt". My correction is confirmed by Professor Huelsen's own language on page 124, where he refers to a "Projekt (Caesars), die Rednerbühne an das untere Ende des Markts zu verlegen".

These points and some others like them are in themselves not of very great moment, but it is precisely on such small matters that truth and scholarship alike often turn. Of one to whom much has been given much may of right be demanded; the ease with which all errors of fact might have been avoided by the author of this book makes it hard to excuse them. Besides, the book is on the whole so excellent, so helpful, that these shortcomings are all the harder to bear; one feels regret over them, as over *egregio inspersi corpore naevi*.

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Classical Mythology in Shakespeare. By ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph. D. A Thesis presented to the Philosophical Faculty of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1903. Pp. 134.

The aim of this useful thesis has been to collect and examine the numerous allusions to classical mythology in the authentic works of Shakespeare, with the purpose of determining the sources from which he drew his acquaintance with the matter, the conception which he entertained of it, and the extent to which it became a vital element in his art. The main results of the investigation, and the uses to which they are applied, may be stated in the author's own words (p. 14): 'First, that with few exceptions Shakespeare's allusions to classical mythology have

to do with myths, the substance of which may be found in Ovid or Vergil; secondly, that his employment of these allusions is clearly different at different periods of his work. If these conclusions are accepted, we gain from the first a new sort of internal evidence as to the Shakespearian authorship of a disputed play or portion of a play; from the second a new sort of internal evidence for determining the date of composition of a play known to be Shakespeare's. I shall now consider these tests in some detail'.

The subject of the study is extremely interesting, and on the whole it is very carefully treated. Perhaps the reviewer can best indicate his appreciation and interest by suggesting a number of additions and corrections.

Dr. Root is usually content to show that a mythological allusion can be explained from Ovid. In this part of his work he might have noted: p. 39, that the names Boreas and Aquilon both occur in Ovid; p. 90, that Nemesis is three times mentioned in Ovid (under the name Rhamnusia or Rhamnysis); p. 110, that there is more about Tantalus in Ovid than his comment implies; p. 96, that Ovid seems to connect Perseus and Pegasus, *Am. 3. 12. 24*: 'victor Abantiades alite fertur equo'.

Of the influence of Seneca Dr. Root finds 'but two possible instances, neither of which is conclusive' (p. 5). To these two he might perhaps have added three other passages which he has been unable to explain from Ovid, namely, the allusions to Prometheus, to Hercules, and to the Sirens, which are mentioned in the next two paragraphs. And the statement that Orpheus 'drew floods' (p. 93) gets as much support from Seneca, *Herc. Fur. 573*, *Herc. Oet. 1040*, as from Horace, *Od. 1. 12. 9*.

It would be interesting to know how many of Shakespeare's allusions could be explained from the little handbook of mythology which goes under the name of Hyginus. This was printed at Basel in 1535. Much of the matter is derived from the Greek drama, and in view of Fables 107, 144, 30, it may not be necessary to go direct to Sophocles or Horace for the story of Ajax slaughtering sheep or cattle; to Aeschylus (Prometheus Freed?) or Seneca (*Med. 709*) for the picture of Prometheus 'tied to Caucasus'; to Euripides (*Herc. Fur. 396*) for the idea that Hercules slew the dragon and gathered the golden apples himself. For this exploit of Hercules, see also *Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1434-40*, Seneca, *Agam. 852*, Boccaccio, *Amorosa Visione, 26*, and Chaucer, *Monkes Tale, 111*, with Professor Skeat's note (p. 231). The three myths which Dr. Root mentions (p. 3) as evidence that Shakespeare was acquainted with Ovid's *Heroides* are all told quite as fully in Hyginus.

There is good classical authority for the blindness of Cupid in Theocritus, 10. 19: 'Love is blind no less than Pluto'. In a little poem attributed to Vergil, *Poet. Lat. Min. ed. Baehrens. 4. 160*, we have not only the phrase 'caecus Amor', but also a men-

tion of the arrow with the golden head—'aurata cuspidē telum'. And there is at least a suggestion of 'Siren tears' in Seneca, Herc. Oet. 190: 'ubi fata gemam Thessala Siren'. Compare the Sirens of Dositheus 'propter raptum Proserpinae lamentantes' (quoted in M. Schmidt's edition of Hyginus, on Fab. 141), and the sculptured Sirens on certain Attic tombs, one of them 'beating her breast and tearing her hair' (Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 582-5). See also Euripides, *Hel.* 169.

The source of the story of Achilles and Telephus, p. 3, is not quite accurately stated. Dictys Cretensis does not mention any details about the rust of the spear; and his apocryphal *Journal of the Trojan War* can hardly be called the primary authority for anything which is found in Ovid, Hyginus, and Pliny. It is not very clear what is meant by the 'late Roman conception' of the three Fates, p. 60; or by the 'late Roman tradition' of Cupid, p. 48.

Perhaps one bit of mythology which Dr. Root discusses should be described as 'Italianate'. The disputed passage about 'the morning's love', *Mids.* 3. 2. 389, is aptly compared with Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, 3. 1464:

'And eek the sonne Tytan gan he chyde,
And seyde, "O fool, wel may men thee dispyse,
That hast the Dawing al night by thy syde"', etc.

Professor Skeat remarks that Chaucer has confused *Tytan* with *Tithonus*, but Boccaccio has the same fancy, in the fourth song of his *Ameto*: 'Come Titan del seno dell' aurora Esce', etc. Compare also Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, 5. 5, 'That day Aurora double grace obtain'd Of her love Phoebus', Greene's *Tritameron of Love*, '*Aurora* had forsaken the waterie bed of her lover *Tytan*', and Lodge's *Rosalynde*, 'The sunne was no sooner stept from the bed of *Aurora*', etc.

Something more might have been said about the classical mythology of other Elizabethan writers, or of their English predecessors. The conceit 'bright Apollo's lute strung with his hair' need not be laid to Shakespeare's charge, if we read in Lyly, *Midas* 4. 1, 'had thy lute been of lawrell, and the strings of Daphnes haire'. Lyly's Syren has 'golden lockes', and sings 'with a Glasse in her hand and a Combe', Love's *Metamorphosis* 4. 2. In *Meas.* 3. 2, 47: 'What, is there none of Pygmalion's images, newly made woman, to be had now, for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutched?' the turn of the phrase is probably due to the beginning of Lyly's *Anatomy of Wit*: 'A woman so exquisite that . . . Pigmalions Image was not halfe so excellent, having one hande in hys pocket as notinge their thefte', etc. With the spear of Achilles, 'able to kill and cure', *H* 6 B 5. 1. 100, we may compare Lyly's *Cooling Carde* for Philautus (1578), 'Achilles speare could as well heale as hurte'. It has

recently been suggested (in the Nineteenth Century, Feb. 1904) that Shakespeare was here borrowing from Pettie's translation of Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* (1581). But Chaucer knew of this 'queynte spere' long before Pettie: see the *Squieres Tale* 239-40. And Dante had mentioned it, *Inf.* 31. 4, long before Guazzo. It is mentioned also in R. Greene's *Tullies Love*, and in T. Lodge's *Rosalynde*. If Shakespeare makes 'the Hesperides' the name of the garden, so did Greene and others: see Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, with Dyce's note, p. 90. But is 'this fair Hesperides' in *Per.* 1. 1. 27 the name of the garden? Cupid's 'arrow with the golden head' is mentioned in Thomas Preston's *Cambises* 849, 'the shaft of love, that beares the head of golde'. Sidney refers to the madness of Ajax, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*: 'let but *Sophocles* bring you *Ajax* on a stage, killing and whipping Sheepe and Oxen, thinking them the Army of Greeks', etc. The expression 'Siren tears', in *Sonn.* 119, has its parallel at the beginning of T. Lodge's *Rosalynde*:

'The Syrens teares doe threaten mickle grieve'.

And the 'famous Shakespearian crux' about 'Juno's swans', in *As.* 1. 3. 77, may be compared with Thomas Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* 4. 1. 70:

'I should haue deemd them *Junoës* goodly Swannes'.

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REPORTS.

HERMES XXXIX.

Fascicle I.

Ovid und Nikander (E. Bethe). Bethe, continuing his study of Antoninus Liberalis (cf. A. J. P. XXV p. 472), compares his excerpts from Nicander's *Ἑρεποιούμενα* with Ovid's Met. V 302-678. Some of the discrepancies are easily explained, others are probably due to Antoninus' incorporating scholia from a learned edition of Nicander. As Anton. c. 24 and c. 28 must be combined with c. 9, it becomes evident that Ovid owed also his form to Nicander, who was evidently a better poet than is usually believed. Ovid's use of a mythological schoolbook for the general scheme of his Metamorphoses has been more definitely determined by Bethe's pupil H. Kienzle in his dissertation 'Ovidius qua ratione compendium mythologicum ad Metamorphoseis componendas adhibuerit' (Basel 1903).

Das Lebensziel der Skeptiker (Max Pohlenz). According to Sextus, the *τελος* of the Skeptics was twofold: *ἐποχή* and consequent *ἀταραξία* in matters pertaining to the reason; but *μετριοπάθεια* in the domain of sense; for recognizing the reality of sense perception, they only aimed at moderating the *κατηναγκασμένα πάθη* by avoiding the *δόξα* that they were evil. This duality is remarkable when contrasted with the unity sought for in the other systems of philosophy, especially as the Skeptics had adopted elements from the Epicureans and Stoics. P. traces the Skeptic *τελος*, as defined by Sextus and Diogenes, back through Aenesidemus to Timon, who seems to have developed the idea of the *μετριοπάθεια* as a defense against the charge that *ἀνεπεργασία* must result from the absolute *ἀπάθεια* taught by Pyrrhon. The latter was himself influenced by Democritus. Though similar to the Cyrenaic system, Pyrrhon's skepticism shows a nearer approach to the Cynic school, at least, superficially. For the Cynics were combative and all that that implied, while Pyrrhon was quiescent, retiring, sparing of words. Hence Aristotle's words (Eth. Nic. 1104 b 24) *διὸ καὶ ὀρίζονται τὰς ἀπερὰς ἀπαθείας τινὰς καὶ ἡρεμίας* (cf. Eth. Eud. 1222 a 1) point to Pyrrhon, not to the Cynics (Zeller II 1⁴ p. 312 n. 2), to whom *ἡρεμία*, a technical term of the Skeptics, would not apply. This is possible, as Pyrrhon may have been born as early as 375 B. C. He was the first to set up *ἀπάθεια* as the *τελος* of life; but his followers failed to maintain the pure doctrine, and so it fell to the dogmatic Zeno to give fixity to the term with new content.

Neue Studien zur Überlieferung und Kritik der Metamorphosen Ovids (Hugo Magnus). This is a continuation of a series of articles beginning 1891 in *Fleckeisens Jahrb.* and aims at a revision of Ovid's text, based on the two oldest (XI century)

MSS M and N which contain Met. I-XIV and represent a common original O, which is, so far as it can be reconstructed, the best source. However, as all the correct readings in the late interpolated MSS (s) cannot be conjectures of the Itali, we must recognize a tradition independent of O. Unfortunately no single MS in this class is representative; hence the necessity of extreme caution. Magnus describes his critical method and presents a number of emendations. Among the points discussed may be noted Ovid's practice in omitting *est*, the history of *redivivus* and the frequency with which Vergil's usage has contaminated the poorer MSS.

Livius und Horaz über die Vorgeschichte des römischen Dramas (Friedrich Leo). While heartily approving Hendrickson's work (A. J. P. XV 1 ff. XIX 285 ff.) on the history of the Roman drama as sketched in Livy VII 2. and Horace Ep. II 1. 139 ff., Leo shows that these accounts, though ultimately determined by Aristotle, are radically different. Livy shows elsewhere that he was indeed familiar with Varro's chronology of Andronicus; but in VII 2 he followed some annalist, and thus represents the development as more purely Roman. Horace makes the Greek influence prominent, and, still more familiar with Varro's work, probably from his school books, attacks Varro's aesthetic norms, while following the mistaken chronology of Accius, which places Andronicus' first play in 197 B. C., a clear indication that his source was pre-Varronian. The term *satura* is not used in Livy VII 2 in the sense of *λαμβική ἰδέα*, derived from Lucilius' aggressiveness in order to parallel the *ἀρχαία κωμῳδία* (see A. J. P. XV 11); but may perhaps have the Ennian meaning of medley. The existence of a "dramatic" *satura* is less likely than ever; certainly Varro may no longer be cited as an authority, and as Livy does not reflect Varro's work, we must form a different conception of his 'de scaenicis originibus.'

Note sur une Inscription de Magnésie (Maurice Holleaux). This is a tentative restoration of lines 73-94 of one of the 'perles de l'admirable recueil qui fait tant d'honneur à la science et à la conscience de M. Otto Kern et de ses collaborateurs'. (See O. Kern, *Inschr. von Magnesia am Maeander*, nr. 105, p. 95 ff.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, n. 929.)

Chronologische und historische Beiträge zur griechischen Geschichte der Jahre 370-364 v. Chr. (Benedictus Niese). The chronology of this period hinges largely on the dates assigned to Epaminondas' second invasion of the Peloponnesus and to the second expedition sent by Dionysius I. In opposition to Grote, Bury, Beloch, Meyer, etc., Niese defends the chronology of Dodwell, which was adopted by Clinton and Thirlwall. There is no warrant to modify the well authenticated account of the trial of Epaminondas and colleagues for overstaying their term of office in 369 B. C., and so this very trial implies that they were not elected for that year, and it is clear as Xenophon's words

τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει (Hell. VII 1, 1.) indicate, that Epaminondas' second Peloponnesian campaign took place in 368 B. C. Contemporaneous events corroborate this date, and indeed the longer interval between the first and second expedition of Epaminondas is necessary for an intelligible development of affairs. Historians would probably have been unanimous on this point had they not followed G. R. Sievers (Gesch. Griech. v. Ende des pelopon. Krieg. bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea p. 277 ff. 395) in placing the death of Dionysius I in the winter of 368/7 B. C. Niese points out the unreliable character of their authority (Diod. XV 74) and gives weighty reasons for assigning D.'s death to the summer of 367 B. C. and his second expedition a little earlier. Contemporaneous and succeeding events fit into this scheme admirably, an important consideration in view of the few reliable dates. The discussion throws light on the military organization of Thessaly, upon Dionysius I, Jason of Pherae and their relations with the rest of Greece, as well as upon the character of the sources: Xenophon, Plutarch, Diodorus, etc. The founding of Megalopolis in 367 B. C. was the result of the Tearless Victory (see A. J. P. XXI 98).

Die handschriftliche Grundlage der Schrift *περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰδμάτων τόπων* (J. L. Heiberg). This interesting document, which includes a discussion of the comparative ethnography of Europe and Asia, and is classed among the genuine works of Hippocrates by Christ (Gr. Lit. p. 854) is ascribed by Heiberg to an unknown peregrinating physician of the fifth century B. C. A critical examination of the sources leads to a new estimate of their relative value; especially important is the recognition of the great value of the old Latin translation preserved in cod. Paris. lat. 7027 saec. X. Unfortunately little use has been made of it in the new critical edition (Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia vol. I, rec. H. Kühlewein, Lipsiae 1894, p. 31-71).

Ein neues "Urtheil Salomonis" und die Friesbilder der Casa Tiberina (R. Engelmann). E. discusses the Pompeian wall-painting known as the Judgment of Solomon (see Mau's Pompeii Fig. 6) and similar pictures, one of which he discovers through a clever interpretation of an engraving by Bellori, which is reproduced. He also essays the interpretation of the 'judgments' represented on the frieze of the Casa Tiberina and concludes that Robert may be right in regarding these as illustrations of a Greek romance (see A. J. P. XXIII p. 336); but, if so, well-known subjects were selected, for it is probable that, like other popular tales, stories of clever judgments were current in Greece as well as in Egypt and the Orient.

Miscellen.—F. Bechtel and F. Blass, independently, have concluded that the Homeric *ταηλεγής* should be written *ἀνηλεγής*, thus producing a word similar in meaning to *δυσηλεγής* (χ 325). The *τ* is probably due to the diaskeuasts, who sought to remove the hiatus.—Geo. Wissowa questions the view of Domaszewski

(Jahreshefte des österr. arch. Inst. VI 1903 p. 57 ff.), that the sacrificial procession represented on the Ara Pacis was held at the constitutio 13 B. C. rather than at the dedicatio 9 B. C. Wissowa holds that the latter, also called the consecratio, constituted the natalis of the structure and was the really important event.

Fascicle 2.

Toga und Trabea (W. Helbig). The purple cloak with scarlet border known as the *trabea* is usually regarded as an ancient military cloak. The Roman consul had to wear it—*cinctu Gabinus*—when at the beginning of a campaign he opened the doors of the temple of Janus, the Salian priests wore it when executing their war dance and it was the uniform of the equites. But it was also prescribed for certain priests, of whom the flamen dialis was forbidden to even look at an armed force. Monumental and literary evidence yield the following explanation. The *trabea* from *trabs* or *trabes* was the striped toga anciently worn by the king and distinguished citizens, introduced under the Etruscan dynasty and analogous to the later *toga praetexta*; but more brilliant and of varied colors, as to be expected at an earlier stage of civilization, the stripes perhaps forming a geometric pattern. Of moderate size, it required fibulae as fastenings and was worn at all times, although in war it was arranged with the *cinctus Gabinus*. A gradual increase in the dimensions and change in shape, partly under Hellenic influence, evolved the later toga—whose ample folds made it necessarily a garb of peace (cf. Thucyd. I 6, 2). The color, however, seems to have been modified suddenly, when in the new-born republic the consuls were forbidden to wear the trabea with its royal purple, except as mentioned above, and so the toga praetexta became a substitute. The attire of the priests had to correspond, while the independence of the equites and Salian priests preserved for them the ancient trabea.

Die Grundzüge der Heraklitischen Physik (Adolf Brieger). Passing in review the fragments of Heraclitus and their critics, with illuminating discussions and plausible interpretations, Brieger tries to present a view, necessarily imperfect, of H.'s cosmology. The obscurity of H. is due not merely to his style (Diels); but also to his Ionic mysticism. Diels is skeptical in regard to all attempts at reconstructing H.'s system; but Alois Patin has proved, at least, that a large number of the sayings may have composed a connected text. No doubt there were gaps; but these were due to H.'s neglect of details. The *πῦρ* was a 'Wärmerstoff', which marks an advance on the *ἀήρ* of Anaximenes, and he deserves credit for emphasizing and developing the idea of eternal motion, which, indeed, was implied in the previous Ionic systems. Every object, like a river, is in perpetual flux, mechanically conceived, in which sense H. made statements as: *ταὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι*. Similar contradictions are based on his doctrine of relativity: *θάλασσα ὕδωρ . . . ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον . . . ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον*.

Both of these ideas were adopted from H. by Democritus, like whom H. held sound views on sense perception (cf. A. J. P. XXIV p. 344). The meeting of opposites produces war, the father of all things, and there results harmony. This idea gave a great impulse to human thought. The greatest defect in H.'s system is the lack of an explanation how things are produced out of the *πῦρ*. He probably did not distinguish between qualitative and mechanical change; but we can only imagine his teaching the latter. The serious defects in the cosmology should not detract from the fame of one whose influence can be seen in Democritus, Plato and the Stoics, whose kindred spirit Ed. Pfeiderer has found in Spinoza.

Die Entstehung der Olympionikenliste (Alfred Körte). K. follows Mahaffy (Jour. of Hell. St. II, 164 ff., Prob. in Gk. Hist.) in trying to prove that Hippias' chronology of the Olympic games, preserved chiefly in Julius Africanus, was not based on an official list; but was boldly constructed and conjectured from scattered records. The Olympic games like those at Delphi, etc. were originally funeral games, hence there must have been chariot racing and other contests from the earliest times, as is proved by Homer, Pindar, Bacchylides and the clay and bronze figures of two-horse chariots found in and south of the Heraion at Olympia. The account of a gradual introduction of the various contests is therefore false. Further defects are the omission of the *ἀπήνη* and *κάλπη* (cf. Paus. V 9, 1), the disregard of the Anolympiads (cf. Paus. VI 22, 3) and the prominence given to the *στάδιον* race, where others recorded victors in the *πένταθλον*. Thucydides knew no such list and it is certain that none was made in Delphi until the IV century, all of which justifies Plutarch's adverse criticism (Numa 1). For the hundred and fifty years preceding Hippias' time the traditional list is probably accurate; but the earlier record is wholly unreliable and '776 B. C. the first Olympiad' is no more reliable than '1068 [1066] Codrus dies for his fatherland'.

Der historische Kern des III. Makkabäerbuches (Hugo Willrich). The III Bk. of Maccabees, Bk. of Esther, and Josephus' Against Apion II 5, have in common the theme how an important Jewish diaspora was miraculously delivered from a heathen oppressor. This was Ptolemy Physkon (146-117 B. C.) in Josephus' legendary account; but the historic basis of this is to be found in the time of Ptolemy Soter II, also nicknamed Physcon, who, when recalled by the Alexandrians (87 B. C.) found himself in opposition to Cleopatra III and the Jews. The peaceful outcome gave rise to a Jewish festival and the Physcon legend. A similar festival known as the Nicanor day, established by Judas Maccabaeus, was observed in Jerusalem. Thereupon, about 50 B. C., was established the feast of Purim, which appears as a result of a religious compromise made between the Jews of Palestine and those of Alexandria, at a time when they felt drawn

together politically. It thus became a festival for all Jews and was legitimized by the book of Esther, which is merely a variant of the Physcon legend. Finally in the time of Caligula, who undertook to persecute the Jews in Palestine and Egypt, was composed the III Bk. of Maccabees, which developing the Physcon legend represented the persecution and deliverance as taking place under Ptolemy Philopator (221-204 B. C.).

De Aeneidis libro III (H. T. Karsten). The much debated question as to the composition of the Aeneid centres round Bk. III, which some consider the first written, others would assign to a later date. The latter view has recently been set forth by R. Heinze (*Virgils Epische Technik*), against whom especially, K. directs his arguments. K. thinks Vergil's initial plan was in so far definite as to include the journey to Italy and the wars with the natives. So he wrote our Bk. III (excepting the end and v. 341), which he put into verse about 28 B. C. But his plan widened and he took up the Dido episode, etc., and to control the accumulating material he made a disposition of the whole in prose, to which Donatus refers. In order to fit Bk. III into this enlarged scheme it was necessary to change the end; but minor discrepancies were left, never to be eliminated. K. believes that Bk. V preceded Bk. VI.

Collationen aus einem geometrischen Tractat (M. Manitius).

Miscellen.—F. Skutsch argues that as Plautus did not follow Diphilos' *κληρούμενοι* in ending his *Casina* so he composed a new prologue from various sources, which explains the inappropriateness of the verses 81 ff. which question the chastity of *Casina*. Diphilos wrote his play not very long after the death of Alexander as the *humani Ioves* (*Cas.* 328 ff.) prove.—M. Ihm calls attention to the occurrence of 'arcus triumphalis' in the commentarius in LXXXV psalmos, found among the writings of Rufinus, but the work of the fifth century monk Vincentius. Hülsen has recently shown the late use of this term, and so if Bondurand's reading ARCVI. TRIVM. on the arch at Orange is correct, it may date from the IV century A. D.—E. Hultsch discusses the Indian dialect found in the *Oxyrhynchus* Pap. 413 (Part III) and the early intercourse between India and the Occident.—E. Herkenrath gives an analysis of Pindar's Nemean Ode IX.—O. Schroeder explains how Pindar's *κεφαλὰν πολλὰν νόμον* (*Pyth.* 12) may indeed refer to the serpent-headed Gorgons; but probably characterized the variety of rhythm and content of the *Ἀθηναῖος νόμος*, which was a counterpart of the famous Pythian nome.

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PHILOLOGUS, Bd. LXII (N. F. Bd. XVI), 1903.

I, pp. 1-34. W. Schmid: Probleme aus der sophokleischen *Antigone*. Kaibel's interpretation criticized and refuted. The poet's aim (p. 6) is no other than to present the last act of the fall

of the Labdakidae and also (departing from the mythological tradition) the glorious fall in the struggle for a noble cause. The idea underlying the play is *δσια πασυργεῖν* (v. 74). The key to the understanding of the play is in the conception of Kreon's character and the irony with which it is treated (p. 5). Kreon is conceived as the embodiment of the spirit of the sophist (p. 12). Antigone represents *μεγαλοψυχία*, and is actuated by *φιλοδοξία*, and *εὐσέβεια* (p. 5-7). Ismene, a sympathetic woman, represents *σωφροσύνη* (i. e. *ἡσυχιότης*) (p. 4). Haemon (p. 31) has two functions in the structure of the drama. (1) Ethopoetic: to throw in to still more unsympathetic light the character and actions of his father, who so insolently admonishes his good, obedient son and drives him to death. (2) Constructive: by his relation to Antigone to involve his father together with himself in the heroine's ruin. As regards the question of interpolation, the final speech of Antigone should end with verse 904 (p. 34).

II, pp. 35-38. R. Herzog: Zur Geschichte des Mimos. A terra-cotta lamp (C. Watzinger, Athen. Mitt. XXVI, 1901, p. 1 ff. with plate I) is of importance in connection with the history of literature. The conclusion (p. 37) is that the lamp was of Alexandrian ware, or from an Alexandrian mould; that the minor arts at Alexandria in the century of Theokritos and Herondas had connection with the dramatic mime, and that the latter was in full activity there.

III, pp. 39-63. P. Egenolff: Zu Lentz' Herodian III. E. treats of book XX *περὶ χρόνων* and *περὶ πνευμάτων*, adding new material for interpreting and criticizing the text.

IV, pp. 64-86. Edwin Müller: Zur Charakteristik des Manilius. Manilius' imitations of other writers used so as to correct the text.

V, pp. 87-90. L. Gurlitt: Textrettungen zu Ciceros Briefen (Ad fam. VIII 17 fin.; IX, 6, 6; IX 7, 2). Read in Cael. ad Cic. VIII 17 fin., Ergo me potius in Hispania fuisse tum, quam Formiis, quom tu profectus es ad Pompeium!—quod utinam!—aut (sc. utinam fuisset) Appius Claudius in ista parte, C. Curio, quouis amicitia me paulatim in hanc perditam causam imposuit! In ad fam. IX 6, 6, he justifies *iure* against the suspicions of the editors. In ad fam. IX 7, 2 reads: ego omnino magis arbitror per Siciliam, vel iam sciemus—gaining besides an agreeable *clausula*.

VI, pp. 91-94. E. Samter: Die Bedeutung des Beschneidungsritus und Verwandtes. H. Gunkel in Archiv f. Papyrusforschung II 20 failed to see the motives underlying Ezekiel 32. Circumcision was a dedicatory rite which appeased the family gods and then in general the gods of the world below. Hence a circumcised warrior, if he fell, was assured a better lot in the world of the dead.

VII, pp. 95-124. G. A. Gerhard and O. Gradenwitz: Glosierte Paulusreste im Zuge der Digesten. Heidelberg Papyrus MS 1272. Two plates. Text with several Greek glosses of Dig.

V. 2. L. 16-19. Pp. 111-124 are occupied by a discussion of the legal points. The glosses show us that the Digests were used in Egypt and provided with glosses, which were by no means always correct.

VIII, pp. 125-140. O. Crusius: Kleinigkeiten zur alten Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte.

I. ΕΛΑΦΟΣΤΙΚΤΟΣ. ΛΑΓΟΒΙΟΣ. I. Lysias XIII 19. εἰσπέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν . . . Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφoστίκτου καλούμενον. The bearer of the nick-name Ἐλαφoστίκτος was once a runaway slave who had been tattooed with the figure of a deer. II. The name Λαγόβιος (Suidas II p. 483 Bh.) is also a nick-name for a runaway slave, derived from the proverb λαγὼ βίον ζῇ (cf. Demosth. de cor. 263, Dio Chrys. 66, 24, Luc. Somn. 9). Compare χαλκᾷ ἔντερα ἔχει and χαλκίεντος, etc. λαγὼς like ἔλαφος becomes the type of the easily frightened runaway slave.

2. Latin script in Greek texts. Besides the instance cited by Norden (Die antike Kunstprosa I 60*) from Didymos Alex. de trinitate I 15 in a cod. Vat. s. XI and another by Krumbacher (Byz. Ztsch. VII (1898) 468) from Prokopios' Gothic wars, ed. Comparetti I 177. 2, Crusius adds 3 from Zosimos, V 29, p. 254 Mendels. V 41 p. 271, VI 11 p. 392; and 12 from Jo. Laurentius Lydus de Mag. I 24 p. 46 Fuss (140 Bekker), I 25 (bis), I 26, I 35, I 38, I 42, I 47, I 50, II 3, III 3, III 8. During the first centuries of the Christian era, the Greeks even when, like Plutarch, they treated of Roman affairs, altogether avoided the Latin script. The first examples of the use in literature occur in the fourth century, a time when the Greek east began to lose its peculiar Hellenic national feeling, and consider itself the superior representative of the Roman empire. But no instances have been cited from works of free artistic manner. For the Roman custom cf. Cic. Tusc. I 8, 15 and the different usage in the Latin and Greek letters of Fronto and M. Aurelius, and contrast the manner of the sermo cottidianus.

IX, pp. 141-154. S. Brandt: Entstehungszeit und zeitliche Folge der Werke von Boethius. This first paper details the attempts of others to solve the problem, and begins to set forth the data. Continued in XIV p. 234-275.

Miscellen.—I. pp. 155-157. O. Hoffmann: Nochmals die Sotairos-Inschrift. Reply to Bechtel's criticism (Hermes XXX-VII 631 ff.) of his interpretation in Philol., 1902, N. F. XV 245 ff. 2. pp. 157-160. G. Kazarow: Der liparische Kommunistenstaat. Upholds against L. Stein (Die Sociale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie s. 180 f.) the opinion expressed by Pöhlmann (Gesch. des antiken Kommunismus u. Socialismus Bd. I. 46 f.) that the remarkable communistic state on Lipara pictured by Diodorus V 9, is not to be considered a reminiscence of an original communism on the part of emigrants from Rhodes and Knidos but is to be explained by the peculiar situation in which the islanders were placed.

X, pp. 161-181. O. Schroeder: *Pindarica*. V, Aeolic Strophes. Metrical analysis of some strophes in aeolic style (Nem. 2, Isthm. 8, Pyth. 8 (strophe and epode), Pyth. 7 (str. and ep.), Isthm. 7 (str. and ep.), Pyth. II str. 4^b and ep. Then Sch. examines more difficult cases (Nem. 4 and 7, Pyth. 5, Ol. 2).

XI, pp. 182-195. Fr. Staehlin: *Der Dioskurenmythus in Pindars 10. nemeischer Ode*. An example of the idealization of a myth. Summary p. 194. Pindar has changed over the story as given in the *Kypria* into a new thrilling myth and undertaken to refine it in a two-fold manner. Polydeukes appears superhuman and stainless. Kastor is freed as much as possible from the charge of cattle-lifting and entirely from that of lying in ambush. There is a sharp contrast between the immortal nature of the god and the mortality of the brother, bridged over by the generosity of the god in parting with half of his divinity. Hence the point of the ode is: As Polydeukes the god showed Kastor the utmost loyalty, so both the deified Tyndarids now keep faith with the descendants of Pamphaes—if they are devout, as Kastor, according to Pindar's version, was devout and innocent.

XII, pp. 196-226. Fr. Beyschlag: *Das XXXII. Kapitel der platonischen Apologie*. Summary on p. 225. The points of view adduced by von Bamberg to establish his rejection of this chapter are insufficient; in fact this chapter is shown on closer study to be even more closely connected with its context than is apparent at first sight. An analysis of the thought of the passage has shown still further that in it thoroughly Platonic-Socratic expressions and train of thought are demonstrable. But its authenticity is made certain also by the external evidence of imitation by Cicero and Xenophon and by a direct reference to it by Plato (*Phaed.* 63 B ff.).

XIII, pp. 227-233. K. Praechter: *Textkritisches zu Chariton*.

XIV, pp. 234-275. S. Brandt: *Entstehungszeit und zeitliche Folge der Werke von Boethius*. Summary p. 267 ff. The works before 510 (perhaps from 500 on) Arithmetic, Music, Geometry (?) (Astronomy?) perhaps Physics, and also both commentaries on Porphyrius. In the year 510 (511) the commentaries on the Categories. The rest are after 510 (511). The *Consolatio* was written in 523 and 524.

XV, pp. 276-291. O. Apelt: *Bemerkungen zu Plutarchs Moralia*.

XVI, pp. 292-305. B. Sepp: *Der Codex Pontani in Leyden*. Attempt to show by a comparison of the readings of this MS (=b) of Tacitus' *Germania* and *Dialogus* and Suet. *de gram.* that in March, 1460 Pontanus copied cod. Leidensis XVIII Perizonianus c. 21 (=b) from cod. Vat. 1862 (=B), itself a copy from the archetype brought to Rome in 1455 by Henoch of Ascoli.

XVII, pp. 306-319. F. Luterbacher: *Die Chronologie des Hannibalzugs*. (On the third book of Polybius.) Defence of his

views published in *Philol.* 60, 307-314 as to how the 15 days of Hannibal's crossing are to be reckoned, and that the passage was made in October. The objections raised by Osiander *Philol.* 61, 473-476 are refuted. Excursus (pp. 315-319) on Saguntum and Rome.

Miscellen.—3. p. 320. G. Knaack: Zu Prokopios ep. 96.

XVIII, pp. 321-338. C. Hentze: Das Auftreten der Iris im zweiten, dritten und fünften Gesange der Ilias. Summary pp. 337-338. In *r* as in the *Kypria*, Iris appears without her original connection with Zeus and in the service of no other divinity. She serves as a sort of poetical figure solely for the purposes of epic action, which in *r* seemed to demand that after the introduction of the duel between Paris and Menelaos for ending the war, Helen as the prize of victory in the combat should be presented to the hearers in person and her feelings depicted. In *B* Iris is indeed introduced as still apparently the messenger of Zeus, but really she has little to tell either Priam or Hektor, that renders her errand necessary or justifies it; and her introduction serves solely the poet's purpose to attach the catalogue of the Trojans to what precedes. Both scenes, which differ from all the remaining Iris-scenes, in the transformation of Iris, show certain points of connection with the *Kypria*.

XIX, pp. 339-347. A. Nikitsky: Die Trierarchie des Chairestratos (on Isaios VI 1). The trierarchy of Ch. falls in 365-364 B. C. approximately. We have in this passage an allusion not to any warlike expedition of the Athenians to Sicily, but probably to an embassy to Dionysios I.

XX, pp. 348-356. A. Mommsen: Archonten und Schreiber in attischen Urkunden älterer Zeit. The inscriptions furnish nothing to support the theory of Keil that before Ol. 93 a clerk of the council gave his name to the year—the evidence is rather the contrary.

XXI, pp. 357-387. E. Schweder: Ueber den Ursprung und die ursprüngliche Bestimmung des sogenannten Strassennetzes der Peutingerschen Tafel. The net-work of lines universally taken to be roads were in the prototype of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, that is on the Roman map of the world, although, if we except later additions, they were given there in much completer form than in the *Tab. P.* However, originally, the lines did not represent roads, and on the numerous copies of the map they were taken by nobody in ancient times to signify roads. These lines were routes of travel, drawn in solely for the sake of the numbers.

XXII, pp. 388-409. C. Mutzbauer: Die Grundbedeutung des Conjunctivs und Optativs und ihre Entwicklung im Griechischen. I. The Subjunctive. Summary p. 409. The result of the investigation is, that the subjunctive everywhere, in independent and dependent sentences still clearly shows its original meaning of "expectation" (*Erwartung*); that all varieties in its use may be easily derived from the fundamental meaning of ex-

pectation; and that on this basis the different combinations of *κεν* and *τις* with this mode may be naturally explained. Finally it gives the key to the right meaning of a long series of sentences with *ει*, which have hitherto been for the most part wrongly understood as dependent questions, or as incomplete periods with apodosis wanting.

XXIII, pp. 410-418. C. Ritter: *Timaios* cap. 1. (a) Relation to the Republic of the recapitulation of a political lecture of Socrates. (b) Significance of the unknown person who was prevented by illness from appearing. (a) Plato wished to make known to the readers of the *Timaios* that he wished to develop again before them his ideas as to the regulation of the state and the education of man. He might have referred them directly to the Republic but he now passes over some important parts of the subject-matter. This may mean that Plato omits what he now no longer cares for, or considers incorrect, but where he recapitulates, he does, in fact, confirm his former views. His ideas or his point of view might very well have changed. (b) Two continuations are explicitly promised in the introduction. The vague mention of a fourth and absent person may be a device of Plato's, to make a tetralogy instead of a trilogy, should he see fit—i. e. *Timaios*, *Kritias*, *Hermocrates* and a dialogue to which no name is assignable.

XXIV, pp. 419-444. G. Lehnert: *Zum Texte der Pseudo-Quintilianischen declamationes maiores*. On page 444 there is a list of the passages examined.

XXV, pp. 445-477. B. Lier: *Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum*. The consolatory sentiments on Roman tomb-stones are derived from the *Consolationes* and are in verse or prose. They come from a Greek source, especially Greek sepulchral inscriptions and the *Consolationes*. Pars. I. Inscriptions expressing sorrow and mourning. (Continued on pp. 563-603.)

Miscellen.—5. pp. 478-480. P. v. Winterfeld: *Ad Lactantium de ave phoenice*. Disagrees with L. Traube (*Scriptores rerum Meroving.* tom. IV, p. 655. 1) as to the nature of the rhythms in the *vita S. Eligii*. v. W. concludes that this poem will help us to some knowledge of the rhythmic of the Franks of this period. 6. p. 480. J. P. Postgate: *Propertius IV 1. 31*; a personal explanation.

XXVI, pp. 481-488. H. Meltzer: *Ein Nachklang von Königsfetischismus bei Homer?* In *Odyss.* 19, 107-114. In 109 the motive for the divine blessing is "reverence for God"; in 111 and 114 'just and beneficent rule'. *Θεουδής* may be from *θεοδδής* or *θεοδδης* (-ής?) from *θεοδδης* with root *duei* "fear". At any rate the King's 'reverence for God' would gain a very vivid content if we were to associate with it the belief that the spirit which dwells in the King would wreak vengeance in case wrong were

done to his fetich-character, as might be illustrated from the customs of lower races.

XXVII, pp. 489-540. C. Ritter: *Bemerkungen zum Philebos*. Analysis of the dialogue (taken from the writer's book, *Platons Dialoge, Inhaltsdarstellungen*, s. 168-170) with interpretative notes.

XXVIII, pp. 541-562. T. Büttner-Wobst, *Der Hiatus nach dem Artikel bei Polybios*. The results are summarized in eight laws (pp. 561-2) ἡ, αἱ, οἱ (except οἱ αὐτοί) not used in hiatus; δ only in certain phrases; τοῦ never; τῷ only in τῷ εἶθνει (hiatus avoided by aphaeresis and crasis); τῇ only in τῇ αὐτῇ (avoided also by aphaeresis); after τῷ hiatus is allowed (a) in τῷ εἶθνος, τῷ εἰλαίον (b) before ι, δ- and ῥ-, (c) and before proper names (avoided by crasis before ἀ- αὐ- ἐ- ἰ- δ-). τὰ allows much the same freedom as τῷ. In citations from other authors or documents Polybios does not adhere to the rules.

XXIX, pp. 563-603. B. Lier: *Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum*. Pars. II. Continued from p. 445-477. On the inscriptions in which the superstitious are offered some consolation.

XXX, pp. 604-619. E. Hessemeyer: *Das Grab des Marius*. The argument must be based on Cic. de legg. II 22, 56f. (1) Marius was not cremated but interred, on a highway outside the Porta Tiburtina, Nomentana, or Salaria. (2) He was the indirect cause that the gens Cornelia, from Cicero's time on, adopted cremation.

XXXI, pp. 620-625. S. Brandt: *Handschriftliches zu Cicero De Inventione, Versus Hieronymi ad Augustinum, Augustini ad Hieronymum. Zu Marius Victorinus De Definitionibus*.

XXXII, pp. 626-638. C. Mutzbauer: *Das Wesen des Optativs* (continued from p. 409). Summary on page 638. The fundamental meaning of the optative is wish, out of this was developed the meaning of possibility first for the simple optative and then for the optative with the particles *καὶ* or *ἀν* added. The meaning of concession is as little suited to the mode as that of repetition. Rather, it has everywhere kept the original meaning of "wish" (more or less clearly) and is used in dependent sentences after primary as well as secondary tenses. Accordingly it does not appear for the subjunctive or indicative in dependent sentences after secondary tenses. So in Greek it is never a matter of substitution of mode. Homeric *εἰ*-clauses are never dependent questions.

Miscellen.—7. p. 638. A. Müller: *Zu Aristophanes Acharn.* 988 on the reading of cod. r. 8. p. 640. M. Manitius: *Handschriftliches zur Anthologia latina*.

Indices, etc.

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GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

BRIEF MENTION.

In a recent number of the *Revue de Philologie* (1905, p. 56) M. RODIN, when pointing out the many shortcomings of the fourth ed. of CHRIST'S *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (Munich, Beck) in the matter of bibliography,—there are not a few,—mentions among the rest the American contributors to the lexicography of the orators, Forman, Holmes, Van Cleef. A good index, certainly an exhaustive index, insures the compiler, if not immortality, at least a life as long as that of the study indexed, and as every scholar wishes to be remembered, it is strange that more indexes are not forthcoming. The path of the index-maker is not a primrose path, but it leads to the goal more surely than many more ambitious ascents. No 'harmless drudge' is the index-maker, but rather the begetter of many doctoral dissertations and the saviour of many a doctorand. As for the charge of dulness, one Bonitz would redeem the whole tribe of Crudens and Caravellas and Dunbars. So the appearance of a new index is always a matter of congratulation, and every student of the Attic orators will rejoice that one of the most sensible gaps in our apparatus has been filled by PREUSS, the compiler of the *Index Demosthenicus*, and that Mitchell's unsatisfactory performance may henceforth be discarded for the new *Index Isocrateus* (Teubner). True, the index is not absolutely complete. Proper names are omitted, doubtless, because they are provided for elsewhere, and likewise αὐτός, δέ, ἐκεῖνος, καί, μὲν, ὁ ἡ τό, ὅς, οὗτος. εἰμί is incomplete and so is οὐ. Still PREUSS thinks that he has included everything of importance under the two latter heads. Now it so happens that I am especially interested in the oblique cases of αὐτό and αὐτά, which are prevalently *ipsum* and *ipsa*, not *id* and *ea*, and I shall have to go through all Isokrates to find out his usage; and while it is interesting to be told that ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος are too numerous to be counted, one would like to have the graphic evidence of the paucity of ὅδε in comparison with οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος. ὅδε is an index of style. ὅδε is dramatic (A. J. P. XXIII 124). It is to be classed with οὐ μή (A. J. P. XXIII 137). But these omissions do not trouble one seriously, and little errors seem to be inevitable in work of this sort. To pounce on such peccadilloes is the first task that FUHR sets himself when anyone undertakes to register the usage of the orators, and it is well that we have so vigilant a watchdog of the treasury (B. Phil. W. 1 Apr. 1905. Cf. A. J. P. XXV 231). But I remember that some years ago, when one of my Argus-eyed contributors undertook to set VON ESSEN right, he himself

got his correction wrong, A. J. P. IX 255, 5 l. fr. bottom, where for 'η 60, 28 should be α 60, 28' read 'α 60, 28 . . . η 60, 28'; and Nemesis follows so close on the heels of every fault-finder (e. g. A. J. P. III 228, footnote) that I am content to accept the result without further ado and to run my eye down the serried columns of figures, out of which rises the image of that 'superior person', as he is called by one scholar, that 'monster of impeccability', as he is called by another, that 'model of deportment', that Turveydropsical priest of the great goddess, Rhetoric, with his sober offering, his *νηφάλια μελίγματα*, of honey and milk and water, very much water. The constituents are the same as those of Pindar's draught, *μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ σὺν γάλακτι, | κίρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφίπει*, and common to the two is the epideictic sphere; so that parallels between Pindar and Isokrates are not infrequent in the history of literature, one of the latest being Conrotte in *Musée Belge*, 15 juillet, 1898. But what a difference in the treatment!

However, though I cleave to Pindar as Pindar cleaves to Herakles (N. 1, 33), I am not going to be tempted by M. CONROTTE or M. Anybody else to enlarge on the similarity of the offices of the two heralds and the dissimilarity of their styles. The only apparatus I shall use for these meditations will be the Index Antiphonteus for the *ἀδρός χαρακτήρ* and the Index Lysiacus for the *ἰσχνός χαρακτήρ*, as I did A. J. P. XVI 525. So far as the vocabulary is concerned, the difference between Antiphon and the other two is very marked. More subtle is the difference between Lysias and Isokrates. Antiphon deals with tragedies in everyday life, and we must expect a loftier diction. It is not wholly a question of the old school. We have a right to expect personification in Antiphon, we have a right to expect that the semi-personification produced by the nominatives of abstract nouns shall be relatively more abundant in Antiphon, and we find that it is even so (A. J. P. XX 111). In Isokrates the Index shews comparatively few examples. *λόγος* and *νόμος* do not count, are not to be counted. But *δόξα* occurs but twice, *ἐλπίς* but twice, *νόσος* once, *παιδεία* once, even *τύχη* only twice, so that we are quite prepared for Radford's statistics, who tells us that in the non-forensic speeches non-personal subjects are not used half so often as in Antiphon, that in the forensic speeches he falls below Demosthenes (Radford, p. 5).

In the matter of compounds, a decided gnomon of style, a glance at the so-called α-privative compounds would suffice to differentiate Antiphon and Isokrates (Hamilton, *Negative Compounds*, p. 57). The prepositional compounds, if com-

pounds they may be called, would require more analysis, but if one may trust impressions, as one may not, there seems to be a surprising number of compounds with *κατα-* in Isokrates. Is not this a reflection of the dogmatism of the old pedant? But that is a dangerous remark for the present writer to make. The periphrastic *ποιεῖσθαι* is idiomatic enough. It goes back to Father Homer, but there seems to be an immense proportional increment in Isokrates over Antiphon and Lysias. The original *σεμνότης* of it gets lost in the frequency of its use. Surely one would not suspect my old Christian friend, Justin Martyr, of any kind of affectation, and that is the best thing about him. The Index to my edition of the Apologies shows how familiar the idiom is, and one wonders why the Hellenists of an earlier generation prided themselves on noticing it.

The chief thing to notice about Isokrates is the absences. He never offends by 'saliency' (A. J. P. XIV 501) in speech or thought, so that we are positively startled by the homely word *ἀδελφίζειν*, which carries us back to Aristophanes' *μὴ πατέρειε*, a command that comes up to my mind whenever I am expected to say my prayers at the shrine of the late Mr. Pater's style.¹ But *ἀδελφίζειν* occurs in a private speech (XIX 30) of which Isokrates was ashamed in after days, and *κατασκελετεύεσθαι* was wrung out of him by the febrile self-conceit of an old man² (XV 268). It is the absences, then, that are most noticeable, and among these I would put *ἡνίκα*. *ἡνίκα* is, as I have elsewhere expressed it, the relative of *καιρός* as *ὅτε* is the relative of *χρόνος* (Pind. P 1, 48). It is more exact, more picturesque than *ὅτε*. It is not common in the orators, and we are not surprised that it does not occur in Antiphon, but considering the bulk of Isokrates, it is fair to conclude that he suppressed it, as we should suppress 'what time' in favor of 'when'. In the matter of *σχήσω* Isokrates follows the oratorical pattern. To the grammarian of to-day the difference in formation between *ἔξω*, the future of *ἔχειν*, and *σχήσω*, the future of *σχεῖν*, is so evident that it is hard to see why it should ever have been neglected. But it was neglected (A. J. P. XXII 228). *παρασχίσσομαι* is too tempting for Lysias, too tempting for Isokrates even; and Bekker has restored it to Antiphon, but, to Blass's disgust, *ἔξω* must contrive a double debt to pay.

Two convenient test words are *ἰδὼ* and *βούλομαι*. They have been test words from Homer's time to this day (A. J. P. XVI 525). Now, according to Van Cleef, there are 38 *ἰδὼ*'s to 36

¹ "The 'delicate blandness' < of Mr. Pater's style > is the product of a stuffy atmosphere." Stephen Gwynn in the Academy, Sept. 21, 1901. Cf. A. J. P. XV 93.

² Cf. Burton, An. of Mel., p. 321 (Am. ed.). Let him take heed, but do not stretch his wits and make a skeleton of himself.

βούλομαι's in Antiphon. In Holmes's Index Lysiacus, if an old count is trustworthy, there are more than three times as many βούλομαι's as ἰθέλω's. In Isokrates I decline to count. A foot-rule answers every purpose. There are over nine inches of βούλομαι's and two of ἰθέλω's. That is near enough. *χρή* beats *δεῖ* in Antiphon, *χρή* beats *δεῖ* in Lysias, *δεῖ* beats *χρή* in Isokrates. Synonyms, one will say. Oh yes! But *δεῖ* occurs only once in Homer. *δεῖ* must have been at one time dead prosaic.

Isokrates was an epideictic orator, Isokrates was a great teacher. No wonder that *ἐπιδείκνυμι* pushes *ἀποδείκνυμι* to the wall as *ἐπιδείξω* pushes *ἀπόδειξις*. The proportion is different in Antiphon, is different in Lysias, but there are various readings and sharp synonymical distinctions are not to be expected in the oratorical sphere, where effectiveness is the main thing, and the two 'demonstrations' run into each other. Plato himself is not so particular as he might be, and we must not press the point. Nor must we point to the significance of the rare use of the passive of *διδάσκω* as the sign of the teacher. Isokrates believed in the paramount importance of nature, and he knew that learning was not a passive process, though *μάθος* comes through *πάθος*. *μανθάνω* is the other side of *διδάσκω*. But if Isokrates uses the passive but once, Antiphon, in a much smaller compass, it is true, uses it but once, and Lysias only in the disputed Epitaphios. We are on common Greek ground. So we are on common Greek ground when it comes to the expression of the adversative relation. One would expect a teacher to be more explicit. But no! 'The language is sometimes kind enough to give warning by *καίπερ* and *ὁμως*, but often no notice is given and failure to understand is charged to stupidity'. There are very few *καίπερ*'s in Isokrates, more *ὁμως*'s, but for that matter there is no *καίπερ* at all in Antiphon, there are few in Lysias, but it is well worth noticing that the rhetorical *καίτοι* flourishes in Isokrates, seemingly out of proportion. *καίτοι* in the question, which abounds in him, gives liveliness or pseudo-liveliness. The varying use of the preposition is a favorite field of observation, but as I have said before, except in flagrant instances, the differences do not make themselves felt. There is no *ἀμφί*, no *ἀνδ* in Isokrates, nor for that matter in Antiphon or Lysias. The absence of *σύν* from Isokrates, discovered by Haupt before Tycho Mommsen, is not more remarkable than the scarcity of it in Antiphon and Lysias. All three are shy of *πρός* c. gen., the use of which is phraseological mainly, and Isokrates' love of *πρός* with acc. does not reveal itself by a glance at the index. *παρά* 'on the part of' c. gen. belongs to the oratorical apparatus. *περί* c. dat. does not occur in Lysias at all. In Antiphon it occurs with a verb of risking, an old idiomatic use. In one of the Isokratean letters, we find *ἀ περί*

τοῖς σώμασι ἔχουσι <γυναῖκες>. If the passage is genuine, we doubtless have to thank Plathane or Lagiske for it. The department is stronger than the *χαρακτήρ*, stronger than the individual. The orators are more like each other than any one else, and there is something after all in the vilipended Hegelian triads of Greek literature (A. J. P. XXIV 231, XXV 105). To discuss Isokrates at all and say nothing about the hiatus would be manifestly improper, and so I will wind up these observations, if observations they may be called, by the remark that in Isokrates the hiatus-breeders (*ἐκ*) *τρόπου* and *τρόπῃ* yield supremacy to *τρόπον*. There is but one *τρόπον* in Antiphon and that not adverbial, and in Lysias (*ἐκ*) *τρόπου* and *τρόπῃ* dominate. This will not surprise the attentive readers of the Journal, but the statistics given A. J. P. XV 521 have been supplanted by the fuller account of Helbing, *Der Instrumentalis* bei Herodot., p. 18. Helbing does not seem to have known anything about his predecessor Spencer, nor would he in any case have concerned himself about Cis-Atlantic work any more than Sturm concerned himself about my studies in *πρίν* (A. J. P. IV 89) or Fuchs about my work in *ῥως* (A. J. P. XXIV 388). But that is the mischief with all statistical work. *Truditur dies die novaeque pergunt interire lunae*. It is a pity that *novi lunatici* can not be made to fit the verse and rejoice the heart of the anti-statistician.

Such indexes as Preuss's help to make up for the loss of ancient treatises on *ἡ ἐκλογή τῶν ὀνομάτων* (Dionys. Halic. de Comp. Verb. c. 1) and enable us to sharpen our sense of the differences of diction among the orators. To be sure, these differences are evident on the surface, and we say without hesitation that Isokrates is timid and conventional, that Lysias is reserved, that Demosthenes plunges his fingers deep into the thesaurus of the language, as we can see by comparing the three in the same sphere, the sphere of the Attic rowdy, Lys. III, Isokr. XX, Dem. LIV, but the impression would be made more distinct by a detailed comparison with the vocabulary of the comic stage, and if any trouble should arise in the study of the same famous Dem. LIV, I should be tempted to seek refuge in Aristophanes. The scene of LIV is Aristophanic. We are consorting with *θύφαλλοι* and *αὐτολήκυθοι*, and our feet are in the mire of the Athenian streets. Cf. Vesp. 259 with D. LIV 8. In § 39 we are told of the feats of the *τριβαλλοί*, and their own language is used in the telling. We are told among other things how they 'devour' the *ἑκαταία*. Cf. Ran. 366. This impious proceeding has many Biblical and even modern analogies, but what of the text? The best MSS have *κατακαίειν*, a corruption for which we find in inferior authorities *κατεσθίειν*, clearly a gloss on the original word, whatever that was, in spite of the ingenious system of permutations and combinations, by which Professor Sandys has elicited *κατα-*

καίειν from an original κατεσθίειν. Schaefer suggested κατακάπτειν, a word *bonae notae*, says he, which has not found its way into the dictionaries. καταπίνειν is not bad, but there is another word that is still nearer κατακαίειν, and that is καταπαίειν. Standing in the aforesaid mire, I hear the Acharnian say to his pigs in a poke, Ach. 834: ὁ χοιρίδια πειρήσθε κᾶνις τοῦ πατρὸς παίειν ἐφ' ἄλι τὰν μάδδαν, αἶκα τις διδῷ. Here παίειν means ἐσθίειν (Hesych.), like κόπτειν, like σποδεῖν, like φλᾶν. See the commentators on Ar. Pax 1306. In the mouth of these precious Mohocks of antiquity, καταπαίειν might well have been used for κατεσθίειν. καταπαίειν is to κατεσθίειν as 'gobble' to 'devour'. The change from π to κ is very slight, and will remind every good American of the change of 'c' to 'g' in the show-bill of the Franco-American bar, where 'sherry cobblers' appear as 'sherry gobblers'.

In an address delivered some years ago at the University of Chicago, I pleaded the cause of the specialist, and of course, the cause of the specialist in Greek syntax. 'To him who knows the foliage and the branchage of every tree', I said, 'the wood is no mere smudge of green and to him who knows the finer articulation of language, the groves of Academe are something more than a row of broomsticks. The vocabulary may furnish the colors that enliven the long procession. It cannot give the gesture of the hand, the flash of the eye, the gleam of the set teeth, the stoop of the figure that unties the knot, the stately swaying, the hurrying step, the deliberate gait, all that is revealed by the kinematoscope of that syntactical study which has recently fallen under the ban of educational authority on this side and that of the Atlantic'. All this is deplorably tropical and I will not undertake here to justify the details of the procession. But I am disposed to stick by the procession itself. According to a reviewer in the *Neue Philologische Rundschau*, 1903, p. 555, the well-known writer Mauthner has said 'Für die eigentlichen Zwecke der Sprache ist die Syntax der Parademarsch im Vergleich zur Felddienstübung oder zur kriegerischen Aktion eines Heeres'. The figure is not a mere figure. It is in my judgment a very effective protest against much that is done in the name of psychological syntax to-day. Now, I am not an enemy of psychological syntax. The trouble is that psychology does not go far enough back. As Mauthner says, a battle is not a procession, and any one who has seen a battle knows that it is not in the least like a procession. When we write, the order of our words is not necessarily the order of thought. When we speak, we speak largely in phrases that have been ordered for us, that we have caught from our earliest childhood. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings we can gather perfectly normal conditional sentences. It is in vain that we seek illustrations,

as some scholars do, in the writings of untutored newspaper men. The untutored newspaper man is often under the domination of Cicero, Plato, Isokrates. WUNDERLICH in his *Umgangssprache* draws on Sudermann. But that is about as fair as Plato was in the Phaedrus, if indeed that 'new Archilochos' had the hardihood to manufacture a Lysianic speech and then criticize it as if it were by Lysias. An imitation of *Umgangssprache* is after all not *Umgangssprache*.

C. J.: For nearly a generation Professor NÖLDEKE's *Kurzgefasste Grammatik* has maintained its place as the standard grammar of Syriac and an indispensable hand-book for all students of Semitic philology. An English translation of this important work has long been needed, and within recent years, with the remarkable growth of Semitic studies, the need has become more and more apparent. The present translation, prepared from the second German edition, (Dr. JAMES A. CRICHTON, London, Williams and Norgate), is in all respects a faithful reproduction of the original and has the merit, not altogether common in works of this character, of being written in good idiomatic English. It is evident that the translator is thoroughly in sympathy with his subject, and he admirably reflects Professor NÖLDEKE's luminous style. While no attempt has been made to alter the substance or the arrangement of the grammar, the translation contains some improvements upon the German original. The citations have been verified, a number of minor errors have been corrected, and facility of reference has been greatly increased by the marginal addition, throughout the work, of the items of the table of contents. An index of the passages cited, which is wanting in the original, has been drawn up and placed at the end of the volume. The typography of the book is excellent, and its general appearance most attractive. Dr. CRICHTON's excellent translation will certainly be welcomed by Semitic scholars both in England and in America.

H. L. W.: Every student of Classical Philology knows how soon many of his books are out of date and how quickly they must be replaced by later editions on account of the constant increase in material and the progress of knowledge. The teacher of Latin Epigraphy has felt this condition very keenly of late and is correspondingly glad to welcome the supplement to M. RENÉ CAGNAT's excellent *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, of which the third edition appeared more than six years ago (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904, pp. 473-505). In these pages the author, besides making additions and corrections of more or less consequence throughout the book, has considerably enlarged the bibliography, giving brief analyses of important articles, has improved the

chronological list of the Roman emperors, especially by a more accurate and detailed dating of the imperial salutations, has made three pages of additions to the list of signs and abbreviations and has added a new index to the whole volume.

Ungracious as it may seem to find any fault with a book which in three editions has been of such value to students and is on the whole so admirable, we may yet point out defects which really detract from the usefulness of the work. In the first place the bibliographical lists, even as now supplemented, are far from complete for the most recent and most important books. For example, we should expect to find such titles as H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, II, pars 1, 1902; G. N. Olcott, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae*, I, fasc. 1, Rome, 1904; F. Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica* (pp. xxiv f.); W. Schulze, *zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904 (p. 37); G. Greeven, *die Siglen D M auf altchristlichen Grabschriften*, Erlangen, 1897 (p. 253). It is a matter for regret, too, that the student is not referred to recent discussions of the *carmen Arvale* by Birt, Goidanich, and Stowasser and that a place was not found for the treatises on the language of the inscriptions by Kübler, Neumann, Pirson, Carnoy, Church, and others. The dearth of illustrative material is a still more serious defect from the point of view of the American student, who now must have Cagnat in the one hand and Dessau in the other. It would have been easy in publishing this supplement to add two or three hundred well-chosen inscriptions for the use of beginners and many will regret that M. Cagnat has not seen fit to do so. In this respect the Introduction of Professor Egbert is far superior for the class-room and in its second edition, which is expected to appear within a few months, will doubtless be more widely used than ever, at least on this side of the Atlantic.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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WHOLE No. 103.

I.—THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE ANCIENT CHARACTERS OF STYLE.

Cicero, in the third book *de Oratore*, pleading for an ideal union of philosophy, statesmanship, and eloquence in the person of the orator—a union such as he finds exemplified in the sophists of fifth century Greece—describes with much picturesqueness the divorce of the arts of thought and speech, which before had been one under the common name of philosophy.¹ As such a unit, Gorgias, Thrasyarchus and Isocrates had conceived of their field and instructed their pupils. But Socrates, though himself a product of this comprehensive conception and a type of the versatile skill which it produced, had brought in division and usurped for the science of thought that designation which thinkers, orators, and statesmen had before enjoyed in common. Hence arose a division almost as of soul and body, so that the teaching of thought and expression was no longer one and the same.

The sharp outlines of the antithesis as described by Cicero do not in the widest sense correspond to the historical development as it can be traced;² they do, however, agree essentially with such pictures as the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus* present, in which, in concrete and almost plastic form, we have set over

¹ *De Or.* III 56: *hanc cogitandi pronuntiandique rationem vimque dicendi veteres Graeci sapientiam nominabant.* *Ib.* 60: *cum nomine appellarentur uno, quod omnis rerum optimarum cognitio atque in eis exercitatio philosophia nominaretur.* See also 60 and 61 for the text following.

² See von Arnim, *Dio von Prusa* (Berlin, 1898), ch. 1.

against each other the two rival arts, dialectic (philosophy) and rhetoric, and the beginnings of that hostility which in one form or another—and in spite of many efforts at reconciliation, such as Cicero's—continued down to late antiquity.¹ The rhetoricians, looking upon themselves as the heirs of the early sophists, still claimed 'philosophy' as the proper designation of their activity, and on the other hand the philosophers were fond of indicating the nature and scope of a true or ideal rhetoric.

Of such attempts the earliest, and in its wide-reaching influence the most important, is that contained in the latter part of the Phaedrus. It is of course no more than an outline, drawn with conscious antithesis to the rhetorical treatises of the contemporary sophists—Theodorus, Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and others.² First of all, the foundations of the art will consist of the same capacity for exact logical analysis and synthesis, based upon a true knowledge of things, as is demanded of the dialectician (266 AB, 260 D, 262 A). But oratory is the art of enchanting the soul (*ψυχαγωγία*), and therefore to the dialectical attainments before enumerated, must be added a genuine knowledge of human souls, their varieties, differences, susceptibilities, etc. (271 D). Thus the true rhetorician will strive to do by reasoned method that which the sophistical rhetoric had sought to teach by mechanical rules or by the mere example of passages to be learned. But in this sketch of a 'true rhetoric' no mention is made of a special doctrine of style—nor need we wonder. For in spite of the fact that among the resources for the attainment of the *ψυχαγωγία*, at which all aimed, purely stylistic means—the Gorgianic figures, rhythm, etc.—played a most important rôle, yet it does not appear that a special doctrine of style apart from invention and arrangement had yet been formulated.³ For the separation of matter or thought (*πράγματα*) from the forms of expression is not an easy abstraction. In the pre-Aristotelian rhetoric the division of the subject was concrete, based upon the oration itself—prooemium, narrative, argument, epilogue, and under each of these heads all the necessary instruction was

¹ De Or. III 72: postea dissociati, ut exposui, a Socrate disertis a doctis . . . philosophi eloquentiam despexerunt, oratores sapientiam.

² On the nature of the *τέχνη περὶ ῥητορικῆς* of the sophists see the suggestive discussion of Gercke in *Hermes* 32 (1897), pp. 341–359.

³ Cf. Gercke l. c. p. 355.

contained, belonging more or less indistinguishably in part to invention and in part to style.

The outlines which Plato affords we find carried out in detailed treatment by Aristotle.¹ The Platonic points of view (apart from some rather essential differences of conception as to the relation of dialectic and rhetoric to philosophy as a whole) are absolved in the first two books of the Rhetoric as it has come down to us.² In book I Aristotle aims to establish a new foundation for rhetoric, which shall make of it as exact an instrument of proof as the practical uses of the art admit of. Argument is to be conducted by enthymeme and example, which are merely forms of the syllogism and induction of dialectic. Rhetoric is therefore essentially a form of dialectic,³ adapted to the conditions which are imposed upon it by the nature of the audience to which it appeals. The proofs are the essential thing and enthymemes are the very heart of proof (*σῶμα τῆς πίστews*). The most efficient orator accordingly will be the one most skilled in enthymemes (1355 a, 3-14). The technicians therefore who pay no attention to the treatment of the proofs nor to the resources by which one may become skilled in enthymemes (1354 b, 21), and who devote themselves to other things, such as the nature of prooemiums, narratives, etc., have devoted themselves to things which are apart from the actual issue (*τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος*).

¹ Spengel, *Über die Rhetorik des Aristoteles*. Abhlg. d. Münch. Akad. 1851.

² Book I deals essentially with the peculiarly Aristotelian adaptation of dialectic to the purposes of rhetoric, the construction in short of a rhetorical dialectic, while book II discusses the psychological basis of the appeal outside of the facts (*τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος*)—the *ψυχαγωγία* of the Phaedrus. That the Aristotelian definition of rhetoric does not contemplate a doctrine of style was noted by Quinfilian (II 15, 13 nihil nisi inventionem complectitur). It has further been observed that in the first two books there are no anticipatory references to book III and that this book is not included in the distribution of matter made at either the beginning of book I or II, while on the other hand in the portion of book III *περὶ λέξεως* (1-12) there are no references to the two preceding books except at the beginning. For the whole matter see Marx, *Aristoteles' Rhetorik*, *Berichte d. sächs. Akad. phil. hist. kl. vol. 52* (1900) p. 241 ff. If we add that the catalogue of Diogenes Laert. names the Rhetoric as consisting of only two books, it will seem very probable that books I and II presented what was meant to be a complete theory of rhetoric, without giving any place to a doctrine of style whatsoever.

³ The various terms by which Aristotle designates this relation are: *ἀντιστροφος* (*τῇ διαλεκτικῇ*) 'corresponding' or 'parallel,' I 1 init.; *παραφύς* 'offshoot,' I 2, 1356 a, 25; *μόριόν τι καὶ ὁμοία* (*ὁμοίωμα*) 1356 a, 31.

Their aim is to put the judge (or audience) in a certain frame of mind favorable to their cause, irrespective of proof. That this is a matter of importance for the orator Aristotle does not deny; "for we give very different judgments under the influence of pain or pleasure, love or hate" (1356 a, 15): his criticism is that the technicians look to this and this only in their treatises (16). That it is a legitimate part of rhetoric he concedes, and promises to take it up in detail when he comes to speak *περὶ τῶν παθῶν*. This sharp contrast in point of view between Aristotle and his predecessors is summarized briefly near the beginning of the treatise (1354 a, 13): the proofs are the only artistic (*ἐντεχνον*) aspects of rhetoric; all else is surplusage.¹ The two points of view may be summed up in the words with which the *πάθη*—the extraneous matter to the treatment of which the earlier technicians had devoted themselves—are characterized (1354 a, 17):

(1) οὐ περὶ τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν,

(2) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν.

To both of these considerations Aristotle aims to contribute something new: to the first (*περὶ τοῦ πράγματος*) by outlining a method of dialectical proof, which earlier theorists had wholly neglected; to the second (*πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν*) by basing the appeal to the audience upon an accurate analysis of the characters of men and their emotions, in place of the empirical precepts (or examples) which the rhetoricians had indicated for each part of the oration.

If the Rhetoric were a work of perfect symmetry and co-ordination of parts ('aus einem Guss,' as Brandis said) we might have expected that the portion of the third book which deals with style should correspond to the main outlines of the two preceding books. In such case it would have been conceivable, or even natural, that a differentiation of style should have been made corresponding to the two divisions of the argument which we have observed, viz.: a stylistic form suited to proof or demonstration, and a second having regard to that which lies outside

¹ That Aristotle has with some inconsistency over-emphasized the significance of enthymeme for rhetorical proof Marx (l. c. p. 289) points out, showing that, if he here be taken strictly at his word, the doctrine of *ἡθῆ* and *πάθη* is excluded from the *πίστεις ἐντεχνον*. Marx uses this inconsistency as evidence for his theory of the Rhetoric as an *ὑπόμνημα σχολικόν*.

the actual proof, and looking to a² 'ethical' or emotional effect upon the listener or judge.

Aristotle recognizes that both declamation and style as employed in practical rhetoric in his time are significant chiefly because of the debased character of the audience (*διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν*) and are therefore instruments for the perversion of justice. Strict justice (*δίκαιον*) demands that the question at issue should be settled on the merits of the case itself (*αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι*); for everything apart from the strict proof is really superfluous. This applies most to declamation, but in a less degree to style also; for differences in the mode of expression have some effect on the actual communication of the thought (*πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι*), but not so much as is commonly believed, and in fact the devices of style are a mere display and look to an effect upon the listener (*ἀλλ' ἅπαντα φαντασία ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατὴν*): no one has ever thought of teaching geometry in such a fashion. Style (as also delivery) should in strict justice aim at nothing more than neither to give pain nor pleasure (*τὸ δίκαιον μηδὲν πλείω ζητεῖν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἢ ὡς μήτε λυπεῖν μήτ' εὐφραίνειν* 1404 a, 4).¹ Such a style, a fitting instrument for the *ἐνθυμηματικός* of book one, had Aristotle chosen to outline it, would have looked solely to the argument, and would have been the stylistic counterpart of the *πίστεις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πράγματι*. But this he has not done (perhaps because he deemed an art of mere plain speaking superfluous) and he proceeds in the subsequent chapters to set forth a theory of style which conforms in general to the standards of Isocratean prose—a theory which frankly looks beyond mere perspicuity to an emotional effect upon the listener. It is *πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατὴν*.

That such is the case will not perhaps be immediately conceded, and it may be argued that the first requisite of style which Aristotle demands is clearness. To be sure if he demanded clearness and clearness only (as has been commonly said of his stylistic theory)² every requisite of a pragmatic unemotional style would be met. But it will be observed that in his definition of the excel-

¹ That is, the emotional element or appeal should be entirely eliminated, for this is the agency which distorts judgment and affords the basis for the perversion of the facts. See II 1, 1378 a, 20 *ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα δι' ὅσα μεταβάλλοντες διαφέρουσι πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις, οἷς ἔπεται λύπη καὶ ἡδονή κτλ.* and I 2, 1356 a, 15 *οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδομεν τὰς κρίσεις λυπούμενοι καὶ χαίροντες κτλ.*

² See the writer's paper on The Peripatetic Mean of Style, etc. in A. J. P. XXV (1904) p. 129.

lence of style,¹ while clearness is, to be sure, the first quality named, it is yet named merely as indispensable to the function of language as a means of communication, and so preliminary to any other desirable qualities. These are covered by the second demand that style shall be appropriate (*πρέπουσαν*). This relationship of the two parts of the definition appears most clearly from the similar definition of the excellence of style in the Poetics (ch. 22 init.): 'The perfection of style is to be clear and not mean. The style which uses only common or proper words is in the highest degree clear; at the same time it is mean,' i. e. not appropriate. Indeed, as the appropriate in Aristotle's definition of style is the category under which most of his observations looking to embellishment fall, so also is it the doorway through which distortion or perversion of the abstract truth is admitted to rhetoric. 'A style which is appropriate . . . invests the subject with persuasive efficacy. For the mind is cheated into a persuasion that the orator is speaking with sincerity, because under such circumstances men stand affected in that manner: so that people suppose things to be even as the speaker states them, what though in reality they are not'.

As the ideal of argument and adjudication is to rest upon the merits of the case, so the ideal form of expression in such a controversy would be to seek nothing more than a colorless objectivity in stylistic form, evoking neither pain nor pleasure, like a demonstration in geometry. In such a style intelligibility would be the only consideration, though from an artistic point of view the language might not be appropriate, but mean; that is, the language of the speaker might in no wise conform to the magnitude or emotional significance of the issue at stake.²

In such considerations there are suggested two aspects of language which might have afforded a truly generic analysis

¹ Rhet. III 2 *ὁρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφὴ εἶναι (σημεῖον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐὰν μὴ ὀηλοῖ οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἔργον) καὶ μὴτε ταπεινὴν μὴτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν.*

² Rhet. III 7, 1408 a, 19 ff. (Oxford Translation).

³ The late rhetoricians are fond of reducing passages of the orators marked by great feeling to their bare intellectual content for the sake of illustrating the orator's power. See for example the treatment of the famous oath in the *De Corona* in the treatise on the Sublime, ch. 16. Cicero, in *Brutus* 115, says of the defense of Rutilius Rufus by Q. Mucius Scaevola, that he spoke enucleate et polite ut solebat, nequaquam autem ea vi atque copia quam genus illud iudicii et magnitudo causae postulabat.

of style: (1) language as an objective colorless medium for the statement of fact or the expression of thought (*πράγματα*), and (2) language as a means of conveying (in addition to or as a part of the abstract thought) the color of the speaker's emotion or artistic feeling to his audience (*πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατὴν*). The attitude of Aristotle toward language of the latter type is not one of hostility to it as such—rather it is one of sympathetic appreciation; it is only that, realizing its power, he deprecates the use of it as an instrument for the adjudication of questions of fact or right.

Such hints of a fundamental analysis of style, or perhaps more specific utterances of Aristotle elsewhere, were the source of a division of language with reference to its end or purpose which Theophrastus made. The fragment is cited by Ammonius¹ and is as follows: *Διττῆς γὰρ οὐσης τῆς τοῦ λόγου σχέσεως, καθὰ διώρισεν ὁ φιλόσοφος Θεόφραστος, τῆς τε πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, οἷς καὶ σημαίνει τι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ λέγων πείσσει προτίθεται τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, περὶ μὲν τὴν σχέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καταγίνονται ποιητικὴ καὶ ῥητορικὴ. διόπερ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐκλέγεσθαί τε τὰ σεμνότερα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δεδημευμένα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐναρμονίως συμπλέκειν ἀλλήλοις, ὥστε διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων, οἷον σαφηνείας γλυκύτητος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδεῶν ἔτι τε μακρολογίας καὶ βραχυλογίας, κατὰ καιρὸν πάντων παραλαμβανομένων, ἥσαι τε τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἐκπλήξαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ χειρωθέντα ἔχειν. τῆς δὲ γε πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τοῦ λόγου σχέσεως ὁ φιλόσοφος προηγουμένως ἐπιμελήσεται τό τε ψεῦδος διελέγχων καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποδεικνύς, κτλ.*

'Language is divided into two types, according to the philosopher Theophrastus, the one having reference to the hearers, the other to the matter concerning which the speaker aims to convince his audience. To the division with reference to the hearers belong poetry and rhetoric. Therefore its function is to choose the more stately words, and not those which are common or vulgar, and to interweave them with each other harmoniously, to the end that, by means of them and the effects which result from the employment of them, such as vividness, sweetness and other qualities of style, together with studied expansion and contraction, all employed at the suitable moment, the listener shall be charmed and moved and, with respect to intellectual persuasion, overmastered. The division looking to the matter

¹ In Aristotelis De Interpretatione Com. p. 65, 31 (ed. Berol. 1897).

will be the especial concern of the philosopher, refuting the false and setting forth the true'.

From the fundamental nature of this division it would seem that it may have formed a part of the introductory considerations to the treatise *περὶ λέξεως*.¹ But though it may have been found there, yet it is probable (as is suggested by the fragment itself as well as by the character of the other attested fragments) that Theophrastus, like Aristotle, only discussed in detail the *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους*—language in its artistic aspects. The *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* was adduced to mark off the whole territory of *λέξις*, but I see no evidence to show that it was a subject of further treatment. I have spoken of this analysis as generic, and it perhaps will be right to name as species under the first class *ποιητική* and *ῥητορική* which are assigned to it. In the second division, however, it would seem that the genus scarcely admits of subdivision into species. Philosophy is adduced as one of the most important (*προηγούμενως ἐπιμελήσεται*) fields for the employment of the *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα*, but it is only as an illustration, which might have been drawn from any other conceivable subject-matter:² the reference is to language as an objective medium for the statement of fact or thought, wherever and by whomsoever used.³

That there is a hint of this analysis of language in Aristotle has been shown, and it will be noted too that the names with which the two stylistic forms are designated—*πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and *πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους*—correspond essentially to the two aspects of proof

¹ To which it is assigned by M. Schmidt, *De Theophrasto rhetore*, Halle, 1839 (Progr.), but it is not alluded to by Rabe, *De Theophrasti libris περὶ λέξεως*, Bonn, 1889 (Diss.).

² It will be recalled that Aristotle contrasts the usual language of rhetoric (*πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν*) with the method of presentation in geometry (III 1, 1404 a, 11).

³ The fragment is commented on briefly by Prantl (*Gesch. d. Logik*, vol. I p. 351) who seems to have seen in it a deeper philosophical meaning than it contains, and he assumes that the distinction here drawn is between the Peripatetic true logic or apodeictic, and dialectic. Zeller notes his error and corrects it II² 2 p. 821, and he further observes very justly (ib. 867 n. 4) that Theophrastus refers merely to stylistic form and in no sense contemplates an exhaustive distinction between rhetoric and poetry on the one hand and philosophy on the other. One other allusion to the fragment is cited by Busse (the editor of Ammonius) from an unpublished source, p. XXIII of his edition. It uses the analysis of Theophrastus to characterize the style of the *De Interpretatione*.

which Aristotle recognized: the pragmatic or dialectical (*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πράγματι*), and that which lies outside of the facts and looks to an emotional effect upon the judge or listener (*πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν, ἀκροατήν*). It is in the explicit recognition of a type of language or style corresponding to the pragmatic aspects of proof, and in the sharp separation of this from the artistic and emotional aspect of language, that Theophrastus has advanced beyond his master. It is, however, to be observed that, on the evidence of our fragment at least, the *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* is not assigned a function in rhetoric, and that in this respect again there is agreement with Aristotle. For just as the latter merely suggests that it would be right in judicial disputes to employ an entirely colorless style, allowing the case to be fought out on its merits (*τοῖς πράγμασι ἀγωνίζεσθαι*), and yet proceeds to set forth a theory of artistic prose, so Theophrastus, while defining a pragmatic style, yet assigns rhetoric as a whole to the *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους*. The position is obviously not wholly logical. For when once a method of strict objective argument had been devised for rhetoric it would seem natural that a corresponding doctrine of style should follow it. But it may be that Theophrastus, with discerning vision, recognized the impossibility of ever applying to practical rhetoric the rigorous demands of pragmatic proof which Aristotle had outlined; that it was useless to hope for a treatment of any part of rhetoric which did not look beyond the abstract argument to an emotional effect upon the listener. Such at all events seem to be the implications of the place to which rhetoric is assigned in our fragment, and they are confirmed by the dictates of historical observation and practical sense.

But the matter was not to rest here, and the pragmatic style which Theophrastus had defined was destined soon to claim the place in rhetoric which logically belonged to it from the Aristotelian analysis of the kinds of proof. With the growing influence of philosophy on Greek education and life, which is one of the chief characteristics of the third and second centuries B. C., more and more attention was given to the strictly logical phases of rhetoric. The Stoics especially with much acuteness (in spite of their pedantry and scholasticism) developed out of the Peripatetic apodeictic and dialectic a practical logic available for the demands of every-day life,¹ and in rhetoric they found the widest field for its

¹ See Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. I p. 279 ff.

application. At their hands the dialectical aspects of rhetorical proof, which Aristotle had inaugurated, received minute attention, and particular rules for its application to every conceivable type of case or situation were formulated. Their results were, it seems certain, the chief source of Hermagoras' doctrine of invention, and through him they passed into the common body of rhetorical precept which the earliest post-Aristotelian treatises present. Rhetorical proof was conceived of as a problem or investigation (*ζήτημα* is the term of Hermagoras), and rhetoric made claim to the territory of exact demonstration. The point of view is characteristic for the mental attitude of the period of Hermagoras and the century antecedent to him, in which nearly all intellectual activity bears the stamp of scientific method, or at least of a striving after it. That such methods aimed at an ideal of more exact argument and adjudication, and sought to carry into effect the higher purposes of rhetoric which Aristotle had conceived cannot blind us to the futility of the effort, at a period when the intellectual strength of antiquity was beginning to wane, to replace the persuasion of eloquence by the persuasion of logical reasoning.¹ In spite of the influence of the Stoics and the great popularity which the system of Hermagoras enjoyed for a time, rhetoric continued to be, as it had always been, primarily an instrument of emotional appeal.

But this traditional and, in the ultimate analysis, essential aspect of rhetoric was in large measure excluded from early Stoic treatment by the general doctrine of *ἀπάθεια* which dominated their whole philosophy. That, in fact, as well as in theory the Stoics endeavored to realize their ideal of close reasoning and plain speaking, is evinced by many concrete examples, one of which in the person of the noble Rutilius Rufus will confront us later.

From a stylistic point of view their position corresponded to the minute attention which they paid to pragmatic proof, and to their repudiation of the emotional features of rhetoric. Their doctrine of style was in fact an elaboration of the *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα*. Its first quality was correctness and purity of the *conversational* idiom (as opposed to the poetical and elaborated style of conventional rhetoric²):—*Ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὐκ ἔστι φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος*

¹ See the excellent characterization of the relation of Hermagoras' rhetoric to the tendencies of the time, in Thiele's *Hermagoras*, pp. 24-27.

² Cf. Demetrius 77 (in description of the *χαρακτήρ μεγαλοπρεπῆς*): τὴν δὲ λέξιν περιττὴν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ ἀσυνήθη μᾶλλον . . . ἢ δὲ κυρία καὶ συνήθης σαφὴς μὲν, λειπὴ δὲ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος. Cf. *Poetics* ch. 22 init.

ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ. Next clearness, aiming merely at the exact representation of the thought:—σαφήνεια δέ ἐστι λέξις γνωρίμως παριστᾶσα τὸ νοούμενον. Third brevity, limiting utterance to just that which was necessary to set forth the matter: συντομία δέ ἐστι λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος. Fourth appropriateness, but not the λέξις πρέπουσα of the wide range which we have found in Aristotle, not an appropriateness looking to the character of the audience, the speaker, the occasion, etc.,¹ but merely of the word to the thing:—πρέπον δέ ἐστι λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι.² Positive ornament their system does not inculcate, at most only avoidance of the vulgar (the εἰκαῖα συνηθεία)—κατασκευὴ δέ ἐστι λέξις ἐκπεφευγία τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν.³ In all of these definitions the emphasis, or rather exclusive attention, which is given to the function of language purely as a means of expressing thought—γνωρίμως παριστᾶσα τὸ νοούμενον, πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος, οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι—reveals its affinity with Theophrastus' λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα. It is probable too that the stress which is laid upon grammatical purity and correctness, under 'Ελληνισμός, has its origin in the same desire to make language an *exact* vehicle of expression, not *loose* as might be the tendency of ordinary colloquial speech (ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ).⁴

Whether the early Stoic rhetoric paid any attention to other forms of proof than the πίστεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι it is impossible

¹ It is defined by Dionysius de Lysia 9 as having reference πρὸς τε τὸν λέγοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, with manifest reference to the Aristotelian analysis of the πίστεις. Still more comprehensively by Cic. de Or. III 212, Or. 71 and 123. Cf. Arist. Poetics 25, 1461 a, 5.

² The exaggerated attention paid to κυριολογία, proprietas verborum, in the Stoic rhetoric (and its descendants) is the practical manifestation of this precept. It came at times to absorb almost the whole attention of stylists and literary students. Gellius and Fronto are for us the chief priests of the cult, but it goes far back of them and was a characteristic trait of all the Roman Atticists. See Fronto p. 62 ff. (Naber).

³ The definitions are found in Diog. Laert. (life of Zeno) VII 59. It is now generally agreed that they are derived from Diogenes of Babylon. Cf. Schepss, De Soloecismo p. 23 and Reitzenstein, M. Terentius Varro, etc., (Leipz., 1901) in the addenda. It is probably early Stoic theory of style which is found in Varro (in a passage defending the Stoic standpoint of anomaly against analogy) L. L. VIII 26: the purpose (finis) of language is utilitas and its only virtues are clearness and brevity. Words have no other use than as the symbols of things cum utilitatis causa verba ideo sint imposita rebus ut eas significant. For other indications of the stylistic point of view of Stoicism see Quint. XI 3, 10 and esp. XII 10, 40.

⁴ See Cicero De Or. III 49 init.

to say with certainty. It is likely, however, that it did not.¹ But in the Peripatetic school, so far as attention was paid to rhetoric at all, the Aristotelian division of the *πίστεις* continued to be the prevailing one, and from this source is derived the analysis of the *officia oratoris* which most later treatises present. Aristotle's analysis admits of interpretation as either twofold or threefold. It may be looked upon either as defining the proofs contained in the subject-matter itself and those outside of it (*τὰ ἐξω τῶν πραγμάτων*) or the latter again may be subdivided into *ῥῆθι* and *πάθῃ*. The threefold definition of the *officia oratoris* into *docere, conciliare, movere*, corresponding to a conception of the Aristotelian division as threefold, is the form in which the matter is best known. It is first found to my knowledge in Cicero de Oratore II 115, and its subsequent occurrence (in Quintilian and later Roman rhetoric) seems to be due to this source.

But of earlier date and wider diffusion is the interpretation of Aristotle as affording a twofold division; and this in fact is the more logical one. For even in the case of the threefold division of Cicero, it appears from several passages that the three functions are in reality thought of as two.² To such a division Quintilian alludes in expressing his preference for the Ciceronian threefold analysis: *haec enim clarior divisio quam eorum qui totum opus in res et adfectus partiuntur* (III 5, 2).³

¹ Cf. Quint. V pref. 1: fuerunt et clari quidem auctores, quibus solum videretur oratoris officium docere: namque et adfectus duplici ratione excludendos putabant, etc. The point of view is obviously Stoic. It may be demonstrated by comparison with the utterances of Rutilius Rufus in Cic. de Or. I 227.

² De Or. II 114 and esp. 178.

³ Cf. Apsines, Spengel I², p. 297, 2 *εἰς δύο γὰρ εἶδη ὁ πᾶς λόγος διαίρεται . . . τό τε πραγματικὸν καὶ τὸ παθητικόν*. It is used by the Anon. Seguerianus (Spg. I², p. 357, 9 ff.) in a way to show with especial clearness its relation to Aristotle: *οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ προοιμαστέον. ὅταν γὰρ μὴ πάθος ἐχῇ τὰ πράγματα οὐ προοιμαστέον. . . . (23) δέντερον, ὅταν πάθος μὲν ἐχῇ, ὃ δὲ ἀκροατῆς μὴ προσήται τὸν ἐξω τῶν πραγμάτων λόγον ἦτοι σπειδὼν ἢ ὀργιζόμενος*. Again, p. 378, 17 (of the *πίστεις ἐντεχνοὶ*) *εἶδη δὲ αὐτῶν δύο, τό τε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος*. Dionysius nowhere, I think, expressly defines the *officia oratoris*, but his language in several places reveals that he conceives of them as two. Dem. 4 *τὸ διδάξαι* and *τὸ καταπλήξασθαι*; ib. 44 *ἀπάτη καὶ ψυχαγωγία* and *διδασχὴ καὶ ὠφέλεια*. So also the Auct. ad Herenn. II. 29, 46: *item vitiosum est id augere quod convenit docere*, and implicitly in many other places. It was such a division which Cicero found in the Academic-Peripatetic source of his Part. Orat. where in 5 invention is thus distributed: *ut inveniat (orator) quem ad*

We have already seen that the Stoics had developed a stylistic doctrine corresponding to the pragmatic argumentation to which their rhetoric chiefly looked, a stylistic doctrine which may fairly be designated as the elaboration of the Theophrastean *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα*. Further it cannot be doubted that Peripatetic writers upon rhetoric, or rhetoricians under the influence of the Peripatetic school, must at an early time have made the logical connection between the *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and the corresponding chapter of the argument itself—the *πίστις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πράγματι*. When this was once done rhetoric had forthwith defined for itself two styles corresponding to its two functions. But although the step was an inevitable one, and facilitated by the fact that the Stoics had shown what the characteristics and theory of such a pragmatic style would be, yet the actual record of this advance in rhetorical theory is not preserved.

But in the earliest treatise which we possess after the long break in our record, the incomplete work of the youthful Cicero, we find a tacit or implied recognition of two styles corresponding to the two aspects of the argument. The explicit definition of the matter was doubtless reserved for the portion *de elocutione* (I 27) which was never written. In II 47 it is explained that there are two kinds of arguments, the special ones upon which rest the proofs for the particular case in hand, and certain general ones which are chiefly serviceable for their emotional appeal to the auditor.¹ The kinds of *loci communes* are then enumerated and the passage concludes with the following distinction between the purposes of the two kinds of argument and the methods of their stylistic treatment: II 51 *hi et ceteri loci omnes communes ex eisdem praeceptis sumuntur quibus ceterae argumentationes* (i. e. the special ones); *sed illae tenuius et subtilius et acutius tractantur: hi autem gravius et ornatus et cum verbis tum etiam sententiis excellentibus; in illis enim finis est ut id quod dicitur verum esse videatur: in his, tametsi hoc quoque videri oportet,*

modum fidem faciat eis quibus volet persuadere, et quem ad modum motum eorum animis adferat. The analysis of the whole subject is referred to these two points of view throughout. So, for example, the parts of the oration in 4: quattuor (sunt partes orationis); earum duae valent ad rem *docendam*, narratio et confirmatio; ad *impellendos* animos duae, principium et peroratio.

¹ II 49 nam tum conceditur commune quiddam dicere cum diligenter aliqui proprius causae locus tractatus est, et auditoris animus aut renovatur ad ea quae restant, aut omnibus iam dictis exsuscitatur.

tamen finis est amplitudo.¹ Although the statement is made with reference to a particular subject and a particular class of arguments, yet it is clear that in the largest sense it summarizes the twofold aspects of rhetorical proof which we have thus far traced, the argument based upon the facts and looking to conviction and that which lies *ἐξω τῶν πραγμάτων*.² In this larger sense the matter is put in Part. Orat. 46: argumentandi autem duo genera sunt, quorum alterum ad fidem directo spectat, alterum se inflectit ad motum. Of these the first is the orderly dialectical process of setting forth premises and conclusions, the second looks to change and variety in the order of argument and, in the stylistic form, the use of every variety of figurative speech.³

More explicitly than in these examples the two modes of argument are used as the basis for the characterization of two oratorical styles in the well-known description of Galba and Laelius in Brutus 89: ex hac Rutilii narratione suspicari licet, cum duae summae sint in oratore laudes, una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum, altera graviter agendi ad animos audientium permovendos, multoque plus proficiat is qui inflammet iudicem quam ille qui doceat, elegantiam in Laelio, vim in Galba fuisse. The passage is an important one and I shall venture to tarry a moment in somewhat fuller explanation of it than has seemed necessary to the commentators on the text. Concerning the second of these summae in oratore laudes, nothing more need be said than the text affords: it is the emotional aspect of rhetoric, the *ψυχαγωγία* which Aristotle complained of as the only thing which the earlier theorists took into account. The first—*subtiliter disputare ad docendum*—is the pragmatic argumentation looking merely to intellectual conviction or persuasion, which Aristotle had introduced into rhetoric and defined as the most essential part of the subject. The editors, of course, compare the other passages of

¹ See Victorinus ad loc. Halm, R. L. M. p. 272. Cf. also II 49 omnia autem ornamenta elocutionis, in quibus et suavitatis et gravitatis plurimum consistit . . . in communes locos conferuntur.

² Similarly two kinds of narrative are distinguished in forensic cases, I 27: unum genus est in quo ipsa causa et omnis ratio controversiae continetur; alterum, in quo digressio aliqua extra causam, aut criminationis aut similitudinis aut delectationis non alienae ab eo negotio quo de agitur aut amplificationis causa, interponitur.

³ 47: est etiam illa varietas in argumentando et non iniucunda distinctio, ut cum interrogamus nosmet ipsos aut percontamur aut imperamus aut optamus, quae sunt cum aliis compluribus sententiarum ornamenta.

Cicero which define instruction (*docere*) as the first of the three *officia oratoris*. But they do not record the fact, significant for our inquiry, that this description is identical with the usual definitions of dialectic.

The Aristotelian division of logic into a higher and a lower type—apodeictic and dialectic—did not in any vital way survive the early Peripatetic school. And indeed there was perhaps good reason why it should not survive; since a distinction based upon the nature (the truth or untruth) of the premises is scarcely defensible. At all events the Stoics comprehended the whole method under their science of dialectic, and this became thenceforth the prevailing and universal conception. In Latin dialectical discourse is almost uniformly designated by *disputare* and its derivatives.¹ Its stylistic aspects are contemplated by Varro in his etymology of the word (L. L. VI 63): *disputatio et computatio cum praepositione a putando,² quod valet purum facere. . . . sic is sermo in quo pure disponuntur verba, ne sit confusus atque ut diluceat, dicitur disputare.* It is contrasted with the oratorical faculty *dicere* in Brutus 118, in characterization of the Stoic orators: *omnes fere Stoici prudentissimi in disserendo sunt, et id arte faciunt suntque architecti paene verborum: eidem traducti a disputando ad dicendum inopes reperiuntur.* Similarly in Orator 113: *aliud videtur oratio esse aliud disputatio . . . disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum, oratorum dicendi et ornandi.* But not only *disputare* (with its almost technical modifier *subtiliter*) but also *docere* itself points to identification of this function of oratory with dialectical proof. In the treatise de Ordine (I 1013, Migne) Augustine calls dialectic the *disciplina disciplinarum*, and proceeding, he says: *haec docet docere, haec docet discere.* With more exact applicability to our purpose Quintilian (XII 2, 11), in discussing the divisions of philosophy and beginning with the *pars dialectica*, demands that the orator shall possess it: *quamquam ea non tam est minute atque concise in actionibus utendum quam in disputationibus, quia non docere modo, sed movere etiam ac delectare audientes debet orator.* Similarly in the Preface 23 dialectic is designated simply as the *docendi ratio*. Finally, a word in regard to *elegantia*, with which the dialectical quality of Laelius' style is comprehended in con-

¹ Cf. Cicero *passim*. Quintilian ventures *disputatrix* = *διαλεκτική*, Augustine calls it the *ars disputandi*.

² The text as emended by Pomponius Laetus.

trast to the oratorical *vis* of Galba. It is a usage of the word well attested, though not sufficiently regarded, it would seem, by the lexicographers. But long ago Ernesti (Clavis Cic. s. v.) defined it correctly as *subtilitas et acumen dialecticorum et philosophorum*, and he cites the most noteworthy examples of this meaning. In argument it is keenness and subtlety, in style finished correctness of grammatical and idiomatic usage,¹ both of which meanings are here contemplated. The suggestion of ornament which the English word conveys is wholly lacking.

The two qualities exemplified by Galba and Laelius afford the starting point for a large number of the syncritical characterizations in the *Brutus*. Of these the most noteworthy is the juxtaposition of Cotta and Sulpicius in 201: *quoniam ergo oratorum bonorum—hos enim quaerimus—duo genera sunt, unum attenuate pressequae, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium. . . . inveniebat igitur acute Cotta, dicebat pure ac solute . . . nihil erat in eius oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum atque sanum.*² . . . fuit Sulpicius vel maxime omnium quos quidem ego audiverim grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. In regard to the historical accuracy of this characterization it may be said that the description of Cotta's style corresponds to what we should expect from the considerations thus far presented concerning the origins of the plain style. We have derived this style from Theophrastus' definition of a *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* which should be the linguistic instrument of philosophical discussion. Under the influence of Stoic teachers this style, as the complement of their dialectic, had gained a place in rhetoric. Its stylistic development had proceeded under the influence of Stoic grammatical and logical rules.³ Now throughout Cicero's works Cotta appears as an enthusiastic devotee of philosophy. Furthermore (and this is of

¹ Cf. Auct. ad Heren. IV 17 *elegantia est quae facit ut unum quidque pure et aperte dici videatur* (cf. Varro's definition of *disputare* above) and *Brutus* 261 (of Caesar). *Elegantia* was the watchword of the Atticists and of the grammatical purists generally.

² In *acute* the logical acumen of his style is covered, in the remainder of the characterization its grammatical and idiomatic purity is emphasized, though in regard to these latter epithets it is to be said that their full significance will only appear from a review of the Stoic grammatical logical doctrines which culminated first in the Atticism of Cicero's time and two centuries later in the Archaism of Fronto.

³ The further explanation of this point must be postponed to another occasion.

more significance) he was the nephew of the noble Rutilius Rufus whose Stoicism found expression not only in his acts but also in his oratorical style. It was in defense of his uncle that Cotta made his first public appearance as an orator, and we can imagine that loyalty to that *simplex ratio veritatis* (de Or. I 229), which characterized Rutilius' speech and did not suffice to save him against a corrupt and hostile court, was cherished by the nephew as an observance of piety. Sulpicius on the other hand is portrayed as wholly averse to philosophy and he repudiates its claims upon rhetoric even disdainfully.¹

In similar contrast Crassus and Scaevola are placed in 145 ff. In Scaevola, the eminent juriconsult, the qualities of precise and logical argument were especially conspicuous (qui quidem cum peracutus esset ad excogitandum quid in iure aut in aequo verum aut esset aut non esset), to which corresponded a style of singular brevity and suitableness to the matter (tum verbis erat ad rem cum summa brevitate mirabiliter aptus):² qua re fuit nobis orator in hoc interpretandi explanandi edisserendi genere mirabilis sic ut simile nihil viderim. The qualities looking to an effect outside of the argument itself he did not possess: in augendo in ornando in refellendo magis existimator metuendus quam admirandus orator. The characterization of the two orators in balanced antitheses which follows suggests to Brutus that a similar relation exists between Servius Sulpicius and Cicero, in which of course Servius is the counterpart of Scaevola and Cicero of Crassus. The style of Servius is not characterized in detail, but his superiority to Scaevola is attributed to his mastery of dialectic.³

It is noteworthy that in the Brutus, although the conventional three officia oratoris are defined (185), yet there appears no trace of the recognition of three corresponding styles. The oft repeated antitheses are the two which we have studied, though of course by no means all the orators are brought under this scheme of classification.

¹ De Or. III 146-7. He was a man of words, not of matter, Brutus 214.

² Cicero selects for mention two of the most characteristic of the five Stoic ἀρεταὶ λόγου—viz. συντομία (λέξεις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς ὀλίγωσιν τοῦ πράγματος) and πρέπον (λέξεις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι = ad rem . . . aptus), Diog. Laert. VII 59.

³ Brutus 153: hic enim attulit hanc artem omnium artium maximam quasi lucem ad ea quae confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur.

We have now traced in such outlines as our record affords, the growth and gradual recognition of a twofold classification of style corresponding to the two aspects of proof, from its first suggestion by Aristotle to its formulation by Theophrastus, who, however, does not yet conceive of his *lógos pròs tà práγματα* as claiming a place in rhetoric. Under the growing influence of dialectical study and of its application to the practical affairs of daily life (in which the Stoics were the leaders) the rhetorical theorists took the step which neither Aristotle nor Theophrastus had taken, and assigned to its proper place in rhetoric the style of exact and pragmatic discussion, which had already been defined as appropriate for dialectic and philosophy. As the early Stoics admitted as legitimate no other form of argument except that based upon the facts of the case,¹ so in like manner they demanded that style confine itself to bare utility. But on the whole, the old pre-Aristotelian conception of rhetoric as an instrument of emotional transport continued naturally and inevitably to be the dominating one, though very considerable concessions were made to the demands of Aristotle for a more orderly system of argument, a point of view which was especially reinforced and reduced to practical rule by the Stoics. The result was that in practically all rhetorical teaching a place was granted, in theory at least, to exact and close argument, more or less touched by the science of dialectic (Hermagoras), and to a plain straightforward style suited to such ends. The common characteristics which all post-Aristotelian treatises show² go back thus to a synthesis of two influences, the purely rhetorical (especially Isocratean) and the philosophical (ultimately Aristotelian, immediately Stoic). Their combination belongs to a time considerably antecedent to the treatise de Inventionione, which thus describes these two sources of influence: *ex his duabus diversis sicuti familiis, quarum altera cum versaretur in philosophia non nullam rhetoricae quoque artis sibi curam adsumebat, altera vero omnis in dicendi erat studio et praeceptione occupata, unum quoddam est conflatum genus a posterioribus, qui ab utrisque ea quae commode dici videbantur in suas artes contulerunt* (II 8, and see the sections preceding, 6 and 7).³

¹ Cf. Cic. de Or. I 229 (concerning Rutilius Rufus) and Quint. V preface init.

² Cf. note 3 on p. 260 above.

³ Cf. also Quint. III 1, 14: *hinc velut diversae secari coeperunt viae. . . . atque hinc vel studiosius philosophi quam rhetores, praecipueque Stoicorum ac Peripateticorum principes.* The words which follow may perhaps be meant

The stylistic problem which we have thus far traced confirms the general truth of this passage, which might also be verified from other points of view.¹ For we have seen that the plain style is due to the demand, originating with the philosophers, for a more exact and logical system of argument, while the so-called grand style is rhetoric itself in the original conception of it as *ψυχαγωγία*.

As the *two* styles which we have thus far studied are the linguistic counterparts of the argument or proof conceived as two-fold in character, so the *three* styles are referred to the threefold analysis of the *officia oratoris*—docere, conciliare (delectare), and movere. This relationship is expressly recognized by Cicero, who says (*Or.* 69): *sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi, subtile in probando, modicum in delectando, vehemens in flectendo, in quo uno vis omnis oratoris.*² Whether Cicero here speaks with an historical consciousness of the common origin of the *genera dicendi* and the *officia oratoris* or not—for in rhetorical literature more than in most other subjects historical development was obscured by the dogmatic nature of instruction, with a consequent vagueness of historical consciousness—we may at any rate feel confident that this utterance represents the actual state of rhetorical theory in Cicero's time. That such was the case Quintilian also expressly attests (*XII* 10, 59): *quorum (sc. tria genera dicendi) tamen ea fere ratio ('theory') est, ut primum docendi, secundum movendi etc. . . . praestare videatur officium.* To the same point of view, Dionysius gives evidence in characterization of the style of Isocrates, which as containing elements of the plain and the embellished type of rhetoric he reckons to the middle style (*λέξις μικτή*): *εἰς μὲν τὸ διδάξαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν σαφέστατα ὅ τι βούλοιο, τὴν ἀπλὴν καὶ ἀκόσμητον ἑρμηνείαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν Λυσίου, εἰς δὲ τὸ καταπλήξασθαι . . . τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ κατεσκευασμένην φράσιν τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν ἐκμέμακται.* Here may be added also the description of the styles which is preserved by Proclus (*Photius, Bibliotheca* 239): *ὅτι τοῦ πλάσματος τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἰσχνόν, τὸ δὲ ἄδρὸν, τὸ δὲ μέσον. καὶ τὸ*

to indicate the synthesis of the two schools: *facit deinde velut propriam Hermagoras viam, quam plurimi sunt secuti*—but they are too vague to base definite inferences upon.

¹ Such as the combination of Aristotelian matter with the old Isocratean arrangement in such treatises as the *Anonymus Seguerianus*, or in the second half of *Arist. Rhet. III*; the doctrine of *θέταις* and *ὑπόθεσις* etc.

² The detailed application to the different parts of the oration is outlined in *Orat.* 124 ff.

μὲν ἄδρὸν ἐκπληκτικώτατόν ἐστι καὶ κατεσκευασμένον μάλιστα καὶ ποιητικὸν ἐπιφαῖνον κάλλος. τὸ δὲ ἱσχνὸν . . . ἐξ ἀνειμένων¹ δὲ μᾶλλον συνήρηται, ὅθεν ὡς ἐπίπαν τοῖς νοεροῖς² ἄριστά πως ἐφαρμόττει. The description has seemed worth quoting because, while it represents the developed doctrine of the three styles, it yet agrees so thoroughly with the Theophrastean division from which we started. For it is one of the few Greek descriptions in which the function of the *χαρακτήρ ἱσχνός* is explicitly defined,—sc. τοῖς νοεροῖς, 'quae ratione intelligentur'. These statements, therefore, of Cicero, Quintilian, Dionysius and Proclus are in exact agreement with our investigation to this point, which has derived the plain style from the λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα.

The earliest occurrence of the threefold division is in the Auctor ad Herennium (IV 8, 11 ff.). And first, concerning the middle style, it will require no other investigation concerning its origin than to point out the inevitable rise of a *tertium quid* between the plain and the grand styles. As such the middle style is conceived of by this author,³ by Cicero in the three passages of the *de Oratore* where he touches on this division, and also in the *Orator* 21. The identification of the γένος ἀνθρῶν with the middle style⁴ is another matter and requires its own explanation.⁵ But to return to the Auctor ad Herennium. The theoretical relationship of the different styles to the parts of the oration is not expressly stated, but it is contained in numerous implications. In the first place, all three styles will be found present in all good oratory.⁶ The example of the grand style

¹ A term which plays a large rôle in divisions of style from the point of view of delivery and tone. Its antithesis is σύντονος. Cf. the anonymous scholia in Aphthonium, Walz II p. 3, 3, where the τρόποι ῥητορικῶν ἀναγνώσεων are analyzed. They correspond in some measure to the usual divisions of the styles—the τρόπος σύντονος to the grand style, the τρόπος ἀνειμένος to the plain style. The latter (ἀνειμένος) is described as διαλεκτικός τε καὶ διδασκαλικός καὶ συμβουλευτικός. Cf. the analysis of voice in Auct. ad Herenn. III 13, 23 into *sermo* and *contentio*, terms which have a large place in the literary criticism of Cicero. In *de Officiis* I 133 and II 48 they are the Latin names for the Stoic division of speech into διαλέγεσθαι and ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

² The correction of W. Schmid for γοεροῖς, Rh. Mus. 49, p. 134, 1.

³ IV 8, 11: mediocris est quae constat ex humiliore neque tamen ex infuma et pervulgatissima verborum dignitate. Cicero de Or. III 177, 199, 212.

⁴ Quintilian XII 10, 59; Cicero, Orator, 91 ff.

⁵ Proclus l. c. τὸ δὲ μέσον καὶ τοῖνομα μὲν δηλοῖ ὅτι μέσον ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν. ἀνθρῶν δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν οὐκ ἐστὶ πλάσμα, ἀλλὰ συνεκφέρεται καὶ συμμέμικται τοῖς εἰρημένους.

⁶ IV 8, 11: sunt igitur tria genera . . . in quibus omnis oratio non vitiosa consumitur, and cf. 16 extr.

given is a peroration; it is highly figurative (rhetorical questions, exclamations), of elaborate stylistic finish, and almost wholly *ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων*. The specimen of the middle style is a somewhat impassioned specimen of argumentation. It would seem to belong to the stage of the argument which the author in II 18, 28 calls the *rationis confirmatio*.¹ The example of the plain style is not, as we might have expected, a piece of objective and colorless argumentation, but a *narratio*. It is marked by an unconstrained conversational tone, corresponding to the characterization of this form as *demissa . . . usque ad usitatissimam puri consuetudinem sermonis*. But while not argumentative it is still pragmatic and free from elaboration or emotional appeal; and it will be recalled that the *narratio* (p. above) is reckoned to the *μέρος πραγματικόν*. It should be kept in mind, further, that the two aspects of the plain style which may naturally be differentiated, a familiar conversational quality and argumentative cogency, are both contained in the Greek *διαλέγεσθαι* and its derivatives, and are both embraced in the Stoic principles of style which we have examined (*συνήθεια*). Thus *διαλεκτική* is not only for Plato, but even for the later Stoics the art of conversation.² Similarly, under the heading of delivery, in III 13, 23, *sermo* is divided into *dignitas demonstratio, narratio* and *iocatio*. It was therefore open to the writer to choose as a specimen of the *figura attenuata* either a *narratio* or a specimen of strict logical argument.³ The object of this brief discussion of the three styles as they appear in the Auctor ad Herennium has been to show that they are thought of as corresponding to the parts of the oration and

¹A complete and perfect argument is divided into five parts: *propositio, ratio, rationis confirmatio, exornatio* and *complexio*. The analysis is illustrated by examples. The *ratio est quae causam demonstrat verum esse id quod intendimus brevi subiectione*; that is the strict logical proof of the speaker's contention. The elaboration and amplification of this proof is the *rationis confirmatio*, of which the example of the *figura mediocris* seems to be meant as a specimen. This, then, is followed by the *exornatio qua utimur rei honestandae et conlocupletandae causa confirmata argumentatione*. The example of the *exornatio* is a highly elaborated piece of rhetoric comparable to the illustration of the *figura gravis*.

²Cf. Cic. de Off. I 133 and II 48 on the distinction between *sermo* and *contentio*. The former is dialectic, the latter is rhetoric. The discussion is drawn from Panaetius.

³On the examples of this style adduced by Cicero and Augustine see below, pp. 274, 277, 279.

its several functions: the *figura gravis* to the exornatio of the argument after it has already received logical demonstration (that is, τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων), the *figura mediocris* to the elaboration of the simple demonstration, the *figura attenuata* to the narrative and the simple demonstration itself (αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα). By whom the intermediate stage of a middle style was defined it is of course impossible to say. We can only say that its origin as a natural intermediate step between the two characteristic forms is manifest, and that all three styles had been fixed and recognized for a considerable time anterior to this treatise.

From the subsequent history of the three styles I select a few aspects such as seem to me significant for the history and original meaning of the classification. But first of all I must justify myself for naming the Auctor ad Herennium as the first writer to present the doctrine of the three styles. For a curious and interesting example of the division, which might be reckoned as the earliest occurrence of it, is preserved for us by Gellius, who in turn draws from Varro. The account (Gellius VI 14) after presenting the conventional form of the doctrine, with the Greek and Latin terminology and with Latin examples, instances as illustrations the members of the embassy of Greek philosophers of the year 155: animadversa eadem tripartita varietas est in tribus philosophis, quos Athenienses Romam ad senatum legaverant. In the senate they spoke through the medium of an interpreter, but before this ipsi seorsum quisque ostentandi [ἐνδείξεως] gratia magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt. Tum admirationi fuisse aiunt Rutilius et Polybius philosophorum trium sui cuiusque generis facundiam: 'Violenta' inquit 'et rapida Carneades dicebat, scita et teretia Critolaus, modesta Diogenes et sobria'. The matter is referred, it will be seen, to Rutilius and Polybius as sources, whose names, I think, must be understood in this way: that Rutilius in his memoirs, criticising (as elsewhere ¹) rhetorical ideals of public speaking from the standpoint of Stoicism and plain speech, illustrated the matter by an account of this famous embassy derived from a report of Polybius (whether written or oral), whose point of view would have been substantially the same as his own. As was to have been expected from the severe Stoicism which he represented, he condemns the style of Carneades as violenta et rapida (emotional and vehement), of Critolaus as clever and elaborated (scita et teretia), reserving praise only

¹ Cic. de Or. I 227 ff. Brutus 79 ff.

for Diogenes, the representative of Stoic sobriety and moderation of speech (*modesta et sobria*). As the names are arranged in Gellius (Carneades, Critolaus, Diogenes, corresponding, it would seem, to ἀδρόν λαγρόν μέσον) Carneades stands as the representative of the genus grande, Critolaus and Diogenes as the representatives of the genus subtile and medium respectively. But in Cicero de Or. II 157 ff., where the same embassy is described and the styles of the philosophers characterized, it must be inferred that Diogenes (as would naturally be expected) stands for the genus subtile and Critolaus for the genus medium.¹ The divergence of the two accounts indicates, as might be inferred from Gellius alone, that Rutilius did not have in mind the threefold analysis of style which we are considering, but merely contrasted the sober direct utterance of Diogenes with the rhetorical-emotional styles of Critolaus and Carneades. It was probably Varro who endeavored to adapt Rutilius' description to the current threefold scheme of stylistic theory.²

In point of time the three styles are found next in the de Oratore III 177, 199, 212. But in all three passages they are alluded to so briefly as to cast no light upon the author's conception of them or their history. It may be said, however, that the middle style is thought of merely as an intermediate stage between the other two. It is not until we come to the Orator that we find the characteristics of the three styles fully discussed, and here let us pause to note briefly the circumstances which condition Cicero's treatment of them.

The Orator, as has long been recognized, is not an abstract picture of the oratorical ideal, the crown of the edifice begun in the de Oratore and continued in the Brutus. For though Cicero apparently would have these treatises conceived of as a series, yet, in fact, it may confidently be affirmed that the Orator is a product of partisan debate, reaffirming with some few essential changes in point of view the general position of the de Oratore.³

¹ Cf. II 159 et genus sermonis adfert (Diogenes) non liquidum, non fustum ac profluens, sed exile, aridum, concisum atque minutum. 160 Critolaum . . . puto plus huic nostro studio prodesse potuisse. 161 Carneadi vero vis incredibilis illa dicendi et varietas perquam esset optanda nobis.

² The possibility that Gellius in excerpting Varro's account has confused the positions of Critolaus and Diogenes may be suggested.

³ The title *Orator* is, in fact, merely a variation of the earlier title *de Oratore*. In both the professed object is to delineate the ideal picture of the *orator*. Cf. de Or. I 118 sed quia de oratore quaerimus, *fingendus est nobis oratione nostra*

The germs of the conflict with opposing oratorical ideals, ideals which were entertained by most of the other eminent orators of Rome—Calvus, Brutus, Caesar, Asinius, Servius Sulpicius, Messala, Caelius and others—are discernible in many places of the *Oratore*, but especially in III 38–53. Whether all these named are to be called Atticists or not it is certain that they stood for a more restrained and pragmatic type of oratory than that represented by Cicero and Hortensius. The theoretical and practical antitheses between exuberant and restrained rhetoric had been present in Rome for fully a century. Apart from the element which Roman character itself gave to these tendencies, they may be said to be derived mainly from the rhetoric of Asia Minor on the one hand, and from Stoical literary and grammatical theory on the other. Both schools are of nearly equal antiquity in Rome, but the influence of Stoicism can be traced more accurately and concretely. Crates, the Pergamene master and Stoic (168 B. C.), Diogenes of Babylon (155) and Panaetius (ca. 145) suffice to outline the chronology of this influence. Its theoretical position may be inferred from the general Stoic doctrine of style which we have cited above (and which seems to go back to Diogenes), and from the discussion of two types of utterance, *sermo* and *contentio*, which Cicero has drawn from Panaetius in *de Officiis* I 133 and II 48. It is, of course, what we should expect: advocacy of plain conversational speech as against the vehemence and emotional utterance of conventional rhetoric. This doctrine, received into the highest political and social circle of Rome, the younger Scipio, Laelius and their friends, became the starting point of a stylistic and oratorical ideal which we can trace through Lucilius, the Scaevolae, Rutilius Rufus, Q. Lutatius Catulus, Cotta, L. Macer (the father of Calvus) down to the Atticists and other contemporary opponents of Cicero.¹ But I anticipate a matter which to carry conviction demands a much

detractis omnibus vitiis *orator* atque omni laude cumulatus. See also I 202, and 264. Note also *Or.* 237 habes meum *de oratore* iudicium. The current conception, which Piderit especially has urged, that the three works represent an orderly sequence from the (1) theoretical foundations through the (2) historical exemplification to the (3) ideal picture, is purely fanciful.

¹The sequence of the opposing school of emotional rhetoric is given by Cicero himself in his summary of Roman eloquence at the end of the *Brutus* (333): Galba, Lepidus, Carbo, Gracchi, Antonius, Crassus, [Cotta], Sulpicius, Hortensius, and the unnamed crown of it all—Cicero.

fuller treatment than can be here accorded to it. Let it suffice to have indicated in brief outline that the opponents whom Cicero combats are the bearers of a stylistic tradition which goes back to the Stoic influences (grammatical and philosophical) received by the Scipionic circle.

Now Cicero, defending himself against the suspicion of Asianism, is at pains in the *Brutus* to show that he had early seen the dangers and tastelessness of that manner and had deliberately abandoned it (313-16). Similarly in the *Orator*, while not abandoning his preference for the grand style, he is especially bent on showing that he has a definite and correct conception of the genus *subtile*, and in consequence he devotes to its description much more space than to either of the other styles. From his characterization some of the most essential elements may be noted. In soundness and penetration of argument it is supreme (*acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae, atque in hoc oratore dominabuntur* 79); it does not aim at charm and lavishness of ornament (*aberit . . . ornatum illud suave et adfluens* 79); in composition it admits of negligence, as of one more concerned for the thought than the word (*de re¹ hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis* 77); its tone is conversational (*summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imitans* 76). Cicero's characterization is careful and full. He is entirely in sympathy with the qualities which he describes, but not as embracing the whole equipment of the orator (*quem [sc. subtilem] nisi quod solum ceteroqui recte quidam vocant Atticum* 83). They fulfil but one of the functions of the orator and they fall short of that which is his highest and most characteristic trait, the power to sway and move—in *quo uno vis omnis oratoris* (69). The orator of the plain style accomplishes the end of instruction (*docere*) and reveals the qualities of the philosopher (*ille summissus, quod acute et veteratorie dicit, sapiens iam* 99), but the greater rewards are not his.

Sandys remarks on this passage that Cicero obviously has in mind *Lysias* as the type of the orator *summissus*. The suggestion doubtless rests on the fact that *Dionysius* names *Lysias* as the canon of this style. The matter admits neither of demonstration nor of certain refutation. But it may be questioned whether Cicero's characterization contemplates chiefly the *ἀφελεια*

¹ Cf. the Theophrastean *πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and the Stoic doctrine presented below p. 282.

—the simple lucidity and transparency of the Lysian or Xenophontean type. At any rate the example with which Cicero illustrates the style looks to pragmatic objectivity rather than to simplicity as its characteristic feature. *Tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit; res involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimus, verba ambigua distinximus* (102). The qualities here described are chiefly dialectical, and in fact no one who reads the speech will call the style simple. Objective it is and pragmatic, but intricate and hard. The distinction is of some importance and it is not too much to say that Cicero's choice of illustration with his comment upon it, casts more light upon his understanding of the genus subtle than does his characterization. It is this quality of exact argumentation which is implied in the designation *sapiens iam* (cited above), since dialectic is the peculiar instrument of the philosopher, and it appears again in the technical dialectical words of description at the end of 99: *qui enim nihil potest tranquille, nihil leniter, nihil partite definite distincte facere dicere, etc.*

But the plain style, however admirable for its own ends, is in itself impotent to effect that *ψυχαγωγία* which is the true goal of oratorical effort. This can only be accomplished by the grand style which is in fact oratory itself. It was only this style which had won for eloquence place and historical significance in public life: *hic est enim cuius ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt* (98). Because of this power it must, in any relative ranking of the styles, be placed first (at vero hic noster quem principem ponimus 99), a point of view to which Quintilian also bears evidence (XII 10, 63): *quare si ex tribus his generibus necessario sit eligendum unum quis dubitet hoc praeferre omnibus: for it alone represents true oratorical power—haec est vere dicendi facultas* (ib. 65). Its emotional power raises it above the necessity of objective argument—*hoc dicente iudex . . . per omnes adfectus tractus huc atque illuc sequetur nec doceri desiderabit*.¹

It was this distinction between objective persuasion (*fides*) and the emotional effect which rises above persuasion and renders it

¹ Cf. *περί ὑψους* I, 4 οὐ γὰρ εἰς περὶ τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἑκαστὴν ἀγει τὰ ὑπερφύα (sublimitas); and especially 15, 9 ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία . . . κατακρινάμενη μέντοι ταῖς πραγματικαῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν οὐ πείθει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦται; also 15, 10 ἅμα γὰρ τῷ πραγματικῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁ ῥήτωρ πεφάντασται, διὸ τὸν τοῦ πείθειν ὄρον ὑπερβέβηκεν τῷ λήμματι.

superfluous (*motus*)¹ which was the basis of Theophrastus' definition of the two types of *λόγος*: the one *πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν δὲ λέγων πείσαι προτίθεται τοὺς ἀκροωμένους* and the other *πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους*, which with all the resources of literary art seeks *ἵσαι τε τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἐκπλήξαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ χειρωθέντα ἔχειν*.² The wide difference between these two styles Theophrastus indicates by putting the latter in the same category with poetry. Indeed the conception of true eloquence as a kind of poetry in prose was the very origin of the rhetorical style as Aristotle says,³ and never ceased to be the accepted conception in circles uninfluenced by the rationalistic protest of some philosophical school. Abundant evidence on this point is available and has been put together by Norden.⁴ It was from this point of view that Theophrastus (whom Quintilian quotes X 1, 27) said: *plurimum oratori conferre lectionem poetarum*, and the rhetorician adds truly: *multique eius iudicium sequuntur*. Cicero too bears evidence to his realization of the wide difference between this style and the others: *sed multum interest inter hoc dicendi genus et superiora* (Or. 98). From such considerations of the total difference between the pragmatic and the emotional styles there arose a doctrine of their irreconcilability, which has a curious antiquarian interest of its own, but which need here only be mentioned in illustration of the general principle of their fundamental divergence.⁵

¹ The terminology is drawn from Cic. Part. Oratoriae. Cf. *πείθειν* in the passages cited in the preceding note.

² Compare the phrase with the passage of *περὶ ἑνους* cited in note above. *οὐ πείθει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῖται*. Note also the similar contrast expressed in each by *πράγματα, πραγματικός*. For the whole text of the fragment of Theophrastus, see above p. 255.

³ Rhet. III, 1 extr.

⁴ Antike Kunstprosa I pp. 30 + 75 ff.

⁵ The principal passages are these: Dionys. de Dem. 2 (of Thucydides and Lysias as the representatives of the two extremes of style) *καθ' ὃ δὲ ἴσαι ἀλλήλων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς*. The point of view of Dionysius may be illustrated by comparison with de Isaeo 19 and 20 where the representatives of the two styles are grouped under the headings *ποιητικοί* and *ἀκριβεῖς*. More explicit is Demetrius (de Eloc. 36) who in defining four unmixed styles and their possible combinations says: *μόνος δὲ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς (χαρακτήρ) τῷ ἰσχυρῷ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνθέστατον καὶ ἀντίκεισθον ἐναντιωτάτω*. For this reason therefore some had held that these are the only two fundamental styles, and that the rest are merely intervals between them. The point of view is refuted at some length by Hermogenes II 316 (Spengel) and perhaps also by Cicero de Or. III 175-177.

But although the conception of the plain style has its origin in the antithesis of pragmatic objective utterance to the language of emotional effect, yet it is by no means always true that the descriptions of the plain style reveal this conception. In fact some of the fullest do not, as for instance that of Demetrius de Eloc., who still bears evidence to the fundamental twofold division.¹ Instead of a plain style the *χαρακτήρ ἰσχνός* becomes a style of simple elegance—a natural development enough when once the Atticists had begun to cast about for early examples of this style and found them in Lysias, Xenophon, Ctesias and others. Thenceforward in most of our sources the dominant characteristics recognized in it were formal and essentially rhetorical—*ἀφελεία*, *χάρμις*, etc.—rather than argumentative and dialectical. This can be seen most objectively perhaps in the rhetoric of Aristides, the sophist of the second century, who defines two characters of style, the *λόγος πολιτικός* of which Demosthenes is the supreme type, and the *λόγος ἀφελής* which is illustrated chiefly from the Memorabilia of Xenophon.²

Without pausing to examine the evidence of numerous earlier writers which may be adduced for our purpose,³ I would turn now to St. Augustine in whose works the conception of the plain style as the literary form of dialectical argument or proof appears with especial clearness; it is accompanied also by a theoretical doctrine of the distinction between this style and the language of emotional or sensuous appeal, which will be of service to us in understanding the development of the theory of the styles.

I shall call attention first to some passages of Augustine which distinguish in a stylistic way between dialectic and rhetoric. In the controversial treatise *Contra Cresconium Donatistam* (vol. IX. Migne coll. 445–6) we learn that Cresconius had warned his readers against the charm of Augustine's style and his rhetorical skill. Augustine replies with the Stoic conception of eloquence: *facultas dicendi est, congruenter explicans quae sentimus; qua*

¹ See passage cited in note 5 p. 275.

² The matter demands however fuller investigation.

³ But note Tacitus Dial. 31: *sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet.* See also the interesting polemical utterances of Quintilian in V 14, 27–33, directed against a school which in the treatment of the argument was dialectical (27 and 32), and affected the manner of the ancients; in style plain and direct (33).

tunc utendum est cum recta sentimus. It is good or bad according to the nature of its utterances, not in itself (1, 2). Cresconius himself has shown by his own eloquence in assailing eloquence that his attack on this point is contentious rather than sincere (2, 3). Similarly in regard to dialectic Cresconius has sought to prejudice his followers by warning them to beware of Augustine's skill, as if it were some pagan trick incongruous with the Christian character (13, 16). But in fact what is dialectic except skilful argumentation (*peritia disputandi*); and indeed just such art as Cresconius himself is using against Augustine: *inspicio sermonem tuum, istum ipsum quem ad me scripsisti; video te quaedam copiose ornatque explicare, hoc est eloquenter: quaedam vero subtiliter arguteque disserere hoc est dialectice*. Cresconius has sought to impose on the ignorance of his audience by inveighing against rhetoric and dialectic, both of which he thus employs in a false and sophistical way (14, 17 extr.).

The true dialectician uses the art for the necessary purpose of distinguishing between the true and the false (15, 19), and of this art, as of true eloquence, the Holy Scriptures afford abundant examples (14, 18).¹ *Hoc ille verus disputator si late diffuseque faciat, eloquenter facit, alioque tunc censetur augeturque vocabulo, ut dictor potius quam disputator vocetur; sicut illum locum Apostolus copiose dilatat atque diffundit (16, 20): 'in omnibus' inquit (II Cor. 6, 4-10) 'commendantes nosmetipsos ut Dei ministros, in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus,' etc.—a passage of such resonant and triumphant rhetoric in the Latin version which Augustine uses that it is hard to refrain from citing it in full. Upon this he comments: quid enim hoc stilo apostolico uberius et ornatius, id est eloquentius, facile invenis?*

Turning then to examples of dialectic he continues: *si autem presse atque constricta, magis eum disputatorem quam dictorem appellare consueverunt: qualiter agit idem Apostolus de circumcissione et praeputio patris Abraham, vel distinctione legis et gratiae*.

My purpose in setting forth this discussion has been to show as nearly as possible by concrete examples Augustine's conception of the practical distinction between dialectic and rhetoric.

¹ Augustine demonstrates the presence of dialectic in the Scriptures by citing passages in which the word *disputare* occurs; the argument is captious, but interesting as revealing the technical character of the word.

Some passages of the treatise of Cresconius were rhetoric (eloquentia), others were dialectic. Examples from Cresconius he does not give (and we can well enough spare them), but the superb specimen of St. Paul's eloquence, contrasted with the close objective argumentation of the other passages of Scripture which are designated as dialectic, makes it clear that from a linguistic point of view the distinction between the two forms of presentation is a distinction between two types of literary style. The theoretical principle of differentiation as explained by Augustine himself we shall examine presently.

The treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* deals with the method of interpretation and exposition of Christian doctrine.¹ It is a work of much interest for the personality of Augustine as well as for the history of Christian rhetoric, and deserves more thorough and historical interpretation than it has received.² The fourth book, which deals with the question of presentation or style, is perhaps of most general interest. A portion of it I shall here take up in which the doctrine of the three styles is applied to Christian eloquence.

In book II 41 (I cite by the smaller divisions of Migne) Augustine has reviewed briefly the value of the various disciplines for the Christian teacher. After a rather full discussion of dialectic (48-53), he turns briefly to rhetoric in 54: *sunt etiam quaedam praecepta uberius disputationis, quae iam eloquentia nominatur*. To these two arts the duty of the Christian orator corresponds (IV 6). If his auditors require instruction, by narrative or argument the necessary facts and conclusions are to be placed before them; but if they require that the knowledge which they already have shall be transmuted into action (*moveri*), then there is need of eloquence (*maioribus dicendi viribus opus est*³). The underlying distinction here is, it will be seen, the distinction between dialectic and rhetoric, and in the paragraphs which follow (7 and 8) the adverbs *sapienter* and *eloquenter* continue the same antithesis.

¹ I 1: *duae sunt res quibus nititur omnis tractatio Scripturarum: modus inveniendi quae intelligenda sunt (= books I-III) et modus proferendi quae intellecta sunt (= book IV).*

² The treatises of Ferd. Colincamp, *La Méthode Oratoire dans St. Augustin* (Diss. Paris 1848), and of A. Lezat, *De Oratore Christiano apud St. Aug.* (ib. 1871), are serviceable for a general introduction to the subject.

³ Ibid. extr. *Ibi observationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones et quaecumque alia valent ad commovendos animos sunt necessaria.*

Without following further the intervening argument, I pass now to 27, which introduces the three Ciceronian *officia oratoris*. Dixit ergo quidam eloquens et verum dixit ita dicere debere eloquentem ut doceat ut delectet ut flectat. The relationship of these three functions is defined with reference to the distinction drawn in II 55 between dialectic and rhetoric: horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in *rebus* est constituta quæ dicimus; reliqua duo, in *modo* quo dicimus.¹ That is, of the three functions of the orator, *docere* falls in the province of the dialectician, *delectare* and *movere* of the rhetorician. The first per se may wholly disregard form if only the speaker conveys his thought to the mind of another (si vero intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit). But the auditor is not always patient to listen, nor, though he knows the truth, is he always moved to carry it into effect: sicut est autem ut teneatur ad audiendum delectandus auditor, ita flectendus ut moveatur ad agendum (27 extr.).

To these three functions correspond the three styles, the relation of which to the *officia oratoris* is described in words adapted from Cicero (34 extr.): is erit eloquens qui ut doceat poterit parva submissee, ut delectet modica temperate, ut flectat magna granditer dicere. In explanation of the words *parva submissee* Augustine digresses (35) to point out that the Christian preacher has always to do with great subject-matter, lest the words of Cicero should mislead; but though his theme is always great, yet it must not always be treated in the grand style: for where there is need of *instruction*, even in great matters, the style should be plain and subdued (38 init.). For example, the explanation of the unity of the Trinity requires careful discussion (*disputatione*) in order that a difficult subject may be apprehended as clearly as possible: here is no place for the ornaments of style, but only for explanation and demonstration (38).

In 39 Augustine passes over to a more detailed characterization of the three styles on the basis of examples chosen from Holy Scripture. The *dictio submissa* is first illustrated with passages drawn from the third and fourth chapters of Paul to the Galatians. They are typical specimens of the close logical manner of St. Paul, exactly similar to the kind of discussions which Augustine said in his reply to Cresconius show the presence of dialectic in

¹ See the formulation of this distinction in the *de Dialectica*, p. 283 below.

the sacred writings (see above p. 277). The characteristics of the examples chosen are explained by intercalated observations. The first is more narrative and didactic, the second argumentative, and as it proceeds it clears the ground by the anticipation of objections or difficulties which might occur to the reader. The strict dialectical character of the style is commented on as follows: *pertinet ergo ad docendi curam non solum aperire clausa et nodos solvere quaestionum, sed etiam dum hoc agitur, aliis quaestionibus, quae fortassis inciderint, ne id quod dicimus improbetur per illas aut refellatur, occurrere.*

It will be seen from the examples cited and from the characterizing words of Augustine that the dictio submissa is scarcely what we should call a simple style (*λόγος ἀφελής*), nor would it, I think, occur to the modern reader to instance passages of close reasoning in Paul's Epistles as examples of such a style. One might have looked more naturally for some simple narrative from the Gospels. But in fact not only here, but also in the specimens given from Cyprian and Ambrosius the characteristic traits are argumentative and are designated as such.¹ Indeed this style is conceived of by Augustine as the instrument for the most involved and intricate discussion (39 extr.): *fit autem ut cum incidentes quaestioni aliae quaestiones, et aliae rursus incidentibus incidentes pertractantur atque solvuntur, in eam longitudinem ratiocinationis extendatur intentio, ut nisi memoria plurimum valeat atque vigeat, ad caput unde agebatur disputator redire non possit.* It is in short, as the examples and the words of characterization show (*quaestio, ratiocinatio, disputator*), dialectic itself looked at from the linguistic side or, in other words, conceived of as style. The description of Augustine contains not a few allusions to or reminiscences of Cicero's treatment of the same style in the Orator. In general however the dialectical character of the style, which we found implied in some of Cicero's terms and especially in his choice of an example (his oration pro Caecina), is more strongly emphasized.²

¹ Cf. 45 (On a passage from Cyprian): *iam solvere incipiens propositam quaestionem.* 44 (Ambrosius de Spiritu Sancto): *res suscepta . . . rerum documenta desiderat.*

² This may be seen very well by comparison of the following passages, Orator 79: *acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae*; and Augustine 56: *plerumque autem dictio ipsa submissa, dum solvit difficillimas quaestiones et inopinata manifestatione demonstrat, dum sententias acutissimas de nescio quibus quasi cavernis, unde non sperabatur, eruit et ostendit.*

In contrast to the genus *summissum* stand the other two styles, the genus *medium* and the genus *grande*, corresponding to the contrasted functions of the orator: (1) *docere* and (2) *delectare* and *movere*. The first of these has to do with the matter of eloquence, the other two with the manner (above p. 279). As the plain style is thought of as the stylistic aspect of dialectic, so the other two styles are in reality but two aspects or phases of rhetoric looked at from the standpoint of style. For rhetoric is fundamentally conceived of as the art of effecting an emotional transport (*ψυχαγωγία*)¹ which shall take the place of intellectual persuasion. Its ends may be accomplished roughly speaking in either of two ways: (1) by language relying for effect chiefly upon the vivid and emotional conception of the thought (*σχήματα τῆς διανοίας*), or (2) by the more subtle and sensuous elements of sound and rhythm *σχήματα τῆς λέξεως*.² In a rough way Demosthenes may be instanced as an example of the former type, Isocrates of the latter. With the first of these methods the grand style is identified (*movere*), with the second the middle (*delectare*). Like Cicero, Augustine attaches most importance to the grand style, which together with the plain style affords the Christian orator his essential instruments. These two styles and recognition of their aim (*quod efficere intendunt*) are especially necessary for those *qui sapienter et eloquenter volunt dicere*. Examples of the grand style, well chosen and effective, from the Epistles of Paul are presented in 42, of which the first (II Cor. 6, 2-11) is the same as was adduced in the polemic against Cresconius to show the presence of rhetoric in the sacred writings. As in the treatise *De Dialectica*, to which we shall presently turn, the demand is made that the dialectician shall lend color and grace to disputation by rhetorical means, and that on the other hand the rhetorician shall use the bones and sinews of dialectic for the framework of his utterances, so in each of the three styles Augustine demands that some qualities of the other two shall be

¹ Plato Phaedrus 271 D: ἐπειδὴ λόγον δύναμις τυγχάνει ψυχαγωγία οὖσα. Cf. the interesting paper of Hirzel, *Über das Rhetorische und seine Bedeutung bei Plato*, Leipzig, 1871.

² The relation of these two methods to each other is well defined in 42: *grande autem dicendi genus hoc maxime distat ab isto genere temperato, quod non tam verborum ornatibus comptum est, quam violentum animi affectibus. Nam capit etiam illa ornamenta paene omnia; sed ea si non habuerit, non requirit.*

present. The genus *submissum* for instance shall not only be listened to with understanding (*intelligenter*), but also with pleasure (*libenter*), and with persuasion which shall lead to action (*oboedienter*); *nolumus enim fastidiri etiam quod submissemus dicimus; ac per hoc volumus non solum intelligenter, verum etiam libenter audiri* (56). Enough has been presented to show that Augustine conceives of the genus *submissum* as the stylistic aspect of dialectic, the genus *medium* and the genus *grande* as two stylistic aspects of rhetoric.

But before leaving Augustine I would call attention to a portion of the treatise *De Dialectica*, in which is contained an explicit theory of the stylistic differences between dialectic and rhetoric, essentially identical with the relation which we have found to exist between the genus *submissum* and the two other styles as presented by Augustine. It harks back to the distinction between the *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and the *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους* of Theophrastus from which we started, and is, in fact, I believe, merely a Stoic development and systematization of that doctrine.

The ultimate differences are derived from the fundamental *vis verborum* (ch. VII):¹ *vis verbi est qua cognoscitur quantum valeat. valet autem tantum quantum movere audientem potest. Porro movet audientem*

aut secundum se
aut secundum id quod significat
aut ex utroque communiter.

I. The first division touches the sensuous or non-intellectual aspects of the word: *sed cum secundum se movet*

aut ad solum sensum pertinet
aut ad artem
aut ad utrumque.

Of these three divisions the first again receives a twofold subdivision: (1) *sensus* aut *natura* movetur aut *consuetudine*. (a) *Natura*—as when the ear is offended by the harshness of sound in 'Artaxerxes', or is soothed (*mulcetur*) by the liquid softness of

¹ The treatise was relegated to the *spuria* by the Benedictines, whom Migne follows, placing it in the appendix to vol. I and rendering it often quite unintelligible by careless printing. It is carefully edited and elucidated with valuable parallels by W. Crecelius, Elberfeld, 1857 (Program of the Gymnasium). It is perhaps best preserved in the famous codex Bernensis no. 363 and is therefore now accessible in the splendid Leyden series of photographic facsimiles.

'Euryalus'. (b) *Consuetudine*—as when the ear is offended or pleased by words which habit or convention has rendered disagreeable or pleasing. (2) The division *ad artem* is not perfectly clear, but it seems to cover the recognition of the grammatical form of the word, its rhythmical (metrical) value, or whatever else concerning words is taught *in arte*: it does not include the meaning or intellectual content of the word.

II. The second main division, *secundum id quod significat* looks purely to the meaning of words, without reference to the sensuous, associative, or emotional effect which they may derive from any of the preceding considerations: iam vero non secundum se sed secundum id quod significat verbum movet quando per aurem accepto signo animus nihil aliud quam rem ipsam in-tuetur, cuius illud signum est quod accepit: ut cum Augustino nominato nihil aliud quam ego ipse cogitor ab eo cui notus sum, vel qui alium novit qui Augustinus vocetur.

III. Both effects may be produced at once (ex utroque communiter): tunc et ipsa enuntiatio (= secundum se) et id quod ab ea enuntiatur (= secundum id quod significat) simul advertitur.

From this twofold nature of words are derived two aspects of language as a whole, the one looking purely to the expression of thought or meaning (*enuntiatum*), the other to an extra-intellectual effect of sensuous, associative, or emotional character dependent upon the form of expression itself (*enuntiatio*). The two points of view are designated as the characteristic (not exclusive) aspects of dialectic and rhetoric respectively: cum igitur tantam vim tamque multiplicem appareat esse verborum, quam breviter pro tempore summamque attigimus, duplex hinc consideratio [sensus] nascitur: partim propter explicandam veritatem, partim propter conservandum decorem; quorum primum ad dialecticum, secundum ad oratorem maxime pertinet. The features of language thus defined are unfortunately too often separated: quamvis enim nec disputationem deceat ineptam nec eloquentiam oporteat esse mendacem, tamen et in illa [sc. dialectica] saepe atque adeo paene semper audiendi delicias discendi cupido contemnit, et in hac [sc. eloquentia] imperitior multitudo quod ornate dicitur etiam vere dici arbitrat. The ideal is for each to borrow something from the characteristic (proprium) domain of the other: the two should be inseparably associated as are the bones and muscles (dialectic) in relation to the external beauty (rhetoric) of the human form: ergo cum appareat quid sit

uniuscuiusque proprium, manifestum est et disputatorem, si qua ei delectandi cura est rhetorico colore aspergendum et oratorem, si veritatem persuadere vult, dialecticis quasi nervis atque ossibus esse roborandum, quae ipsa natura in corporibus nostris nec firmitati virium subtrahere potuit nec oculorum offensioni patere permisit.¹

The interest and importance of this chapter of Augustine for our inquiry is not slight; for whatever may be thought to-day of its ultimate worth, it affords us a more sharply defined and explicit theory of the distinction of styles than is elsewhere to my knowledge preserved. It is the theory upon which his presentation of the three styles in the *De Doctrina Christiana* is based. For there the styles correspond to the *officia oratoris*; and of these the first—*docere*, in rebus est constitutum quas dicimus: the other two in modo quo dicimus (IV 27), a distinction identical with that drawn between the *content* of language (*enuntiatum*) and the *form* in which this is contained (*ipsa enuntiatio*).

It need scarcely be said that this analysis is not original with Augustine, but goes back to the source from which the whole treatise is drawn. That this source is Stoic and, at latest, contemporary with Varro, is certain.² But this Stoic source does not represent the actual origin of the ideas here advanced, but drew in turn from earlier Peripatetic speculations concerning the relation of language to thought and the consequent fundamental divisions of style. For the distinction here made between the *vis verbi secundum se*³ and *secundum id quod significat* is essentially no more than an abstract and scholastic version (looking to more universal applicability) of the Theophrastean doctrine of

¹ Cf. Quintilian, Prooem. 24 (referring to dialectic—*ratio docendi*): nam plerumque nudaē illae artes nimiae subtilitatis adfectione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius et omnem sucum ingenii bibunt et ossa detegunt: quae ut esse adstringi nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt.

² Varro is recognized as the probable source of the treatise by Wilmanns, de Varronis lib. gram. pp. 16-19. Reitzenstein, M. Ter. Varro (Leipz., 1901) p. 75, seeks to show that the treatise is an excerpt from *De Lingua Latina* I. Cf. also R. Schmidt, *Gram. Stoicorum* p. 26 ff., and Sandys, *Hist. of Cl. Scholarship*, p. 224, note 1. For some earlier allusions to the general doctrine see note, p. 285.

³ It need scarcely be said the doctrine is not confined to the single word, but extends to the whole artistic structure of language—figures, rhythm, periodicity, etc.

the λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους and the λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, from which we started.

We have seen that in Augustine's account the value of the word or form of speech *secundum se* is something independent of or superinduced upon the meaning or intellectual content itself; something which from its sensuous (*natura*) or associative (*consuetudine*) significance we may call in a general way its emotional power. It is from the same point of view that Theophrastus defines the nature of the λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους. For in the same way it takes into account only as one of two considerations the actual meaning conveyed to the listeners, οἷς καὶ σημαίνει τι. Its primary function and characteristic is to select words which shall be more impressive and beautiful (σεμνότερα) than the proper or common (κοινὰ καὶ δεδημευμένα) ones with which the thought itself might be most accurately expressed;¹ to weave these into such harmonious combinations (καὶ ταῦτα ἐναρμονίως συμπλέκειν) as to delight and sway the listener (ἡσαι καὶ ἐκπλήξαι), who is thus overmastered and does not demand intellectual persuasion (πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ χειρωθέντα [τὸν ἀκροατὴν] ἔχειν).²

The λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα on the other hand corresponds exactly to the doctrine set forth under the caption *secundum id quod significat*. Both points of view contemplate a use of language merely as a medium for the communication of thought (πράγματα, res): secundum id quod significat verbum movet quando per aurem accepto signo animus nihil aliud quam rem ipsam (αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα) intuetur, cuius illud signum est quod accipit.³ As in Augustine this function of language is employed

¹ Cf. Arist. Poetics, 22 init. cited p. 254.

² Cf. Augustine's similar comment, with the Stoic reprobation of such effect (l. c. 8 extr.): imperitior multitudo quod ornate dicitur etiam vere dici arbitrat. The Theophrastean designation πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους is suggested by Augustine's words *audiendi delicias* referring to the language of rhetoric, and by the constant appeal to the ear in the division *secundum se*.

³ The same point of view is contained in Quintilian VIII 2, 6: proprietas non ad nomen sed ad vim significandi refertur, nec *auditu* sed *intellectu* perpendenda est, with which compare especially Cic. de Or. III 150. Cf. Orat. 80: probatur in propriis usitatisque verbis quod aut *optime sonat* aut *rem maxime explanat*. There are many passages of this kind which call for more careful collection and comparison. Cf. Part. Orat. 17, and Quint. VIII 3, 16 ff. It is against such a background of more or less elaborate theory that the *res* of philosophy are contrasted with the *verba* of rhetoric (and grammar). Cic. Orat. 51: quod si in philosophia tantum interest quem ad modum dicas, ubi *res spectatur*, non *verba penduntur*, etc. Cf. Aristides (Spg. II 500, 27): ὅταν

propter explicandam veritatem and is therefore the peculiar instrument of the dialectician, so in Theophrastus the division πρὸς τὰ πράγματα will be the special concern of the philosopher (ὁ φιλόσοφος προηγουμένως ἐπιμελήσεται) refuting the false and setting forth the true (τό τε ψεῦδος διελέγχων καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποδεικνύς).

268 The identification of the style of elaborate and florid embellishment with the *genus medium* is one of the earliest distortions of this fundamental theory. It was recognized in antiquity as a distortion, and criticised in the words of Proclus cited above (p. 286, n. 5). Dismissing for the moment consideration of the reasons for this identification, let us note (as was suggested above p. 281) that in reality this conception of the *genus medium* is merely as one type of rhetorical style, co-ordinate with the emotional form which more and more usurped the designation of the grand style. The florid and embellished style is in no essential sense an intermediate stage between the other two, and indeed in stylistic elaboration it is furthest removed from the plain style. It is the Gorgianic rhetoric as developed by Isocrates and his school. Demetrius of Phaleron is Cicero's example of the type, and its *provenance* in general is correctly indicated by him in Orator 96: hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluxit in forum.¹ The anomaly of its designation as a middle style he suggests in the same place: spretum a subtilibus, repulsum a gravibus, in ea de qua loquor mediocritate consedit—that is, as one may infer, it took the only place that was left. In Cicero's theory this analysis of the rhetorical style into two forms corresponds to the two officia oratoris which he designates in the Orator as *delectare* and *movere*. As *docere* is the philosophical or dialectical feature of the orator's art (docendi necessitas in *rebus* est constituta) so the other two are its characteristically rhetorical aspects (reliqua duo in *modo* quo dicimus).² Both were contemplated in Theophrastus' λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους the function of which was to please

τις μὴ φιλοτιμῆται πρὸς τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπη. See also Seneca Epp. 100, 10 and 11, and especially Quint. VIII 3, 11–13 for the range of the *vis verbi secundum se*. For this latter phrase cf. Ammonius In Arist. de Interp. p. 65, 5 (Busse): οἱ τούτων (sc. ῥητορικὴ and ποιητικὴ) ἑκατέραν ἐπιτηδεύοντες περί τε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔχουσι, ῥήτορες μὲν τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς περιόδους καὶ τὰ σχήματα πολυπραγμονοῦντες, γραμματικοὶ δέ κτλ.

¹ With this compare the descriptions of the style of the sophists in Orat. 38 and 65.

² Aug. de Doctr. Chr. IV 27.

(ἔσαι) and to move (καταπλήξασθαι). The point of view is of the widest diffusion in ancient theory, but brief illustration of it will not perhaps be superfluous.

The elements are perhaps nowhere so sharply defined positively as they are indicated negatively in a definition of the stylistic error *κακοζηλία*, which Diomedes (451, 10) preserves: *haec fit aut nimio cultu aut nimio tumore*, a scheme of analysis which corresponds exactly to Cicero's division of the Asiatic rhetoric into two types (Brutus 325): *unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis. Aliud . . . non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque incitatum* (and a little later—*sententiarum venustas and orationis cursus*). Both make appeal to the emotions in the widest sense, the one primarily by ornateness of stylistic form (*cultus*), the other by vehemence and passion of conception and utterance (*tumor, vis*).¹

Both types reach far back into the history of rhetoric and in fact, perhaps, stand side by side at the very beginning of it, in the persons of Gorgias and Thrasymachus, if we may extricate the latter from the ill-fated association with Gorgias which is common in most of our later sources.² But the theoretical differentiation of the two rhetorical styles thus represented belongs apparently to a time subsequent to Theophrastus, when the fame of Demosthenes was beginning to encroach upon the long supremacy of Isocrates. It may have been suggested by the Aristotelian distinction between the *λέξις γραφική* and *ἀγωνιστική* as defined in Rhet. III 12. In such case the *λέξις γραφική* came early to be almost synonymous with *λέξις ἐπιδεικτική* (embracing history), which as Aristotle had said was *γραφικωτάτη*.³ But it seems to me more likely that it depends upon some theoretical division such as is hinted at in the fragment of Theophrastus.⁴ But however

¹ Cf. Augustine de Doctr. Chr. IV 42: *grande autem dicendi genus hoc maxime distat ab isto genere temperato, quod non tam verborum ornatibus comptum est, quam violentum animi affectibus. Nam capit etiam illa ornamenta paene omnia, sed ea si non habuerit non requirit.*

² This interpretation of Thrasymachus is based upon Plato, Phaedrus 267 C and is developed by Schwartz, De Thrasymacho Chalcedonio, Progr. Rostock, 1892.

³ In de Or. II 94 the pupils of Isocrates are *partim in pompa (ἐπιδεικτικοί)* *partim in acie (ἀγωνιστικοί)* *inlustres*. The same ones in Or. 40 are *partim in scribendo partim in dicendo principes*.

⁴ One is tempted to put in this connection the two goals of literary art which Dionysius defines in de Comp. 10, *ἡ τε ἡδονὴ καὶ τὸ καλόν*, making them the

we explain the origins of this distinction it is certain that at a later time the doctrine of the figures contributed most to the sharpness of definition of the two types: the *σχήματα λέξεως* characterizing the genus floridum, the *σχήματα διανοίας* the genus grande.¹ For the designation of the genus floridum as a middle style I have been able to find no cogent reason, unless it be with reference to delivery, where the smooth and relaxed (*ἀνειμένος*) tone might seem to place this style nearer to the conversational manner of the pragmatic style than to the vigor and tenseness (*σύντονος*) of the genus grande.

Concerning the Greek names for the stylistic characters, *ισχνός* and *ἀδρής*, which seem to be the most fixed and constant designations amidst a large variety of other terms, they are of course metaphors drawn from the human form. From the normal standpoint of Greek artistic feeling, as well as from the actual usage of the words, it would seem probable that *ισχνός* was originally a term of reproach or contempt set over against *ἀδρής* with its implication of praise or admiration. One might conjecture, in short, that *ισχνός* (*λόγος*) was originally the contemptuous designation with which the rhetorician spoke of the dry and meagre language of his rival the philosopher. It is at any rate true that the reproaches which the rhetoricians direct against the language of philosophy are of this character (*sermo tenuis, exsanguis, exilis, aridus*, etc.). Accordingly, *Dialectica in Martianus Capella* is *pallidior* (328) *femina contractionis corporis*

criterion for determination of the two forms of composition, the *σύνθεσις γλαφυρά* and *αὐστηρά*. The analysis of the qualities belonging to *ἡδονή* (ch. 11) reveals essentially the qualities of the middle style conceived of as a genus floridum; the qualities assigned to *τὸ καλόν* (ib.) are those which belong rather to the grand style—*μεγαλοπρέπεια, βάρος, σεμνολογία, ἀξίωμα*—though in the nature of things in a treatise de compositione the purely stylistic aspects of the matter predominate over the emotional features of the style. It is certain, however, that there is a relationship between Dionysius' two types of composition and the two forms of the grand style which are defined by Fortunatianus (R. L. M. p. 126): *ἀδρὸν uniforme est ? non ; nam est aut αὐστηρὸν aut ἀνθηρὸν*. It is the same analysis which Cicero gives in *Orator* 20, dividing the grand style into two forms: (1) *alii aspera tristi horrida oratione*, (2) *alii levi et structa et terminata*.

¹Cf. Cic. Or. 95: in idem (medium) genus orationis verborum cadunt lumina omnia, multa etiam sententiarum. The latter, however, belong essentially to the style of vehemence, and to their skilful use was attributed the superiority of Demosthenes (Or. 136 and Brutus 141).

(329), in contrast to Rhetorica, who is sublimissimi corporis (426), opimi oris (337).

There are of course many other special problems connected with our subject which call for explanation. But the limits of space here available forbid further discussion. The origin of the related faults of style (*παρεκβάσεις*)¹ I have explained in an earlier study by reference of them to the Peripatetic conception of the excess in relation to the mean of style. It was applied first only to language of rhetorical elaboration (*λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροαμένους*), and the transgression of the mean in the direction of excess is designated by Aristotle and Theophrastus as τὸ ψυχρόν, ψυχρότης. After the recognition of the plain and the middle (or other) styles it was transferred to them also.

The prevailing ideas concerning the characters are derived from Dionysius, who makes the middle style the most admirable. The point of view has seemed a natural Peripatetic one, in view of which the general designation in our other sources (Cicero, Quintilian, Demetrius, Ps.-Longinus, Augustine) of the grand style as pre-eminent has seemed remarkable and distorted. The difficulty, however, disappears when it becomes clear that our styles (whether three or more) represent a fundamental two-fold analysis, so that the pre-eminence awarded to the grand style is merely recognition of its original character as artistic prose, in contrast to language purely as a vehicle of thought.

The development of the idea of ornament in the plain style is perhaps the most important problem which we have left unexplained. It cannot be undertaken here, but, briefly indicated, it involves a study of the Stoic attitude toward style from its original protest against any other conception of language than as a servant of thought, to its gradual recognition of the psychological justification of considerations of a sensuous and emotional character.

One other point should be noted. As I have suggested above that the figures of language and of thought were an important factor in giving theoretical definition to two types of *rhetorical* style, so it should be pointed out that the simple enunciative form of language (*λόγος ἀποφαντικός*, which is *ἀσχηματισμένος*) is looked upon as the normal type of the *plain* style. Indeed, the significance of the figures, and especially of the figures of thought,

¹ The Peripatetic Mean of Style, etc. A. J. P. XXV (1904) p. 140.

for ancient theories of style can scarcely be exaggerated. Some phases of the subject I shall revert to at another time.

The styles are not originally thought of as types of individualism (*χαρακτήρες*), but rather as aspects of oratorical language as a whole, which in any ideal sense will combine with the language of emotion passages of exact reasoning and objective presentation. But as the one aspect would prevail over the other according to individual temperament and ability, so the elements of an abstract analysis of *λόγος* came to be looked upon as marks of individuality, that is, *χαρακτήρες*, and thus passed into the service of literary classification or criticism. This development is, in fact, attested by our record, since, as we have seen, in the earliest example of the developed doctrine of the style (the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) all three forms are thought of as an essential part of every stylistic product, and furthermore they are designated not as *χαρακτήρες* but as *σχήματα* (*figurae*). A perfect synthesis of the two elements of logical exactness and emotional effect would not naturally often be found. But Dionysius believed that such an embodiment of the two main aspects of style was to be found in Demosthenes, and to the synthesis of them he gives the name of the middle style. The interpretation was inspired by a superficial conception of the Peripatetic idea of the *μεσότης*,¹ but it was misleading and has been the chief source of the mistaken conceptions of the matter which now prevail.

The whole subject may be summarized by saying (with the qualifications which I have indicated in the preceding study) that the grand style is rhetoric itself in the original conception of it as an instrument of emotional transport (*ψυχαγωγία*), the plain style is dialectic, the middle style a *tertium quid* intermediate between them. The history of rhetoric has many modifications of this simple underlying conception to record, but the only one which need be recalled here is the fact that the rhetorical style was further differentiated into two forms, the one of stylistic finish and elaboration (*cultus*), the other of vehemence and passion (*vis*). From the recognized pre-eminence of Demosthenes the latter type more and more usurped the designation of the grand style, while the former came to be known as the middle style.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹ As I have explained before, A. J. P. XXV (1904) p. 145.

II.—A HARVARD MANUSCRIPT OF OVID, PALLADIUS AND TACITUS.

PART I.

A fifteenth century manuscript recently acquired by Harvard University deserves the attention of classical scholars, as it contains not only several unedited humanistic works, but also certain portions of Ovid, Palladius and Tacitus which exist only in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. In a previous article¹ I have published a collation of the Ovid text (Heroides XXI 1-144) with a partial description of the manuscript. The present paper contains a more detailed description, with collations of the Palladius and Tacitus texts.

The manuscript in question, numbered ~~L-25~~ 124 is of parchment, with page size 20.3 x 13 cm. It is written in what seems Italic script, with colored capitals and intitulations. The edges are gilt. The fifteenth-century binding consists of boards covered with leather, which is stamped with various patterns of Venetian style; on either side there are brass bosses at the center and the four corners. The manuscript, which was purchased by Harvard College in 1902 from the bookseller Quaritch, was formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips of Middle Hill and Cheltenham. A brief description in his *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum* of 1837, No. 6748, states that the volume was bought of the bookseller Payne. Various of Payne's catalogues of about that date make no mention of the volume: it is doubtful whether his description, if contained in some catalogue inaccessible to me, includes any item of value. In my former article, I have tried to date the manuscript between 1455 and 1471 (the year when the *editio princeps* of Ovid appeared) on the strength of the title of Ovid's letter given in the table of contents—OVIDII · VLTIMA · EPISTOLA · NOVITER · REPERTA · This dating, I need not add, is not thereby demonstrated: still, it is at least made highly probable. In the careful account in Quaritch's catalogue,² the

¹ Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc. XXXV (1904), p. 128.

² No. 211 (1902), p. 59.

manuscript is dated, I know not on what grounds, as about 1460. The most important fact omitted in Quaritch is that the volume includes two separate manuscripts; they are noted here as MS. I and MS. II. The contents of the volume are as follows:

fol. 1-4. Two *uniones*, added when MS. I and MS. II were combined. Fol. 1 is pasted to the cover. Fol. 4^v contains the following table of contents, written in capitals of the fifteenth century. The exact date, if I am right, is 1455-1471. Both MSS., naturally, were written before the date of binding.

IN · HOC · VOLUMINE · CONTINETVR · DECRETA ·
 ATHENIEN · NONNVLLA · | EPISTOLA · ESCHINIS ·
 AD ATHENIEN · | VIRGILII · VITA · A · LEONARDO ·
 AR^o · | ESCHINIS · DEMADIS · DEMOSTHEN · OROES ·
 | DEMOSTHENIS · EPISTOLA · AD · ALEX^v · | CORN ·
 TACIT · DE · ORIGINE · ET · SITV · GEMANIE · |
 BASILII · ORO · TRADVCTA · A LEON · AR^o · | XENO ·
 PHON · DE TYRANNO · A LEO · AR^o · | CÔMENTARIA ·
 IMP · RO · A · FR · PETRACHÂ · | PALLADIVS · DE
 ARTE · INSITIONIS · | OVIDII · EPISTOLA · NOVITER ·
 REPERTA · | PHILIPPI · REGIS · EPLA · AD · ATHE ·
 NIEN ·

MS. I.

This manuscript consists of a single septenion. It has 22 lines to the page. The text occupies 12.2 x 6.4 cm.

fol. 5. Rynucius Poggio suo Oratori Eximio | felicitatem (*in red*) Ille Rem optimam et sibi salutarem (fol. 18). At in uita nemini datur effugere fatum. (*One line blank*) FINIS.

fol. 18.^v Blank.

An unpublished letter of Rinucci da Castiglione to Poggio, with translations of the Athenian decrees contained in the De Corona of Demosthenes. The letter must have been written before 1459, when Poggio died; probably before 1453, when he left Rome; and possibly much earlier still, as he was studying Greek with Rinucci as early as 1425. See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des klass. Alterthums*, 1893, II, pp. 45, 84. The present copy might well have been made about the middle of the century.

MS. II.

This manuscript consists of ten quinions. It has 23 lines to the page; the text occupies 12.7 x 6.4 cm.

fol. 19. Rex Macedonum Philippus Atheniensium | Senatui
plebiq(ue) salutem: traducta p(er). leo(nardum) aretinu(m) |
(*in red*).

Quoniam persepe iam legatos misi (fol. 24) diis testibus
inuocatis pro rebus meis pugnabo.

Bruni's translation (unpublished) of Philip's letter to the Athenians=De-
mosth. ed. Dindorf-Blass 1892, I pp. 182-194.

fol. 24. Eschines atromiti. s(enatui). populoq(ue) athenien(si).
sal(utem) | (*in red*). (*One line blank*).

Ego me ad rem publicam contuli (fol. 26^v) magis q(uam)
Menalopo contra nos roganti annuere.

This is the translation, likewise unpublished, of Aeschines, Epist. XII ed.
Blass 1896, pp. 311-316.

fol. 26^v. Leonardi aretini in vitam virgilij excer | ptam ex
comentarijs Seruij gramatici | (*in red*) VIRGILIUS · MARO ·
MANTVANVS | parentibus modicis fuit (fol. 32) ad sacie-
tatem maliuolor(um) cederent.

fol. 32. Eschinis oratoris ad Athenienses oratio (*in red*) (*One
line blank*). Reminiscor athenienses Alexandrum hac in nostra
urbe (32^v) sibi supplicesq(ue) inuenerit.

This and the three pieces following I have been unable to find in the works
of the authors to whom they are ascribed. They bear the stamp of unintelli-
gent school-exercises—or possibly they are Bruni's own invention.

fol. 32^v. Demadis oratoris ad Athenienses contio (*in red*)
(*One line blank*). Admirans uehementer admiror Athenien(ses)
. . . . (fol. 33) consiliis uacu(am) facilius diripiat.

fol. 33. Demosthenis oratoris ad Athenienses contio (*in red*)
(*One line blank*). Apud nos in questione uerti uideo (fol.
33^v) ne similes simus Thebanis. (*One line blank*).

Demosthenis ad Alex(andru)m macedonie regem ep(istu)la |
(*in red*) (*One line blank*). ||

fol. 34. Nihil habet Rex Alexander uel fortuna tua maius
. (fol. 35^v) que hodierno die cum hec feceris consecuturus
es. Vale. (*One line blank*).

fol. 36. CORNELII · TACITI · EQVITIS · R^IO · | DE
ORIGINE ET SITV · GERMANIE | LIBER · INCIPIT ·
FELICITER · | (*in red*). Germania omnis (fol. 55) in
mediu(m) relinquam. (*two lines blank*).

fol. 55^v. Basilij oratio de studijs secularibus traducta | per Leonardum aretinum ad coluciu(m) salutatum | (*in red*). Ego tibi hu/// librum colucci (fol. 56) q(uae)so q(uan)ta grauitas sit.

Basilij oratio incipit traducta a leonardo are- | tino ad Colucium salutatum. uirum cL(arissimu)m. (*in red*). Multa sunt filii que hortantur (69^v nunc recta consilia aspernantes.

This is the earliest of Bruni's translations. See Voigt op. cit. II p. 164.

Incipit prohemium Xenophontis phy(losophi) de ui | ta Tyrannica traducti a Leonardo aretino | ad NicoLaum niccolum uirum doctissimu(m). (*in red*) (*One line blank*). XENOPHONTIS PHYLOSOPHI QUÆ- | dam libellum quem ego (fol. 71) nullo modo ausi sumus attingere. (*One line blank*).

Xenophontis de tyrannica uita liber incipit. (*in red*) (*One line blank*). CVM AD HYERONEM TIRANNV(M) | Symonides poeta (fol. 86^v) nemo tibi inuidebit. (*One line blank*).

This too belongs in the cycle of Bruni's early translations. See Voigt op. cit. II. 165.

fol. 86^v. Commentaria imp(eratorum) rom(anorum) a Iulio Caes(are) edita p(er) | Franciscum. petrarcham usq(ue) ad t(em)p(o)ra sua. (*in red*) (*One line blank*).

(O)PTAS CLARISSIME MARCHIO HE- | roicarum cultor uirtutum (fol. 108^v) nisi modicum occidentis. (*in red*) (*One line blank*).

This is Benevenutus de Rambaldis de Imola, *Liber Augustalis*, often appearing in collections of Petrarch's works, as in the Basel edition, 1581, pp. 516-530.

fol. 108^v. Palladij carmina de arte insitionis (*in red*) (*Two lines blank*).

(H) ABES · ALIVD · INDVLTE · FIDVCIE | testimonium (fol. 113) rusticitate lege. FINIS. (*One line blank*).

=Palladius, Opus Agriculturae, Book XIV.

fol. 113^v. CEDIPPE · ACONTIO HEROIDVM | OVIDII · VLTIMA · EPISTOLA. | Pertimui (fol. 116^v) legendus eras. (*14 lines blank*).

=Ovid, Heroides XXI 1-144.

fol. 117-118 *Blank*. Fol. 118^v pasted to the cover.

Palladius, Opus Agriculturae, XIV.

The most recent editor of Palladius, J. C. Schmitt (Leipzig, 1898), distinguishes three classes among the manuscripts of Book XIV, the metrical *De Insitione*. In the first and best class he places A (Vindobonensis 3198) and H (Vaticanus 5245): in the second D (Laurentianus LIII 15): in the third C (Laurentianus XLVII 24) and B (Vindobonensis 4772 saec. XVI init.). All of these are of the fifteenth century except B, and all are paper manuscripts except C, which is parchment.

Schmitt does not construct his text exclusively from AH. He recognizes that the correct reading is given by CB (with which D sometimes agrees) in several instances. For example, (I quote pages and lines from Schmitt's edition) 261, 11 *operam* for *opera*; 262, 20 *condemnabile* for *commendabile*; 264, 25 *premit* for *petunt*; 265, 18 *rubere* C for *rubore*. The title of the work, also, is doubtless preserved better in the manuscripts of the inferior family—best of all in C: PALLADII RUTILII TAURI AEMILIANI DE INSITIONE LIBER AD PASIPHILUM V. D.¹ At the same time there are traces of incorporated glosses in this class, such as 262, 16 *rustica* for *vilia* (cf. *rusticitate* in the foregoing verse): 267, 7 *mutare* for *variare*; 269, 3 *debitum* for *meritum*. An interpolation occurs in the unnecessary *potius*, 261, 11, a stupid blunder in *cetera* for *cerea* 267, 5, while *summo robore fissa capit* (for *sumunt robora fissa caput*) is an instance, it would appear, of violent and unintelligent emendation. In AH, on the other hand, I can find only one probable instance of an incorporated gloss, i. e. 265, 20 *poma* for *dona*. In the main, the mistakes in this class seem due simply to carelessness: e. g. 264, 7 *steriles pinguis* for *sterilis pingues*; 266, 14 *terret* for *terrent*; 268, 18 *permulant* for *permutat*. *Semina* for *aemula*, 266, 11, and *petunt* for *premit*, 264, 25 are more serious errors, but do not seem the result of emendation. *Commendabile* for *condemnabile*, 262, 20 might be accounted an intentional correction, were it not possible to trace the mistake to the recollection of *commendas* in verse 16. I think, therefore, that Schmitt is quite right in recognizing in AH the safer tradition and following their authority in cases subject to no other

¹ See Usener, *Anecdota Holderi* 1877, pp. 9, 15 and *Jahrbücher f. klass. Philologie*, Supplementbd. XXVI (1901) p. 446 ff.

criterion ; for example, 260, 10 *servorum*, not *famulorum* ; 267, 8 *sodali*, not *sorori* ; 269, 17 *lege*, not *leges*.

Codex D stands midway between the two classes. The writer possibly had before him just such a glossed manuscript as that from which CB were copied, but selected from the variants with greater discrimination ; or, more probably, it is the offspring of a manuscript of the AH class, more closely related to H than to A, and revised from a codex of the CB type. D has value chiefly in corroborating certain readings in H. It has no independent significance, and should not be considered as the representative of a distinct class. There are really only two classes among the manuscripts used by Schmitt—AH and CB. To Schmitt belongs the credit of discovering the former and better class ; previous editors happened to follow the inferior manuscripts.

A glance at the appended collation will show that the Harvard codex¹ belongs with the better family of manuscripts. What now of its relation to the other representatives of this class ? A comparison of the readings reveals a striking kinship with A, a result that might be prophesied from external features of the two texts. For as shown in the previous article, in both manuscripts the Palladius is preceded by Ovid, *Heroides* XXI 1-144, where again the texts are closely related. Now as A lacks of the *De Insitione* the introductory letters to Pasiphilus (261-263, 34), it could not have been the direct source of P. As P lacks the heading *DE SILIQUA* (267, 3) and part of the superscription of the Ovid text,² and presents peculiar mistakes³ which do not appear in A, A was not copied from P. They descend, then, from a common archetype. H represents a different branch, from which D also derives ; but the testimony of D can not help much in establishing this group, since its text has borrowed so extensively from the CB family.⁴

A comparison of the two divisions of the better class shows that it would be arbitrary to give the palm of pre-eminence to either one of them. For, to neglect for the moment the readings which the united manuscripts of the better family have against the inferior, we find that AP offers the following probable errors in common. I give, first, the correct reading, contained, unless

¹ I will refer to the manuscript as P(*hilippicus*) in discussing the Palladius text, to avoid confusion with Schmitt's H.

² Transactions. Op. cit. p. 133.

³ See below p. 297.

⁴ See below, p. 298, for their common mistakes.

otherwise stated, in H (D), and then the erroneous form in AP. First, the titles should be noted. The form in H, *Palladij Rutilij Tauri aemiliani ad Pastellum de Insitione Liber*, in spite of the mistake in the proper name and its position before, not after, the names of the work, is nearer to the correct form as found in C¹ than is *Palladii Rutilii Tauri de Insitione Liber* A or *Palladij carmina de arte insitionis* P. The other errors are 263, 23 *figuntur*] *finguntur*; 24 *fissa*] *fixa*; 264, 24 *pug-nacibus*] *pugnantibus*; 265, 21 *paret*] *pares*; 23 *sudibus*] *suibus*; 27 *pruno*] *primo*; 266, 18 *pasturi*] *palustri*; 268, 2 *curua*] *cutru* A *cura* (*citra* ?) P; 19 *docet*] *decet* A *decet* (?)¹ P; 20 *in modi-cam*] *Immodicam*; 269, 2 *amygdaleos*] *amigdaleos*—twelve in all. To this list A adds ten more contributions 263, 21 *nam*] *hanc*; 22 *credita*] *credite*; 25 *tumoris*] *tumores*; 28 *Bacchi*] *bachi* H;² 264, 1 *uitis*] *uiris*; *genus*] *gemis*; *uiuida*] *inuidia*; 265, 17 *Baccho*] *bacho* H; 266, 18 *redolentia*] *reddentia*; 268, 6 *cydonea*] *cicodena*. P's mistakes, likewise ten in number, are 262, 1 *diu*] *dici*; *pudorem meum*] *pudore meum*; 5 *nugis*] *magis*; 7 *oculos*] *oculus*; 264, 6 *feros*] *ferox*; 11 *commodat*] *commodum*; 16 *mitescere*] *nilescere*; 265, 13 *distendere*] *descendere*; 266, 16] *non et*] *monet*; 267, 3 DE SILIQUA] *om.*; 268, 2 *suos* A] *suo*⁴ H. It will be noted that four of the mistakes in P occur in the prose introduction, which is lacking in A. With these deducted, then, P has fewer mistakes than A; they are, however, of a somewhat more serious character. We cannot, therefore, on this ground, place either manuscript before the other. The distinct superiority of the Harvard Codex is, however, apparent from the fact that it contains the introductory letters to Pasiphilus. With the help of P, we may now confidently introduce into the opening sections various readings from H, which Schmitt, with the material at his disposal, evidently did not think it safe to adopt: e. g. 260, 6 *opus* <*tibi*>; 11 omit *potius*; 262, 6 *quaerat* for *quaeret*; 8 *quaedam sunt* for *sunt quaedam*. P likewise sub-

¹ See above, p. 295.

² I am uncertain whether the manuscript reads *decet* or *docet*.

³ I assume that this easy error recurs in H independently, not as a bequest from a common tradition.

⁴ The archetype of the better class might have had *suor* (perhaps at the end of the line), so that again we have independent mistakes in P and H, or the latter's archetype (cf. *sua* in D).

stantiates, I believe, one of the readings of the inferior class, 261, 9 *scio*.¹

Turning now to H, we notice, with the help of D, certain mistakes contained in their archetype, namely, 261, 9 *scio*] *extimo*: 266, 6 *aspernata*] *spernata*; probably 268, 2 *suos*] *suo*²; 21 *odore feras*] *odoriferas*; 269, 2 *pistacia*] *pistachia*. H alone has the following seventeen: 262, the insertion of *Argumentum* before the poetry; 10 *Pasiphile*] *Passigle*; 263, 2 *onusta*] *honusta*; 28 *Bacchi*] *bachi*³; 264, 3 *onusta*] *honusta*; 16 *quin*] *quid*; 27 *decore*] *decere*; 265, 6 DE MALO] *De Pomo*⁴; 17 *Baccho*] *bacho*⁵; 266, 3 DE CYDONEO] *De Fulua cidonea*⁶; 268, 10 *adoptiuus*] *adoptiuus*; 12 *gemmis*] *geminis*; 15 DE AMYGDALO] *De Amingdalo* (AMIGDALO A amigdalo P); 23 *mirari*] *miraci*; 269, 1 DE PISTACIIS] *De Pistachis*; 2 *amygdaleos*] *amingdaleos* (*amig-doleos* AP); 8 *liquore uigent*] *uigore uigent*. Doubtless, if a manuscript could be produced as nearly related to H as D is, but one presenting a purer text, it would be found that several of the above mistakes are not peculiar to H, but descend from the archetype. All told, the amount of error in this group, determined as well as may be from H and D, is almost exactly equal to the individual mistakes of either A or B plus their common errors, though compared with either one of these manuscripts, H presents a somewhat less serious array of defects. But the errors of the archetype of A and P, which through the help of the Harvard manuscript we can now reconstruct, cannot be proved to be more weighty—or less weighty—than those of the archetype of HD from the material at our disposal. A new codex of the HD group would settle this question, about which

¹*Existimo*, given by Schmitt, is well-nigh unintelligible, and especially awkward with *aestimo* immediately preceding. *Aestimo* may well have been an attempted correction, written as a gloss on *extimo*, the corrupted form of *existimo*; the gloss was incorporated and thus forced out *scio*. *Maligne existimo* makes a clausula more in the author's manner than *maligne | destitimo*. I would read, then: *maligne existimo. Scio*.

²See above, p. 297, n. 4.

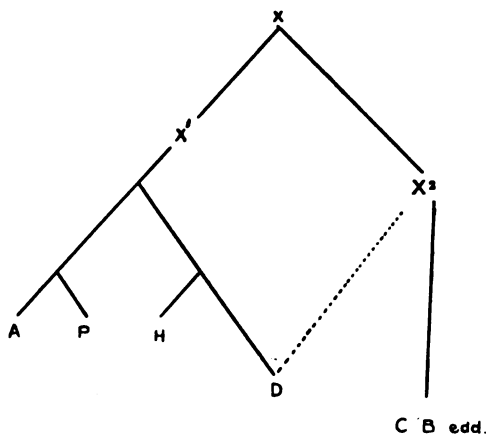
³See above, p. 297, n. 3.

⁴The reading of D, *De malo Seu Pomo*, indicates that the archetype of HD, like that of AP, had DE MALO, D having added to this, as usual, the reading of the inferior class, or found the gloss already in its original, as P must have done.

⁵D appears to have added *malo* from the title in the inferior class, DE MALO CYDONEO, and inserted it in the wrong place—*De Cydomo malo*. The peculiar variant in H, therefore, is an idiosyncrasy.

it is unprofitable to speculate now. At present we may state only that the two groups in the superior class are about on a par in their deviations from the correct text, and are both important for its reconstruction.

As for the Harvard manuscript, then, it is of present service in making plain the above facts, and in showing the need of several corrections of Schmitt's text of the introductory prose letter. While one may not claim for it pre-eminence over all the manuscripts of the *De Insitione*, it is certainly superior to A, and with A constitutes one of the two equal groups which make up the better class of manuscripts. The results we have then found may be represented by the following *stemma*. I have not attempted a further analysis of C and B or the early editions.



*Collation of the Harvard Manuscript with Schmitt's
Edition of Palladius, Book XIV.*

Title] Palladij carmina de arte insitionis (*in red*).

Schmitt,
p. 261. 5 Habes] ABES
indultae] INDVLTE (ae
always written e)
6 opus de arte] opus tibi de
arte
9 numquam] nunq(am)
existimo] scio
11 operam eius] eius opera
262. 1 diu] dici
pudorem] pudore
2 feci] fecit
8 ad has modo] modo ad has

Schmitt,
p. 262. 4 quaeret] querat
adfectio] affectio
5 nugis] magis
6 existimare] extimare
7 oculos] oculus
8 sunt quaedam] quedam
s(un)t
9 compendia] compendi
17 adfectu] affectu
socij] soti
20 condemnabile] commenda-
bile

Schmitt,

- p. 202 23 thalami] talami
specie] spetie
23 suboli] soboli
utrimque] utring(ue)
24 adfinibus] affnibus
26 foederibus] federibus (oe
always written e)
268. 3 sidera] sydera
19 species] speties
23 figuntur] finguntur
24 fisa] fixa
27 DE VITE] (*in red*)
30 gemmis] gemis
implicat] implicat
264. 4 DE OLIVA] De oliua.
(*In red. The remaining
titles are in red minus-
cules.*)
6 feros] ferox
7 sterilis pingues] steriles
pinguis
11 commodat] Commodum
16 phyllida] Phillida
mitescere] nitescere
20 inmissi] immissi
cydonea] cidonia
24 pugnacibus] pugnantibus
26 premit] petunt
26 libycis] libicis
265. 2 adsociata] associata
6 DE POMO] De malo
8 sociam] sotiam
13 distendere] descendere
16 Nymphis] nimphis
17 Thyrsigero] thiralgero
18 rubere] rubore
20 dona] poma

Schmitt,

- p. 205. 21 paret] pares
23 sudibus] suibus
27 pruno] primo
206. 1 phyllidis] phillidis
3 DE MALO CYDONEO] De
cydoneo
4 praestet] prestant
cydonea] cidonea
11 Aemula] Semina
12 admissio] amissio
14 terrent] terret
16 nonet] monet
18 pasturi] palustri
207. 1 fetus] foetus
3 DE SILIQA] *om.*
4 Adsuescunt] Assuescunt
16 commercia] commertia
19 fetus] foetus
24 terebinthus] therebindus
208. 1 suos] suo
3 curua] cura or citra (?)
6 adnexo] annexo
cydonea] cydonia
12 conpellit] compellit
15 DE AMYGDALO] De
amigdolo
16 Phyllis] Phillis
17 tegit] teget (*gerit erased*)
18 permutat] permittant
19 docet] docet or decet (?)
20 in modicam] Immodicam
209. 1 amygdaleos] amigdoleos
2 petunt] ferunt
3 terebinthus] therebintus
7 et] *om.*
14 Cetera, quae] Cetera q3
sollers] solers

PART II.

Tacitus' Germania.

Since the publication of Professor Abbott's careful study of the Toledo codex of the *Germania*,¹ the existence of a third class among the manuscripts of this work, distinct from X and Y can no longer be doubted. Various scholars had previously suspected the existence of such a class, and had called attention to manuscripts which seemed to derive from some source other than X and Y, but the evidence thus alleged has not appeared conclusive. Now, however, it is clear that the class E, of which the Toletanus is the most significant representative, is not only dis-

¹ The Toledo Manuscript of the *Germania* of Tacitus, in the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1903.

tinct from X and Y, but a better source than either. It avoids mistakes committed by one or the other of these classes, agreeing now with X, now with Y in preserving the true text. Wünsch's suggestion¹ that owing to the late date of the manuscript—1474—these good readings may be mere conjectures, is hardly justified, since they are to be found in either of the two classes. Moreover, since the Codex Venetus, written in 1464,² gives, as I shall try to show,³ a Y text revised from an E source, and since the archetype of this manuscript and the Parisinus presented the same peculiarity, the existence of the Class E is proved for a date at least ten years earlier than that of the Toletanus. One might postulate that the original of T, which is related in various ways to A was a manuscript of the X class corrected from a Y source, but in this case we should expect some traces of this contamination in a manuscript which otherwise preserves variants so carefully. Abbott's carefully reasoned conclusions on this point are decisive;⁴ they have been accepted by Wünsch, and, to my knowledge, by all other reviewers of Abbott's treatise. We need now a thorough scrutiny of all the manuscripts of the E class, to determine the characteristic errors of this tradition, and thus ascertain its exact value.

Fresh evidence on this point should not be expected from the Harvard manuscript;⁵ it has nothing to do with the class E. A glance at the appended collation, furthermore, will discover an astounding array of imperfections in its text. For all that, as I hope to show, the manuscript has an importance of its own.

*Collation of the Harvard Manuscript with Muellenhoff's
Text of the Germania.*

fol. 36. *Title*] CORNELII · TACITI · EQVITIS · R¹O |
DE ORIGINE ET SITU · GERMANIE | LIBER · INCIPIT
· FELICITER (*in red*).

¹ Berl. Phil. Woch. 1904, c. 876.

² Tagmann, De Taciti Germaniae Apparatu Critico, 1847, p. 21.

³ See below p. 316 ff.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 30.

⁵ For the Tacitus text I will refer to the manuscript as ϕ , since both H and P are needed for other codices.

- fol. 36 1, 1 Raetisque] rhetijs q3
 2 Danuvio] danuulo (*always*
u. not v)
 8 metu] meatu
 Oceanus] oceanus: *always*
oco.
 4 latos] lat
 6 Raeticarum] rateicarum
 7 praecipiti] precipiti (*ae*
always written e except
2, 15; 37, 21.)
 10 Abnobae] arnobe (*in r.*
margin at arbore)
 pluris] plures
 11 sex] se
 12 hauritur] haurit
 2, 6 aditur |
 fol. 36* 2, 6 porro] om.
 8 terris, asperam] terris.
 Asperam
 9 si] om.
 12 Tuisconem] Tyifoonem (*in*
left marg. at tirfonem
p tuifman (perhaps tu-
ifinan?)
 18 et] eius
 14 conditoresque] condito-
 risq3
 tris] tres
 Manno] Magno
 15 Ingaevones] ingaerones
 (*perhaps ingaevones*)
 16 Herminones] herminones
 Istaevones] inftenones
 2, 17 ut in] autem
 pluris] plures
 deo] deos
 plurisque] pluresq3
 18 appellationes, Marsos] ap-
 pellationes. Marsos
 Gambrilos] gambrinos
 Suebos] sueos
 19 Vandilos] uandilos
 21 additum] editum
 22 Tungri] totungri
 23 sint] ft
 24 evaluisse paulatim] eua-
 luisse. Paulatim
 omnes] omnis
 25 etiam] &
 3, 1 apud eos et] et apud eos
 2 omnium |
 fol. 37 3, 2 proelia] prelia (*oe always*
written e except 21, 1;
28, 7.)
 3 haec] huius
 4 barditum] bardium
 vocant, accendunt] uocant
 Accendere
 fol. 37 7 vocis] uoces
 videtur] videntur
 9 obiectis] om.
 10 Vlixen] ulixem
 12 terras] terre
 14 nominatumque :
 aram] nominatumq3 ///
 /// /// /// Aram
 17 et] om.
 18 Raetisque] rhetieq3
 4, 1 ipse] Item
 Germaniae] germanie ||
 2 conubis] connubis
 4, 8 patientia] potentia
 fol. 37* 10 assuerunt] assueuerunt
 5, 1 specie] spetie
 8 qua . . . qua] q . . . q
 Gallias] gallicas
 7 frontis: numero] frontis
 nu(mero)
 8 propitiine] propiti
 9 negaverint] negarint
 10 argentum aurumve] au-
 rum argentumue
 12 perinde] proinde
 videre] ualere
 13 argentea ||
 fol. 38 14 utilitate] utilitate
 15 commerciorum] comertio-
 rum
 18 simplicius] simplicitus
 21 sequuntur] secut²
 sed quia] sed &
 22 est promiscua] est. Pro-
 miscua
 23 mercantibus. ne] mercan-
 tibus ne
 6, 5 comminus] cominus
 8 vibrant, nudi] uibrant:
 Nudi
 10 distinguunt] distingunt ||
 fol. 38* 11 galea] galee
 13 gyros] giros
 16 aestimanti] extimati
 19 definitur] Diffinitur
 21 inter suos vocantur] uo-
 cantur inter suos
 23 dummodo] dum /// | rur-
 sus (*perhaps rursus*)
 24 concilium] consilium
 29 finierunt] finierunt
 7, 2 aut] &
 8 prompti ||
 fol. 39 4 praesunt] sumunt
 6 ne] nec
 8 imperante] imperitante
 10 fortitudinis] fortissimis
 11 nec] aut

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| fol. 30 | 15 laudatores] Ludatores 8, 1 proditur quasdam] proditur apud quasdam 4 comminus] protinus 5 efficacius] effociati 6 civitatum] ciuitatum fol. 30 ^v puellae quoque] puelleq; 7 nobiles] nobiles 9 negligunt] negligunt 10 Veledam] ueledum 11 Albrunam] aurimam <i>in left marg. at albrimā</i> 12 oompluris] complures 13 tamquam] tanq̃ 9, 2 humanis] hur nis hostile] hostias (<i>perhaps</i> hosticis) 8 Martem et Herculem] Herculem ac martem 4 Sueborum] sueuorum Isidi] ysidi 9, 4 unde] uñ 8 speciem] spetiem 11 illud] id 10, 2 frugiferae] frugiferi arbori] arboris fol. 40 8 de cisam 7 caelumque] deumq; 11 illud] id 12 hic] h aviu] ciuñ 13 equorum quoque] equoq; 14 publice] puc 16 rex] rerum 17 hinnitusque] hinnitus 19 sed] om. 22 exploratur] explorant gentis fol. 40 ^v 24 quemque] quenq; 11, 5 inchoatur luna aut impletur] impletur luna aut inchoatur 9 diem] dum 11, 9 illud] id 10 ut] om. 12 absumitur] assumitur turba] turbe 13 coercendi] coercendi 14 rex] rerum princeps] principes 17 displi] cuit fol. 41 18 aspernantur] aspernatur 12, 1 licet] licet et 4 ac] et 6 tamquam] tanq̃ 7 puniuntur] opinamur | fol. 41 8 poena] pena 10 regi] rei qui] om. vindicatur] iudicantur 13 singulis] singuli 12, 14 assunt] adsunt 13, 1 publicae] puc 2 nisi] nihil 4 tum in] tum cum in 5 propinqui] propinquus iuvenem] iuuenē fol. 41 ^v 6 haec] hoc 7 pars] par 8 merita] incilita 14 et principum] et emulatio p. principum, cui] p. Cui 16 semper] super 19 si numero] si in nño 21 muneribus] oibus 14, 8 infame] infamem infame in omnem vitam] in omne uitam infamem 5 facta] fcta fol. 42 6 praecipuum] principum 7 principes] princeps pugnant] pugnat 8 otio] ocio 14, 8 torpeat] torpent 10 tum] cum 11 ancipitia] auspicia 12 vi belloque] bello ulq; 13 tuentur] tuere liberalitate] libertate 14 frameam] farameam 18 expectare] expectare 19 mereri] metiri quin immo] qñ imo 20 iners] in eis acquirere] acquirere 15, 4 delegata] delicata 5 senibusque] infeniliam 6 habent] hnt naturae] nē fol. 42 ^v 11 finitimarum] finia gentium] generum 12 et] om. 13 phalerae] falera 16, 2 se] eos 4 nostrum] nñi 5 conexis] connexis 6 spatio] spacio 7 caementorum] tegmentorum 10 illinunt] illiniunt 11 lineamenta] liniamenta |
|---------|---|---|

- fol. 42^r 14 hiemis] hyemi
frugibus ||
- fol. 43 15 quando] qñ
17 ignorantur] i^grant^r
17, 3 distinguuntur] distingun-
tur
5 artus] ar- | ctus
6 neglegenter] negligentur
7 commercia] oomertia
10 nec] n̄
13 nudae] nudant
18, 1 quamquam] Quanq̄
nec] n̄
2 laudaveris] laudes
prope] ppe
4 libidine ||
- fol. 43^r 7 propinqui ac] propinqui
qui et
8 delicias] delitias
11 invicem ipsa] ipsa invicem
12 affert] offert
18, 12 maximum] max^m
arcana] archana
15 incipientis] om.
18 paratus equus] paratus
ephippus equus
hoc] *perhaps* hec
data] ~~da~~ data (*corr. by first*
hand)
19 pereundum] patrem
20 se quae] seq;
inviolata] imolata
19, 2 irrationibus] incitationi-
bus
4 gente] gēte ||
- fol. 44 7 omnen vicum] omnes viicos
verbere] urbis
8 non] nulla
10 enim] om.
et] nec
11 eae] he
15 ne ulla] nec ulla
cogitatio] cognatio
ne] nec
16 tamquam] tanq̄
19, 17 quemquam] quenq̄
20, 1 in haec] nihil
2 corpora quae] corporaq;
miramur] mirātur
quemque] quenq;
8 nec] nō
aut] non
4 educationis] educationum
5 delicias] delitias
dignoscas] agnoscas
inter eadem . . . virtus ag-
noscat] om.
7 eoque] cohiq;
- fol. 44 8 iuventa] iuventas
9 similis |
fole 44^r pares] partes
11 ad] om.
quidam] quiddam
12 artiolemque] artiolem-
que
hunc] hñ
18 in] om.
accipiendis] accipiundis
14 tamquam] tanq̄
et animum] & in animum
20, 18 quanto] om.
quo] tanto
19 gratiosior] generosior
21, 1 seu patris seu propinqui]
seu propinqui seu patris
8 etiam] om.
4 recipitque] recipit
7 convictibus] coniunctibus
gens] gens ē.
effusus . . . epulis exci-
pit] om.
10 defecere] deficit
12 non] om.
13 quantum] q̄
ad ||
- fol. 45 16 facilitas] facultas
17 vinclum] uictus
18 comitas] comis
22, 1 plerumque] plerunq;
2 calida] calida aqua
3 hiemis] hyemps
separatae] seperate
8 conviciis] conuiuijs
saepius] om.
9 sed et] sed
11 plerumque] plerunq;
12 tamquam] tanq̄
cogitationes] cognationes
14 non] nec
adhuc] ad hoc
18 dum ||
- fol. 45^r 23, 1 potui] potus
hordeo] ordeo
3 simplices] simplicis
24, 2 idem] idem *corr. by first*
hand.
4 quaestum] questu
5 tamen] om.
6 pretium] premium
spectantium] spe expec-
tantium
6 quod] quidem
mirere] inicere
seria] seua
11 quamvis . . . quamvis] quis
. . . quis

- fol. 45^r 12 ipsi] illi
13 condicionis] conditionis
commercia] comertia
14 tradunt] tradūt ||
- fol. 46 25, 1 discriptis] descriptis
2 ministeriis] in ministeriis
7 coercere] cohercere
11 dumtaxat] duntaxat
lis] his
- 26, 1 fenus] Foenus
8 invices] uicoi
6 praebent] prestant
7 labore] laborare
8 contendunt] cōtēdūt ||
- fol. 46^v 9 et] ut
hortos] ortos
11 species] spēs
hiems et ver] hyemps: uer
12 bona] borea
- 27, 1 funerum] Funerum ū
4 igni] igitur
7 et] ac
10 commune] comuni
omnium] oī
- 18 e] om.
- 28, 1 auctor] auctorum
4 quo minus] q̄ min ||
- fol. 47 6 diuisas] diuersas
9 ad huc] illuc
Bohaemi] borhenum
11 Aravisci] aranisci
abosis] abora
16 Nervii] Heruli
affectationem] affectionem
17 Germanicae] germanie
tamquam] tanq̄
20 Triboci] triborii
21 Nemetes] hemetes
ne Ubi] Nubij
22 meruerint] inuenerint
23 conditoris] conditores ⁱcorr.
by first hand.
- 25 ripam ||
- fol. 47^v 29, 1 Batavi] batani
3 Chattorum] chatorum
- 29, 3 populus] pplis
4 in eas] motus
5 fierent] fieret
et] om.
6 insigne nam] om.
nec] nec tam
7 oneribus] honoribus
8 collationibus] collocati-
onibus
10 Mattiacorum] mactiaco-
rum
11 populi Romani] p. r.
- fol. 47^r 14 Batavis] uatanis
15 ipso] ipse
- 30, 1 ultro] Vitro
Chatti] carti
ab ||
- fol. 48 Hercynio] hercinio
4 et] om.
Chattos] chatteos (*perhaps*
chacteos)
5 Hercynius] hercinius
- 30, 6 artus] arcus
9 intellegere] intelligere
10 differre] differentiae
disponere] om.
11 certa] cetera
12 nec] non
15 coplis] corijs
16 ire] ne
Chattos] chaetos
17 fortuita] fortuna
19 cunctatio] cunctatior
- 31, 1 raro] rara
2 Chattos] chaetos
4 submittere] summittere
caeso] caso
5 virtuti] uirtutis
7 pretia] ptia
rettulisse] retulisse
dignosque] v̄dignosq; (s
corr. to d by first hand.
8 ignavis] ignauit
11 Chattorum] chactorum
- fol. 48^v 31, 12 iamque] nāq;
13 suisque] suis
14 prima] premia
semper] super
15 vultu] cultu
17 quemque] quenq;
alieni] aiuni
18 contemptores] contemp-
tores
durae] durare
- 32, 1 proximi] Proxi |
Chattis] Chactis
2 Tencteri] Tenteri
3 Tencteri] Tentiri
4 Chattos] caetos
5 Tencteri] tenteris
7 perseverant senes] per-
seuerat. || Senes
- fol. 49 10 prout] ut
- 33, 1 Tencteros] tenteros
2 Chamavos] chamanos
Angrivarios] agrinarios
- 33, 6 sexaginta] lx
10 quando] qm̄ in
12 potest quam] postq̄

- fol. 49 84. 1 Angrivarios] agriuarios
Chamavos] chamatteos
Dulgubnii] dulceboni
2 cludunt] claudunt
allaeque] Heq3
3 Frisi] fusi
4 Frisia] fusis
ex] &
5 praetextuntur] pretereunt
6 insuper lacus] & super-
lacus
7 classibus] classib' ||
fol. 49 8 temptavimus] tentavimus
9 volgavit] vulgavit
10 quidquid] quicquid
11 in] om.
sanctiusque ac
reverentius] sanctius re-
uerenti'q3
14 visum] inuisis
35. 1 occidentem Germaniam]
germaniam occidentem
2 septentrionem] septem-
trionem
3 Chaucorum] caueorum
Frisia] frisais
5 optenditur] obtenditur
Chattos] chactos
6 spatium] spacium
7 inter] aut
9 malit] mauult
10 quieti secretique] secreti
quietiq3
11 populantur] appellantur
13 non] nō ||
fol. 50 15 et . . . Chaucorum] om.
36. 1 Chattorumque] chactor-
umq3
3 iucundius] iocundius
quia] q
4 impotentes] impotentes
5 nomina] noie
36. 5 ita qui] itaq3
6 boni] Boi
7 vocantur] uagantur
8 tracti] tacti
8 contermina] certamina
9 adversarum] adversarios
socii] soti
10 sunt cum] sⁱ hi cū
37. 1 sinum] situm
Cimbri] cymbri
4 ambitu] ambitū
6 sescentesimum] sexcente-
simū
quadagesimum] XL^m
7 Cimbrorum] cymbrorum
8 ac] &
consulibus] confs.
fol. 50 10 consulatum computemus]
computemus cōsulatū ||
ducenti] .cc.
decem] .x.
37. 13 damna] danna
15 Aracis] niasis
17 Pacoro] pacolo
infra] mafa
.delectus] derect
19 Gnaseoque] Marcoq3
Mallio] manilio
20 populo Romano] p. r.
21 trisque] tresque
Caesari] Caesaris
26 otium] ocium
27 etiam] &
28 ac rursus inde pulsi] ac
rursus pulsi: nā
38. 1 Suebis] Suevis so through-
out, Sueui Sueuorum
Sueuos
est] ē ||
fol. 51 2 Tencetorumve] tente-
corumve
3 Germaniae partem] par-
tem germanie
38. 3 optinent] obtinent
4 nominibusque] nobisq3
quamquam] q
commune] comuni
8 cognationis] cognationum
Sueborum] om.
9 imitatione] mutatione
11 sequuntur] seqūt
12 vertici] uertice
religatur] ne legant
et ornatiorem] korna-
torem
13 innoxia] inopie
15 comptius] compti in
ornantur] armantur
39. 1 vetustissimos se] uetustis-
simosq3
Semnones] semnone
3 stato] statuto
patrum] patrum
4 sacram] sacri
omnes] noie
eiusdem] eiusdemq3
5 caesoq3] cesosq3
homine] honore
39. 5 homine] honore
6 primordia] p^rimordia ||
7 nisi] ei
8 numinis] muneris
prae se ferens] proferens
12 omnium] a^rum
15 habitant] habitantur

- fol. 51^r 40, 1 Langobardos] Longobar-
dos
nobilitat] nobilitas
2 Reudigni] Rheudigni
3 ac] &
5 Nuthones] Nuthones (*per-
haps Huitones*)
7 commune] comune
Nerthum] Nehertū
8 eamque] eaq3
9 populi] pplos
10 eo] ea (?)
12 penetrali] pene- || trali
fol. 52 40, 12 intellegit] intelligit
14 quaecumque] quacunq3
17 nota] uota
amata] armata
18 satiatam] saciatā
21 arcanus] archanus
22 illud] id
23 perituri] parituri
41, 1 Sueborum] uerborum
2 propior] proprior
3 ante] añ
Hermundurorum] Nher-
mundororum
5 in] *om.*
commercium] comertium
6 Raetiae] rhetie
9 concu] p̄ piscentibus
fol. 52^r 10 Hermunduris] herundo-
ris
42, 1 Hermunduros] herundo-
ros
Varisti] nafoi (*corr. by
first hand*)
Marcomani] marcoe- | mani
43, 3 Boiis] bois
4 Varisti] uarisci
5 praecingitur] peragitur
1 usque] *om.*
7 manserunt] mansere
8 Marobodui] Marodemī
9 ex auctoritate] & ante
11 iuantur] priuantur
valent] ualent
43, 1 Marsigni] marsigini
Cotini] gotini
Osi Buri] osiburi
Marcomanorum] marco-
mannoꝝ
2 e] ex
3 Suebos] sueuos
Cotinos] Gotinos
4 Pannonica] pannonia
5 ut] aut
7 et] *om.*
9 insederunt] insiderunt
10 di] rimit
fol. 53 Suebiam] fueuam
continuum] continū
12 Lygiorum] lingorum
14 sufficet] sufficiat
Helvaeonas] elueconos
Helisios] helysios
15 Nahanarvalos] nabanarua-
los
Nahanarvalos] nabanarua-
los (?)
religionis] regionis
18 ea] eas
20 tamen, ut] tñ &
21 Harii] alii
22 truces] trucis
23 Lygios] ligios
Gotones] gothones
29 regnantur] regnant
31 deinde ||
fol. 53^r Rugi et Lemouii] rugii
lemouijq3
44, 1 ipso] ipe
Oceano] oceaneum
3 semper] asper
appulsui] appulsum
4 ministrant] ministrantur
9 parendi] pauendi
12 otiosae] ociosa
14 ne] neq3
45, 1 trans] Terras
immotum] inmotum
2 cludique] cludiq3
3 cadentis] cadens
4 ortum edurat] ortu sedu-
rat
sidera] sydera
hebetet ||
fol. 54 5 formasque] fortunaꝝ;
equorum] eorum
7 et] ut
fol. 54 45, 8 Suebio] sueuici
9 adluuntur] alluuntur
Sueborum] sueuorum
10 matrem] marte
11 insigne] insignem
formas] formam
12 omniumque] omnium
qui3
19 ratio] non
23 arborum esse] arboꝝ
24 intellegas] intelligas
25 plerumque] pleriq3
26 implicata ||
fol. 54^r 28 cluduntur] clauduntur
29 tura] thura
29 crediderim] credendū
30 vicini] ui cini
radiis] radius
31 ac] at

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| fol. 54 ^r | 32 succini] succini | fol. 54 ^r | 6 conubis] connubijs |
| | 33 igni] igne | | mixtis] mixtos |
| | 34 in] om. | | Sarmatarum] sarmatharum |
| fol. 54 ^r | 45, 35 resinamve] resinam ue | | 8 quidquid] qui |
| | 36 Sulonibus] Sui- uonibus | fol. 54 ^r | 46, 8 Peucinos] pencinnos |
| | 39 degenerant] degenerat | | Fennosque] fennosq3 |
| | 46, 1 hio]i | | 9 pererrant] pererant |
| | Suebiae] sueule | | 10 tamen] tñi |
| | finis] fines | fol. 55 | 11 figunt] fingunt |
| | Peucinatorum] Prucinatorum | | pedum] peditum |
| | Venetorumque] uenethorumq3 | | 16 sagittis] sagittis |
| | 2 Fennorum] fessimorum | | 19 imbriumque] imbrium |
| | ascribam] adscribam | | 23 inlaborare] illaborare |
| | 3 Peucini] prugini | | 27 Hellusios] ellusios |
| | quos]gtros | | 28 voltusque] uultusq3 |
| | Bastarnas] bastarnos | | |

Here are almost enough mistakes to preclude further perusal of this manuscript. *Opinamur* for *puniuntur* (12, 7), *tegmenorum* for *caementorum* (16, 7), *caseo* for *caeso* (31, 4), *asper* for *semper* (44, 3)—these are not encouraging signs. It is a minotaur of a text, sprung on the one side from genuine tradition, on the other from the abysmal stupidity of the scribe. Errors in seeing, errors in hearing, errors in resolving abbreviations, haplographies, dittographies, omissions, interpolations—all are present in sufficient abundance to illustrate an essay on the frailties of scribes in general. One would not expect so many offences from the copyist of the Harvard manuscript, who for the Ovid and especially the Palladius text has performed his task acceptably, and in fact very few of the errors are to be laid at his door.¹ The reader may have noticed already the intimate connection between ϕ and a small group of manuscripts noted by Massmann² and more recently by Wünsch³ and Müllenhoff.⁴ These scholars do not pronounce a very flattering estimate of this group: it has no special importance for the constitution of the text, says Wünsch, and is of only secondary value for the history of its transmission. Müllenhoff, too, dubs the readings of these manuscripts *abscheulich verwildert* and concludes that we may dispense with their testimony. I venture the assertion, which my readers

¹One orthographical peculiarity of our scribe may be noted, for it appears in the Ovid and Palladius texts as well—the almost unvarying practice of writing *e* for *ae* and *oe*. Like the writer of C, he is also inclined to *tanquam*, *plerumque*.

²In his edition, 1847, pp. 2, 15, 17 (on F, Rb, Rf).

³Hermes XXXII (1897, p. 55).

⁴Deutsche Altertumskunde IV, 1900, p. 84.

may hardly feel inclined to accept, that this group is of distinct importance for the text.

As collations of the manuscripts of this group are not at my disposal, and as doubt has been cast on the accuracy of Massmann's citations,¹ I shall have to consider ϕ as typical of them all. Judging by the readings given by Wünsch for the first five chapters, it would seem that the best of these manuscripts is the Laurentianus,² while ϕ forms a separate subdivision with the Urbinas and the Angelicus; here ϕ and the Urbinas show signs of kinship, while the Angelicus, which in this short space introduces a half-dozen original errors, bids fair to be the most mendacious witness to the text among all the manuscripts of the Germania. A careful collation of all these codices is needed to determine the character of their archetype, but for the present, ϕ will represent the class with substantial accuracy.

A multitude of errors in a manuscript need not discredit the authority of its good readings unless the text bears the marks of learned emendation—in fact their presence raises the presumption that such emendation has not been applied. If, further, we are so lucky as to find a kindred text in which most of the mistakes in the first manuscript are shown to be individual aberrations of the copyist, these may be discounted, and its good readings used to corroborate or correct the text of the related codex. Thus D is unhesitatingly employed by all critics of the Germania to constitute with C the class Y, though D has nearly as many individual errors (about 225) as ϕ itself (some 275) and was well described by Michaelis³ as *tamquam per somnum scriptum*.⁴ I have spoken of interpolations in ϕ . The number of entire words inserted is not large, though most of them will appear rather startling to the reader of the Germania. The most important instances are: 13, 4 tum <cum>, 14 et <emulatio> p(rincipum); 18, 8 paratus <ephippus> equus; 22, 2 calida <aqua>; 24, 6 voluntas <spe> expectantium; 36, 10 sunt <hi> cum. The nature of these interpolations is evident;

¹ See Abbott, op. cit., p. 38, n. 59. Reitzenstein, Philologus LVII (1898), p. 308, n. 4 takes a somewhat more favorable view.

² So Mühlenhoff. D. A. p. 83.

³ In his edition of Tacitus' Dialogus, p. xiii. He concludes that it is 'ut negligentem ita sincerum libri Y testem'.

⁴ See too Mühlenhoff's description, D. A., p. 67.

with the exception of the first and, possibly, the next to the¹ last instance, they are incorporated glosses which had meant to serve as explanations. In 13, 4, a variant reading is included (C has ^{cum}tum), and this may be true of 24, 6, since BT have spectantium and the Parisinus ^{† spec-}expectantium.² At any rate there is no sure sign that the text has been contaminated with that of other manuscripts. One need not resort to another class to explain such a variant as *cum* for *tum*, while *spe* may not be a variant but an explanatory gloss. Again the dozen examples of what seems emendation in ϕ need not detract from the authority of the good readings it may contain. At 1, 3 the scribe, not an adept in Tacitean sarcasm, changes metu to meatu; 8, 4, he alters cominus to protinus; 13, 8, he first takes merita to be incrita, and then changes this to a form he understands—inclita; 14, 3, he reads infamē (so S,) and then places the adjective after what he imagines to be its noun—in omnem vitam infamem; 19, 7, reading urbis for verbere, he finds a plural more appropriate for the preceding vicum—hence, per omnes vicos urbis;³ 32, 7, mispunctuating with a full stop after perseverant, he changes the verb to the singular to suit its new subject aemulatio; 34, 1, finding the outlandish Dulgitubini, or Dulcubini, unpleasant to the taste, he sweetens it into the liquid and thoroughly Italian dulciboni—the barbarian Germans have become courtly gentlemen of the Renaissance, καλοκάγαθοί.

These are the scribe's worst offences in the way of misimproving, and they are enough, taking his other weaknesses into account, to discredit any new reading which seemed plausible in itself, for it might be sheer accident, the combination of lucky mistakes. But there is no reason for doubting the testimony of ϕ for a reading supported by other manuscripts. First, then, we may inquire as to the class in which the little group represented by ϕ belongs.⁴

¹ Cases of pure stupidity are 8, 1 proditur <apud>; 21, 7 gens <ē>; 29, 6 nec <tam>—the last perhaps due to the corruption and misplacement of the preceding nam.

² Or does Wunsch mean that the entire word spectantium is written above?

³ The reading of RbF as reported by Massmann, uicum urbem points to an abbreviation as the source of this mistake, which was then falsely emended by ϕ .

⁴ My citations are from Müllenhoff's text, though I refer to the MSS in the more usual fashion as A, B, C, D. Müllenhoff's ungainly symbols undergo so many transformations in his later treatise that one may dispense with them

Clearly the Harvard manuscript is not a member of the E family. Of the readings given by Abbott, p. 38, and Müllenhoff, p. 79, as typical of this class, not one appears in ϕ . Certain coincidences with errors in T or other members of the class should perhaps be mentioned, though they hardly appear significant. They are: 2, 17 deo e^3 ρ R de] deos ϕ T (*written above*) S; 7, 6 ne verberare] nec verberare ϕ neque uerberare T e^3 etc. VM; 11, 12 absumitur e^3 etc.] assumitur ϕ M cf. V assumit T; 30, 6 artus AB] arctus T e^3 ϕ arcus CD (Abbott, p. 29, believes arctus the reading of the archetype); 38, 4 commune e^3] comuni ϕ comuni T; 39, 3 stato e^3] statuto ϕ HM (stato *in margin*) T; 4 eiusdem] eiusdemq; ϕ Te ρ Rd BMS, HV; 46, 16 sagittis e^3] sagiptis ϕ T. The last coincidence would be significant if there were demonstrable connections elsewhere between ϕ and T; it is obvious, however, that the Harvard manuscript has no kinship with the class E.

Just as obvious is its affinity with the Y group. Turning to Abbott's lists of characteristic differences between X and Y (pp. 25-28), we find that in 63 out of 103¹ instances ϕ agrees with Y. The list includes these mistakes—I add the readings of T for contrast. 5, 8 propitiine T] propitii; 12 perinde TB $\overset{1}{\text{pro}}$ perinde A]

altogether. Of the manuscripts discussed in the present article I have seen none except the Harvard codex. For ABCD I depend on Müllenhoff, with Abbott's corrections; for E, on Abbott's collation of T, Roediger's of e^3 (Deutsche Alterthumsk. IV, p. 691 ff.) and Reitzenstein's notes on ρ , Rd Re (Philologus LVII (1898), p. 307). Professor Minton Warren has kindly examined for me a few readings in Rb and Rd. Statements as to the other manuscripts I take from Wünsch's dissertation, De Taciti Germaniae Codicibus Germanicis, 1893 (= Diss.) and his article in Hermes XXXII (1897), p. 42 (= Herm.). For readings that I find implied, but not directly stated in these various articles, I print the symbol of the manuscript in italics—except for ABCDT.

¹ I leave out of account the following cases: 3, 9 obiectis; here ϕ omits whatever word its original had. 13, 14 principum cui; here the punctuation p. Cui suggests the reading of C, principium. Cui. 20, 3 aut] AB ac CDT non ϕ . 35, 9 malit] CDT maluit A malit (*corr. ex malint*) B mauult ϕ . 37, 19 Gnaeoque] Marcoquoque *sive* Marcoque A Marcoquoque B Marcoque T ϕ miquoque D. M. (i. e. Marco) C. I am inclined to believe that the archetype of Y had Marcoque (as in T ϕ) and that D in miquoque records a mere error in hearing; C has M(arco) but has omitted que. This makes the distinctive feature of X the dittography Marcoquoque, which A supplements with Marcoque as variant. Both readings may well have stood in the archetype. 43, 15 Nahanarvalos] naharualos ABT nacharualos CD nabanarualos (nahanarualos?) ϕ .

proinde CD ϕ ; 7, 2 aut T] ac; 10, 17 hinnitusque T] hinnitus; 13, 5 propinqui T] propinquus; 22, 9 sed et T] sed; 26, 3 in vices¹ cf. AT inuicem B] uices C uices D uicos ϕ ; 28, 1 auctor autor AB] auctorum TCD ϕ ; 31, 15 vultu² cf. T] cultu; 33, 10 urgentibus] urgentibus iam ABT in urgentibus CD ϕ ; 34, 3 Frisii T] frisi; 40, 3 ac T] et; 45, 4 ortum]³ ortus T; 46, 11 figunt] fingunt T.

Besides the above instances, the following criteria, omitted for various reasons by Abbott, may be noticed here. A star indicates the reading adopted by Müllenhoff in his edition.

6. 14 coniuncto* T ϕ (cuncto *in marg.*) A cuncto BHVMS
(cōiucto s.s. C2) C concto D
12, 7 flagicia A flagia T supplicia B *flagitia CD ϕ
13, 9 dignitatem A B *dignationem TCD ϕ
21, 10 defecere *ABT defecer& D defecerit C deficit ϕ
14 poposcerunt A poposceris (?) B *poposcerit TCD ϕ
30, 12 romanę* B romane A ϕ rōe T rōe D ratione CB (Müllenhoff, D. A. p. 411)
31, 16 rura B (*corr. to cura?*) A *cura TCD ϕ
34, 4 frisiis* AB frisis TCD fisis ϕ
38, 4 q̄ AT quā e⁴ q̄ ϕ quam⁵ B *quamquam (q̄; q̄;) CD
43, 15 religionis* (regionis *in marg.*) T regionis C D ϕ
45, 32 exundant* AB ϕ exudant D exsudent TC
46, 11 pecudum AB peditum TCB ϕ om. D *pedum *conj. by Lipsius*⁶

In this supplementary list of 12 instances, ϕ agrees with Y in 8, including mistakes at 21, 10; 34, 4; 43, 15; 46, 11. Taking, then, all our material into account, we find agreement between ϕ and Y at 71 out of 115 critical points, including 18 mistakes.

¹ If uicis is right (Waitz, Furneaux), CD and ϕ are nearer to the truth than ABT. Vicos is to be classed, at any rate, with the readings of C and D.

² Cultu is accepted by Furneaux, but whether right or wrong, is characteristic of Y.

³ Müllenhoff D. A. p. 505 and Schwyzler recognize ortus as the right reading; but again it is distinctive of Y as against X.

⁴ An examination of the orthography of the manuscript points to the same conclusion, though in this matter statistics should be used with caution. Omitting cases of *ae* and *œ*, which are regularly written *e* in ϕ , and adding to Abbott's list, p. 32, n. 48, the following instances, 27, 4 adicietur ABT adjicetur C *adicetur D ϕ ; 34, 13 tentavit AC tētavit B *temptavit D ϕ ; 37, 6 sescentessimus* AB sexcentessimus CT ϕ secentessimus D, we find that ϕ agrees with Y in 26 out of 37 cases, including 12 mistakes.

Of the two representatives of the Y family, D is more closely connected with ϕ than C is, though it cannot be proved to have exerted a direct influence on ϕ . Neglecting minor coincidences, we may note the following: 2, 23 sint C] sut D r' ϕ S: 25 etiam *om.* TC & D ϕ VMS; 10, 13 equorum quoque C] equorūq; D equorūq; ϕ ; 15, 12 sed et CABT] sed D ϕ ; 20, 2 miramur C] mirantur D ϕ S; 27, 4 igni C] igitur D ϕ ; 28, 6 divisas C] diversas D ϕ B; 28, 17 Germanicae] germanici C germaniē D germanie ϕ M; 36, 1 Chaucorum C] *om.* D et . . . quiescentibus Chaucorum *om.* ϕ ; 37, 17 deiectus C] directus D ϕ S; 38, 13 innoxia] innoxie C inopie D ϕ S; 39, 8 prae se ferens C] pro se ferens D *cf.* proferens ϕ ; 42, 6 Quadisque usque C] usque *om.* D ϕ . These readings, it will be observed, are either found in other manuscripts as well, or due to simple scribal mistake. Thus in 10, 13; 15, 12; 42, 6 haplography is evident, and at 27, 4 an abbreviation is incorrectly resolved in either manuscript. With C, ϕ agrees in certain spellings, such as tanquam 12, 6 etc., queneque 20, 2 etc., and in these insignificant mistakes: 21, 16 facilitas D] facultas C ϕ P; 37, 21 Caesari D] Caesaris C Cesaris ϕ V; 39, 3 patrum SV] patrium ABD patruum C ϕ . While, therefore, ϕ is identified with the class Y, and stands nearer to D than to C, it does not show the immediate influence of either manuscript.

We have placed ϕ in the class Y and excluded it from E. Our proof must be completed by the demonstration that ϕ is not of the class X. This appears from a study of the errors of that class, some fifty according to Abbott's statement.¹ Of these the following appear in ϕ :

37, 1 situm ABTe³ ϕ *sinum CD VSP finū M

8 et ABTe³ ϕ *ac CDVMS

38, 4 \bar{q} ATquā e³ \bar{q} ϕ quam²¹ B *quam quam (\bar{q} ; \bar{q} ;) CDVMS

42, 7 mansere ABTe³ ϕ HVMS *manserunt CD

44, 1 ipse ATe³ ϕ HP ipsae B *ipso (i \bar{p} o) CDVMS

occeanum ABM occeanum Te³ VMS *occeano CDHB³

In two of these six cases, it may be after all that the reading of X is correct. At 37, 8 Schwyzer prefers et, and at 42, 7 Müllenhoff, D. A. p. 480, adopts the amply attested mansere; and supposing either reading correct, it will not be rash to call the other

¹ Op. cit. pp. 28-30.

² ϕ agrees with X in the following orthographical errors, which hardly need discussion: 14, 8 ocio; 37, 25 ocium.

reading an independent mistake in whatever manuscript it occurred. As for the other four mistakes, inasmuch as they occur not only in X but in the class E, which, as we have seen, is distinct from ϕ , we may safely assume either spontaneous errors in all three classes, or faulty variants transmitted from their common archetype. At 38, 4 any scribe might have been guilty of an haplography with $\tilde{q} \tilde{q}$ before him; the writer of B has emended such an error into *quamvis*. At 44, 1 more than one copyist might have forced *ipso* into agreement with the preceding civitates, while *oceanum* and *situm* are doubtless mistakes of the archetype or of the first apographum.¹

It thus appears that there is no direct connection between ϕ and the mistakes of X. If this is true of the entire class, we can argue a fortiori that it is true of either of the manuscripts in this class; and, in fact, I can find no coincidence whatsoever between ϕ and the peculiarities of either A or B. In contrast, we may glance once more at the far more numerous and significant errors common to ϕ and Y. The above evidence, I believe, warrants the conclusion that the archetype of ϕ and the other manuscripts of its group is a member of the class Y, and not of either X or E.

What shall we say, then, of the correct readings preserved by ϕ X and, in most cases, E but not found in either C or D? The list, which includes 35 cases, is as follows:²

3, 13 *hodieque* H *VMS*] *hodie*

4, 2 *populos* *VMS*] *populis*

5 *quamquam* BT ϕ *quaq*; S $\bar{q} \bar{q}$ (al. *tanq̄ in marg.*) A $\hat{q} \hat{q}$
V₁] *tamq̄* M

¹ In case E and AB have no derived archetype in common, but go back independently to the first apographum (Abbott p. 41 regards either development as possible) we are bound to assume independent mistakes, or else variants in the apographum. If, on the other hand, E and AB are different branches of one tradition from the apographum, their own archetype doubtless contained the errors. Then the question arises as to a possible connection between ϕ and their archetype. But since none of the other errors common to X and E and none of their individual errors appear in ϕ , we may safely infer that the only significant cases here (37, 1 *situm*, 44, 1 *oceanum*) go back to variants (corrected mistakes) in the original apographum.

² The correct reading—that in Müllenhoff's edition—stands first, is always found in AB ϕ , and unless otherwise stated, in T. The incorrect reading is always found in CD. We have already seen that two possible errors of X (37, 8 *et* and 42, 7 *mansere*) are just as possibly correct. They might properly be included in the present list.

- 5, 7 eaeque Veeque TB eeque AφH heeq3 S] eatque C eātque
D atq3 M
- 6, 14 coniuncto Tφβφ (cuncto *in marg.*) A] cuncto BHVMS
(cōiuncto ss. C₂)C concto D
- 16 aestimanti ABMS estimanti V extimanti T extimati φ]¹
existimanti
- 8, 3 precum] p̄eco
- 11, 3 pertractentur] praetractentur CV (p̄ to p̄tractētur) D
- 12, 1 concilium MS] consilium S₂
- 13, 13 primus] primum C p^m D
- 14, 2 adaequare AB adequare TφHVMS] equare CD
- 18, 11 aliquid] id D á C
- 12 hoc] hēc
- 19, 9 invenerit ABφHV invenit T inven'it M invenitur S]
inuenit
- 25, 6 exequantur] exequantur
- 28, 13 commigraverint] comigraverunt
- 29, 3 populus ABε²HV pp̄ts φ] populis T
- 30, 12 romanae H romanę B romane AφV] rōe T rōe D ratione
Cβε²
- 19 propior ABTφ proprior S (-pior H₂) H] propiora VM
- 33, 11 nihil ABTφ nichil M michil (nihil *corr.* S₂) S] nil
- 34, 1 Angriuarios AT angrinarios B augrivarios M
augrinarios S agriuarios φ] anguiarios D anguari¹os C
- 35, 5 obtenditur ATφVS obtendit M optenditur B] obtendere
6 sinuetur ABφMS (sinat̃ *in marg.*) THV] sinatur
- 13 assequuntur ABTφ assequūtur M adsequunt̃ V] asse-
quantur S
- 40, 9 populi ABT pp̄tos φ] propriis
- 41, 7 passim HV] passim et
- 43, 1 Osi Buri ABT (Siburi *in marg.*) H (Siburi *in marg.*
V₂) V (al. Siburi *in marg.* S₂) S osiburi φM] Osi Burii
- 2 Quadorumque MS] om. HV q̄dorumque
- 44, 4 frontem MS₂] fronte S
- 8 non M] nec CD nisi (non *corr.* S₂) S
- 45, 5 formasque HVMS fortunāq3 φ] formas
- 19 gignat HV] gignit

¹ See Abbott p. 25. I include this reading here, and likewise 34, 1; 39, 3; 40, 9; 43, 1; 45, 5, since φ although in some aspect erroneous in these places, avoids the particular mistake committed by CD.

32 exundant] exudant D exsudant TC

37 differunt S differt T] differuntur CDH differunt (~del.
V,) V differunt M

46, 28 corpora MSV] et corpora T e^a CD.¹

How are we to explain this array of good readings? The general answer would be that they are the result of contamination, they were copied from X into a Y text. This is the method by which Wünsch has reduced to the ranks the Hummelianus, the Vindobonensis, the Monacensis, the Stuttgartiensis, the Parisinus—yes, the Harvard manuscript is already thrown out of the count along with that nestful of corrupt copies which Müllenhoff, too, considers of no value for the construction of the text.

If ϕ presents a contaminated text, it should bear some of the marks of contamination. B is an example of a text in process of contamination; in this manuscript a number of readings, cited by Müllenhoff as β , have been written in from a manuscript of the Y class. If a copy of B in its present state had been made in the fifteenth century, it would doubtless offer a contaminated text, now retaining the variants of β as glosses, now substituting them for the original text, now transforming that text into a gloss. In the Parisinus we find this process completed; we see illustrated here all the grades of alteration which we have imagined would appear in a copy of B + β . The manuscript is surely contaminated, as Wünsch declares it to be. The archetype of P and its companion codex, the Venetus, was a manuscript of the Y class, strikingly similar to D at many points. Wünsch¹ cites enough of them to prove his case; the reader may compare also the following coincidences in error. 12, 5 palude] plaude D p. aude (*a letter erased after p and l added after a by a later hand*) P; 22, 9 reconciliandis] reconciliatis DP Ven.; inimicis] inimicitijs DP Ven.; 28, 20 Triboci] treboci DP Ven.; 35, 12 virium] virium p̄cipuum DP Ven.; 40, 17 tunc] item DP Ven.; 43, 25 feralis] ferti-

¹ In the following 13 instances, ϕ agreeing with X corrects the orthography of CD. Again I have omitted cases of *ae* and *oe*. 9, 10 consecrant] consacrant; 16, 13 onerant] honerant; 25, 5 officia] offitia T; 27, 4 equus] equis T equus Ce² eq D; 30, 8 sollertiae A sollertie ϕ] solertiae BT; 33, 1 Tencteros ABT tenteros ϕ] thencteros D thenctēros C; 34, 13 sanctiusque ABT sanctius ϕ] santiusque; 43, 1 marcomanorum ABT marcomanno ϕ ϕ] Marchomannorum; 45, 8 litore] littore; hostis] hostes; 18 litore] littore AT; 23 sucum A] succum TB; 32 litora B] littora AT.

² Herm. p. 53.

lis DP; 44, 10 in] neque DPVen.¹ In spite of this striking concordance, the archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus was in all probability not copied from D, since the following mistakes and omissions in D—I select a few from the opening chapters—apparently do not occur in those manuscripts.² 2, 5 orbe] ore D; 13 conditoresque] conditorisque P Ven. conditoris D; 15 e] *om.* D; 5, 4 ferax] *om.* D; 7 eaeque] eātq. D; 6, 20 centeni (centerni P) . . . numerus] *om.* D. This archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus, thus closely akin to D, but not copied from it, was then engrafted with various readings from a codex of E (not as Wünsch says AB) family.

This situation is plain, first, from a number of E variants that appear as glosses above the text on the margin of P and Ven. Examples are: 13, 4 vel pater vel propinqui A B] ut ipsi (ipsi e³) ut propinqui (vel p̄t *added in margin* T^a) T uel pater uel propinquus CD (al. uel ipsi propinqui *in margin*) P (uel ipsi uel propinqui *in margin*) Ven. 18, 19 sic vivendum, sic pereundum³ B (al. sic uiuentes sic parientes *in margin*) P sic uiuentes (viuētes e³) sic parientes (pariētes e³) T; 22, 1 e somno CD (al. enim) P] enim somno AB (al. e) Ven. N somno T enī sompno e³; 24, 6 spectantium BT] expectantium ACD (l. spec- *above the line*) P; 38, 13 innoxia] inopię D ϕ (innoxie *in margin*) P Ven. innoxiae e³ innoxie ABTC. It will be noticed that some of these variants agree with the text of AB: Wünsch was justified from the material at his disposal in regarding the class X as the source of the inserted readings. But now that Abbott's study of the Toletanus has made clear the main characteristics of the E class, we can see at a glance that all the above variants might have come from E, and that some of them, as 13, 4; 18, 19, could not have come from any other source. We may logically, therefore, call them all E variants.

¹ The above list is proof positive that the archetype of CD was written in or before 1464, the date of the Venetus.

² It may be asserted that these deficiencies were corrected from the E manuscript. But the revision was by no means thorough-going. It failed to remedy such cardinal defects of CD as 3, 13 hodie; 6, 16 existimanti; 10, 17 hinnitus; 12, 1 consilium; 14, 2 equare; 30, 6 arcus; 38, 12 ligant; 41, 7 passim et.

³ We now have the form pereundum proved for the class Y. The various mistakes at this point go back to some rather unusual abbreviation in the archetype or the apographum.

Let us consider now a more violent sort of contamination. At 22, 1, it will be observed that while the E reading *enim* appears merely as a variant in the Parisinus, it has been substituted in the text of the Venetus for *e*, which latter is degraded to the secondary position above the line. The same interchange is illustrated in both manuscripts at 39, 14 corpore] CD tempore *in margin*] T *cf.* AB tempore (corpore *in margin*) P Ven., while at 28, 25 collocati] ACD ϕ (conlocati) B collati Te³ (collocati *in margin*) P collocati (collati *in margin*) Ven. the transposition has been made in P but not in the Venetus.

Finally, at certain places the new reading has ousted the old for good and all. Such are 5, 21 affectione CD ϕ] affectatione TAB affectacione e³ P; 6, 12 variare ACD ϕ] uarietate BP Ven. T (r added above t III) e³; 11, 10 nec ut iussi ABCD] ne iniussi T nec iniussi e³ P nec iniussu Ven.: 18, 19 denuntiant BCD ϕ denunciant A] renuptiant (?) T renunctiät e³ renuntiant P Ven.; 25, 6 verberare ABCD] Verberant T Verberät e³ uerberare (al. rant *in margin*) P verbere (erare, erant *in margin*) Ven.; 37, 17 obiecerit ABC] obicit D obiecerüt e³ obiecerunt TP Ven.

We may now review the process which the above facts clearly present. A manuscript of the CD type, closely akin to D but not copied from it, was provided with a set of variants from some codex of the E family. Two copies of such an improved text were independently made,¹ possibly a third—a manuscript of Cesena—² in which the variants were subjected to all the different treatments which one would imagine a priori possible, the two copies differing, naturally, at various points in their method of treatment. The resulting texts lie before us to-day in the Venetus and the Parisinus. As the former was written in 1464, the archetype of CD and that of the E manuscripts must date at least as early as that year.

Here then we have a patent instance of what a contaminated text is like. Does the above description, I ask, correspond to what we find in the Harvard manuscript? Certainly no scholar of the Renaissance revised the text of ϕ . It contains, as we have noted, several emendations, but these do not proceed from a learned brain; they are the kind the scribe makes when he drops asleep. They are not dangerous emendations—they will never be adopted by an editor. What indications are there that the text has been revised from one of the other classes? We have

¹ See Wünsch, *Hermes* p. 54.

² *Ibid.*

noted that not an error which can positively be called peculiar to either X or E appears in ϕ . This is an all-important point. Wünsch¹ in his analysis of HVM and S, finds the fact suspicious that these codices "choose" from AB and CD precisely the readings that a scholar would choose to-day—the good ones. But, leaving these codices out of consideration for the moment, we should certainly expect to find a few mistakes taken over, if the Harvard manuscript were revised in this fashion. Abbott² finding the same phenomena in T, draws the different conclusion that "it is inconceivable that a copyist or a scholar of the fifteenth century should have been able to choose correctly between two different readings in 80% of the cases before him". If this argument holds for T, it ought to hold for any manuscript presenting the same conditions. At least we should expect a few clear instances of inserted error in ϕ , such as we find even among the not extensive array of readings added by β to B from a CD source.³ Those are 15, 6 hebent, mira diversitate] habent (BMV (*corr.* V); hnt C ϕ) mira^m diversitate^m β ; 28, 6 divisas] diversas β D ϕ ; 28, 11 Aravisci] aranisci β ϕ ; 39, 12 parentia] patentia β .⁴ Error is still more noticeable in the variants selected for the archetype of the Parisinus and the Venetus. Mistakes are found in all but two of the thirteen altered passages quoted above, and others may be gleaned from Wünsch's collation. In contrast with such texts as these, the Harvard manuscript presents not one of the errors peculiar to either X or E.

Something may be learned from a perusal of the variants given in ϕ or postulated by its text for its archetype. It is agreed on all hands that the ancient archetype or its first copy contained variant readings which account for some of the diversities in the existing manuscripts. Abbott gives a table (p. 33) showing the chief variants preserved by AB and T, and regards the tendency to retain such variants as one of the special excellencies of T. Now there are obviously two kinds of variants, one resulting from

¹ Diss. p. 120.

² Op. cit. p. 30. Cf. also Reitzenstein, op. cit. pp. 313, 316.

³ Mullenhoff, D. A. p. 64.

⁴ Mullenhoff *ibid.* prefers to call 15, 6 and 39, 12 emendations. 15, 6 is clearly such, not so certain is the other case, while 28, 6 and 28, 11 came plainly from the CD text. In fact, the emendation at 15, 6 may have been already in β 's original, since *habent* which appears in various manuscripts, may well have been there.

the preservation of the archetype's reading,¹ the other due to contamination between two branches of descendants from the archetype. The former is illustrated by T and A, the latter by P and Ven. Let us examine, then, the character of the variants in ϕ .

We may note, first of all, that certain of the good readings in ϕ not given by CD² may be due to the preservation of variants neglected by those manuscripts. The following are cases in point: 4, 5 *quamquam*. Here S and ϕ take the correct, but CDM the incorrect variant. V, also, follows the mistaken form, but V₂, a manuscript of the same character as the archetype of V,³ adds *quamquam*. At 6, 14, only AT ϕ and β are correct, the testimony of the last source being important, as it assists ϕ in proving the right reading for Y. The incorrect variant *cuncto*, reported by A, is followed by all the other manuscripts, appearing as *concto* in D. At 35, 6, CD again take the incorrect variant *sinatur*, ϕ has the correct *sinuetur* with ABMS, while THV preserve the double form from the archetype. There remain three important cases which I have not yet cited. The first is 39, 1 Semnonnes H Semnone ϕ Semones (Sennones *written in the margin* II Semnonnes *written above the line* III) e³ (Semnonnes *in m.*) TV (-nonnes *corr.* S₂) S († Señones *above the line* (A señones B Semones CD (Semores *erased*) M. Here the incorrect form in ABCD derives from the wrong variant. The right form is given by HS, III₂, and (the essential part) by ϕ , while TV have retained the double reading. A noticed it, but made a mistake in copying it (cf. II₂), while it is hard to say whether B intended to insert the superscribed *m* or to substitute it for *n*. Another significant reading is 40, 5 Suardones $\phi\beta$ H: Suarines ABCD⁴ (Suardones *in m.*) TV suarmes seu suardones (suardones *in m.* S₂) S Smarines M. The unquestionably right reading Suardones doubtless accompanied Suarines in the archetype,⁵ but ABCD all select the wrong variant. ϕ is correct with H, S₂ (a manuscript of the HV type⁶) and β , here again an important source for Y, while TVS give the double reading. Lastly, we may compare 45, 8: Sueuici ϕ S (suionici *in m.*) β Seuici BM (Sueuici *in m.*)

¹ Some of these doubtless were not in the archetype, but merely in the first copy of the archetype, the readings of which at various points had been first misunderstood and then corrected.

² See the list at p. 314, above.

³ See Wünsch, Diss., p. 74 f.

⁴ Müllenhoff, D. A., p. 85 f.; Abbott, p. 36; Reitzenstein, p. 314.

⁵ See Wünsch, Diss. p. 109.

T Saeuici (sueuici *written above the line* III) e¹ († sueuici *above the line* B (suevici *in m.*) V Saeuici D († sueuici *ss.* C,) C. No manuscript has the correct Suebici, but ϕ , S, C, and, again, β have sueuici, BMCD seuici (*or* saeuici) and TAV the double set. Incidentally, if this practise is virtue in T and A, why not in V and S as well? To turn now from the assuredly correct readings, various of the mistakes, or doubtful readings in ϕ not found in CD, become clear if the testimony of the variants in T and A be invoked. Compare Abbott's tables (p. 33) and collation for the following cases: 26, 7 laborare; 36, 9 aduersarios; 38, 16 armantur—which may be correct;¹ 39, 3 statuto; 4 noī; 41, 2 proprior HVM; 45, 5 eorum. This last, according to Müllenhoff,² is the reading of the ancient manuscript, while deorum is merely a conjecture of its discoverer.

The above readings, both false and true, owe their existence in ϕ to variants in the archetype or its first copy. Now let us consider the variants in ϕ itself. There are only three of them, all in the same hand as the text. 1, 10 Abnobae] arnobe (at arbone *in m.*) ϕ cf. AT; 2, 12 Tuisconem] Tyisconem (at tisonem ρ tuisman [tuisinan?]) ϕ cf. A; 8, 11 Albrunam (aurimā [at albrimā]) ϕ cf. AT. This, then, is the character of the variants in ϕ . They fall short of the number preserved in A and T, but several readings in ϕ are derived from these latter, while the variants present accord with those in A and T. At 2, 12 ϕ gives three forms for the proper name, whereas A has but one variant and T none at all. Those are not the kind of double readings that we have noted in the Venetus and the Parisinus.

If, now, the reader will glance at the list of good readings not in CD but preserved in ϕ ,³ he will observe that with a very few exceptions those which accord with AB are likewise found in T. The only exceptions⁴ are:

- 29, 3 populus AB ϕ Rd e¹] populis TCD
- 45, 32 exundant AB ϕ Rd e¹] exundant D exsulant TC
- 46, 28 corpora AB ϕ] et corpora T Rd e¹ CD

The first two of these readings contain easy slips that might well have occurred independently, and the testimony of e², which

¹ See Reitzenstein, p. 316, n. 10.

² Op. cit., p. 69.

³ Above, p. 46.

⁴ On 30, 12, which might possibly be considered here, see below, p. 59.

we may safely infer from Roediger's careful collation, and o Rd, verified by Professor Warren, proves that they did. The third case in view of the concurrent testimony of T, e² and Rd, can hardly belong in the category of spontaneous error. But since, with this exception, a manuscript of the E class might have contained all the good readings considered in our list at p. 314, it is just as reasonable to look for their source in E as in X. To which source shall we turn? Doubtless to neither. Doubtless not to their common archetype—in case there existed an intermediate link between X and E and the apographum.¹ Inasmuch as ϕ shows no significant concordance with the characteristic mistakes of either class, and as its variants reveal no trace of contamination, strict logic forces the conclusion that its good readings come not from X or from E, *but from the archetype of Y.*

Another glance at the list of these readings will reveal the fact that most of those not already discussed are of a very simple character—populis for populos, excitatio for exercitatio, exequantur for exequuntur—blunders that occur in the best of texts. More serious mistakes are 5, 7 eaeque] eatque C (confusion of e and t) eâtque D (an attempt to emend this slip); 8, 3 precum] præco; 14, 2 adaequare] equare (possibly ad was written above the line); 18, 11 aliquid] á C id D (apparently the original had an unusual abbreviation for aliquid); at 30, 12 the archetype must have read romanae, it seems to me, despite Müllenhoff's later views². The apographum may have abbreviated rõe, possibly with the fuller form added above the line, on second thought, for the sake of clearness. Whether this was done or not, a scribe of the fifteenth century could expand rõe into romane or ratione at will. I may add here three cases of error in CD which have not concerned us before. The first in 34, 2 Chasuarij ϕ HMS] Thasuarii A Te³ tasuarii B Chasudrii D occasuarii C. Here the correct form Chasuarii passed down in ϕ HMS, D making an easy confusion of a and d, hence Chasudrii, while C prefixes a syllable—possibly for ac, an incorporated mistake for the preceding et. AB and T either independently mistake c for t—a perfectly possible occurrence—or as Reitzenstein suggests,³ the archetype already had $\dot{c}h$, a mistaken correction. The second case is 37, 16: et ipse ϕ HVM] et ipso et ipse ADTCD in ip̄o et ip̄e S.

¹ See above, p. 46, n. 2.

² D. A. p. 411. Furneaux in his recent text adheres to Romanae.

³ Op. cit., p. 314.

Here the copyist of the ancient manuscript either committed or reproduced a natural blunder (*ipse* assimilated to the sound of the preceding *amisso* or the following *Pacoro*) and may or may not have emended the error by placing dots beneath *et ipso*—or perhaps he failed to copy this sign of correction. Most manuscripts reproduce all the words. ϕ HVM, not necessarily emending, but possibly following the instructions of the copyist who made the blunder, are careful to avoid it. The third case, a striking one, is 38, 12. Here ABT are correct with *religatur*, while CD give *ligant*. The origin of this error seems explained by the reading in ϕ RbF¹ *ne legant* (Rb *in marg.* c^o *relegant*). Starting with *re ligat* or *relegat* (cf. S as reported by Müllenhoff D. A. p. 77), in which the initial *r* perhaps resembles an *n*, we find two classes of the manuscripts, X and E, rightly including the superscribed—or detached—syllable and rightly interpreting the abbreviation.² But in the manuscripts outside these classes, we find that all resolve *at* into *ant*, some, as H MS, reproduce *re* correctly, while others as V and the archetype of CD, omit the syllable, perhaps because unintelligible. But the copyist of the archetype of ϕ with *ne legant* reproduced what he thought he found. In short, these places, where C and D are together in error, do not point back to an archetype hopelessly corrupt, which would need restoratives from some alien source; they postulate rather an original containing in itself the explanation of most of the readings, false and true, which appear in its descendants.

Though I believe the foregoing facts furnish sufficient proof, we may now definitely exclude AB as a possible source for ϕ , by the consideration that in certain places ϕ is correct where both CD and AB go astray. These places are:

19, 5 *abscisis* ϕ TSV] *abscissis* M *adcisis* A *accisis* BC *accissis* D
 28, 7 *hercyniam* ϕ STe²] *hercuniam* (y added above u V,) V
 Hircyniam A *hircyniam* (y from i) B *Hrcinā* CD
 Hercynam C,

Here belong also the variants discussed above at p. 320; 39, 1 *Semnones*, 40, 5 *Suardones*, 45, 8 *Sueuici*.

¹ Massmann's readings are probably correct here, as Professor Warren has verified that of Rb.

² At least according to Müllenhoff's text. But many will approve Furenaux's preference for *relegant*.

I cannot point to so many clear cases where ϕ is right with AB against TCD or right alone against all these manuscripts, but the following at least call for mention.

34, 2 Chasuarij. See p. 322. This would be a clear case if Reitzenstein did not report the correct form for ρ . Still it is yet to be proved that ρ is an unadulterated specimen of the E class. Rd has $\text{thua} \text{ thosuarii}$.

37, 16 et ipse. See p. 322.

46, 28 uolusque corpora. See p. 321 f.¹

How are we to account for these good readings, few though they be, of which some are not in E, others are not in AB, and none are in CD? Are they the conjectures of the scribe who emends *merita* to *inclita*, *Dulcubuni* to *Dulciboni*? We might claim them for some humanist who interfered with the tradition before it reached the copyist of the archetype of ϕ and its associates—but such a corrector, if we do not desert the evidence immediately at hand, is poetically imagined rather than logically deduced. Shall we call these readings the lucky errors of a stupid scribe? I should hesitate, once more, to put faith in any good reading found only in the present text, but the instances cited receive the report of other manuscripts—outside the magic circle, to be sure, of AB and CD. But we need not devote further discussion to these few cases. The fact is plain that ϕ , though full of individual error, has none of the characteristic mistakes of either X or E, and shows no traces of contamination or of learned emendation. I do not hesitate, therefore, to regard the group of which ϕ is a member as an important source for the text of Y.

Supposing that we had no other manuscripts of the Y class but CD and ϕ , the latter codex would assist the other two in exalting their archetype considerably above that of A and B. The mistakes of AB, according to Abbott's calculation,² excluding the 40 errors of the archetype,³ would amount to 49; those of

¹ ϕ gives a correct orthography with A or B against TCD in the following cases (see p. 316, n. 1) 25, 5 officia; 27, 4 equus; 30, 8 sollertiae; 45, 18 litore, 23 sucum, 32 litora. In the following, ϕ , agreeing with some other manuscript, corrects the orthography of ABCDT; 39, 13 adicit MV; 45, 6 adicit V; 26 clauduntur H; 33 temptes HVM tēptes S₄.

² Op. cit., p. 30.

³ Ibid., p. 24—a list from which we now may strike 37, 16 (?); 39, 13; 45, 6; 45, 33, and at 45, 5 replace *deorum* by *eorum*.

CD, to 51. To this list we might make certain additions from the cases discussed above at p. 43, and from it make certain deductions of doubtful cases; the resulting proportions, however, would remain substantially the same, and justify Müllenhoff's vigorous avowal,¹ "dass nur ein ausgesuchter Querkopf sich bei der Feststellung des Textes auf Bb (= X) gegen Cc (= Y) als verderbt und interpoliert steifen kann". But since now with the help of ϕ we may erase from this tradition some forty of the blunders of CD—counting in a few corrections of ABCD and of T as well—the classes are no longer on the same plane. X musters something over fifty errors, Y has now about fifteen. The former class still presents more variants than the latter, but counting those added by ϕ and those to which its readings take us back, we find fully half of the cases included in Abbott's table (p. 33) now represented in Y.² Finally, I may add that the correct title of the work may be given only by the class Y. I do not wish to raise again this much disputed question, except to point out that the title cited by Pier Candido Decembrio³ from what may be the ancient archetype itself is *De Origine et situ Germanie*. This form appears, so far as I can ascertain, only in C and ϕ . ϕ differs from C in not interpolating a praenomen for the author.⁴

If the class Y can receive such assistance from an apparently unpromising manuscript like ϕ , perhaps we may hope that some evidence may yet be garnered from those codices, which, since the publication of Wünsch's dissertation, have played little part in the textual criticism of the *Germania*—H, V, M and S. The permanent value of Wünsch's thorough and methodical treatise consists in his proof that all extant codices of the *Germania* depend on the "apographum Henochianum", that there is no separate tradition directly descended from the ancient manuscript, unalloyed with Italian perversions, and represented, as Holder believed, by the Hummelianus. But this point accepted, Wünsch's further estimate of the Hummelianus and the other manuscripts may now be examined afresh. Unless further proof can be brought that any or all of them show evidence of contamination as marked as in the *Parisinus* and the *Venetus*, they may be accepted as trustworthy representatives of the text.

¹D. A., p. 69. Cf. also Wünsch, *Diss.*, p. 124.

²Cf. Müllenhoff's remarks, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 72.

³See Sabbadini in *Rivista di Filologia*, 1901, p. 262.

⁴See Müllenhoff, *D. A.*, p. 99.

That they are in essence of the Y type is shown by Wünsch.¹ That they do not concord in important details with the characteristic mistakes of X or E is obvious from a glance at Wünsch's collations, and his lists on pages 43 f., and 116 ff. The variants which they preserve do not suggest contamination but seem rather of the nature of those in A and T. The above statements are based on general impressions, not on a thorough study of those manuscripts; perhaps further examination might prove one or more of them contaminated. Yet since Wünsch's chief argument for contamination—the presence of both AB and CD readings—loses its point after the establishment of the Class E (which Wünsch accepts) and the reconstruction of the Class Y (if my present reasoning gain approval), then these rejected codices at least deserve a fresh examination.

Thus far I have made only casual reference to Müllenhoff's later discussion of the manuscripts of the *Germania* in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV (1900) pp. 63 ff. Müllenhoff there reacted completely from the prevalent tendency to find contamination everywhere except in AB and CD, recognized the deficiencies of these classes, and sought to establish two more, which he called D and E. He called attention to Vaticanus 4498, a manuscript closely related to CD, but, since it lacks many of their errors, an important source for reconstructing this branch of the tradition. He likewise estimated correctly the merits as well as the defects of the group to which ϕ belongs, but concluded that its testimony is not needed.²

Here certainly are sketched the lines along which future criticism of the text of the *Germania* should proceed. But Müllenhoff divined his classes rather than established them. After Abbott's study of the Toletanus, we may regard the class E as fixed, though the examination of R¹, Rd, Re and Reitzenstein's ρ may help define its minor characteristics more exactly, but Müllenhoff's class D cannot be accepted on faith, or, granting this class, his inclusion of Vaticanus 4498 in the CD group and not in D—in a word, the line of demarcation between the classes C and D is not clearly drawn. I have therefore not appealed to the authority of Müllenhoff's later views until now, seeking first to establish in a special case the general attitude to the so-called contaminated manuscripts, which underlies his new classification

¹ Diss. pp. 78, 120.

² Cf. above p. 37.

There is a further possibility to consider. I have treated ϕ thus far as descended from the same original as CD, inasmuch as both are members of the class Y. This is a warrantable procedure, so long as we have to reckon only with AB, CD and the E manuscripts. What is proved is that ϕ is not AB and not E; of the three groups just named, therefore, it is obviously most nearly related to CD and can be used to reconstitute the text of that group. But if now we may appeal to the Hummelianus, the Stuttgartiensis, and the other manuscripts exiled by Wünsch, new problems arise. Here, too, if we may trust Müllenhoff's intuitions and our own, are manuscripts not AB and not E and not contaminated. What are their relations to CD, ϕ and to each other? It may be that all are descended from the same copy of the original apographum, and represent, therefore, different branches of one class Y. Yet it may be that these branches go back independently to the apographum. We have proved rather their diversity from AB and E than their concordance with one another. For example, Müllenhoff, in discussing S, declares¹ that since this manuscript agrees with CD at 9, 3 *Herculem ac Martem* and in the position of 25, 9-14, "so bedarf es weiter keines Beweises dass sie zur zweiten Handschriftenklasse gehört und mit cg (= CD) von derselben Grundhandschrift abstammt". But this means merely that S avoids characteristic mistakes of AB. We need accurately defined lists of these characteristic mistakes to distinguish the different branches of the tradition. Abbott is right, it seems to me, in admitting at least the possibility that the E manuscripts, though closely related to B, descend not from an intermediate archetype of X and E, but from the apographum itself. Further investigation may prove more than one direct tradition among the manuscripts outside AB and E. So our conclusion that ϕ is of the same class with CD—though the only one warranted by our present knowledge of the facts—must be stated provisionally.

Perhaps external indications may help determine the pedigree of the different groups of manuscripts. Wünsch has suggested a promising clue in the fact that certain codices are connected in different ways with Aeneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II, whose letter to Martin Mayer, dated February 1, 1458, is the first document after the rediscovery of the *Germania* to show the influence of that

¹ D. A. p. 76.

work.¹ Wünsch² shows that the Stuttgart codex is doubtless related to the copy made for Pope Pius, both because it contains the *Liber Augustalis* of Rambaldi, continued to 1457 by Aeneas Sylvius himself, and because the text of the *Germania* has certain readings which appear in the treatise written to Martin Mayer. Wünsch also points out³ that two of the little group to which ϕ belongs—the *Laurentianus* and the *Angelicus*—contain the *Elegy* of Franciscus Aretinus on Pius II, and the same scholar's translation of the letters of Diogenes, with a poetical introduction addressed likewise to the Pope. In both the manuscripts these works stand after the *Germania*. Now ϕ , as we have seen, contains the *Liber Augustalis*—although without the additions of Pius II—and it also shows the following coincidences with significant readings of the Stuttgart manuscript: 11, 9 diem] dum ϕ du S; 20, 12 hunc] hñ ϕ habet S; 22, 2 calida] calida aqua; 14 adhuc] ad hoc; 28, 16 affectationem] affectionem; 29, 15 ipso] ipse ϕ ipē S; 40, 18 satiatam] sacratā ϕ sacratū S; 45, 3 in ortum edurat] in ortu sedurat ϕ in ortu se durat S; 46, 1 Peucinatorum] Prucinatorum ϕ Prutinatorum S; 3 Peucini] prugini ϕ prutini S. These readings alone show that there must be some further connection between the archetypes of S and the manuscripts with which ϕ belongs. That the latter is not copied from the former is plain from the omissions in S, such as 23, 7 haud minus facile; 30, 5 simul; 46, 25 securi adversus deos, and the list of mistakes given by Wünsch.⁴ The importance of recovering or reconstructing the text which lay before Aeneas Sylvius in 1458 needs no further emphasis.⁵ If the group of which ϕ is a member can contribute to that end, it will acquire, despite its many mistakes, something more than the temporary importance I have tried to prove for it as an auxiliary to CD. The archetype of this group is of early date, since the *Angelicus*, the worst of the lot, was written in 1466.⁶ With this archetype, it would seem, we have now to compare that of the Stuttgart manuscript, which also was written in or before 1466, and which presents a much purer text than ϕ .

¹ See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung d. klass. Alt.* I p. 256, note.

² Diss. p. 120.

³ *Hermes*, p. 56.

⁴ Diss. p. 114.

⁵ Cf. Lehnerdt, *Hermes* XXXIII (1898) p. 502. Lehnerdt also shows (p. 503) that V belongs in the circle of MSS connected with Pius II, since it was written (in 1466), for his friend Johann Hinderbach, Bishop of Trent.

⁶ Massmann, p. 17 (Rf). Tagmann, op. cit. p. 19, thinks that F may have been written shortly before 1464.

The most immediately pressing problems, therefore, in the textual criticism of the *Germania* are first, it seems to me, the determination of the archetype of ϕ and its kindred texts, and then a comparison of this archetype with the *Stuttgartiensis*. Perhaps Müllenhoff's construction of a Class D may prove good divination after all; and perhaps Alfred Holder, whose gentle courtesy to his opponents has been as conspicuous in the present controversy as in all his scholastic relations, may find editors of the *Germania* paying more attention to the Hummelianus than of late.¹

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¹ If future research can establish more definitely than at present the classes and sub-classes of the *Germania* MSS and correlate these with the tradition of the *Dialogus* and Suetonius' *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, more light will be thrown on the nature of the ancient archetype. One fact may be noted now concerning the archetype of D. At 28, 14 we have in this manuscript the peculiar mistake, *olim ruli*. Evidently *olim* stood at the end of the line. The scribe, then, by mistake skipped a line, and started off with *ruli*, the latter part of *Nervii* (the MSS have *Neruli*), l. 16, which thus must have headed the second line below. This gives us 74 letters and spaces for two lines, or 37 for a line. Fortunately the scribe makes the same kind of slip in two other places. At 24, 1, *cętu spectaculorum*, he began again the line he had just finished (38 letters and spaces), and at 24, 11, *iuvēnior de corpore contēdāt* he went back a line (73 letters and spaces for two lines). We must allow something, of course, for abbreviations, but the above facts show pretty exactly the length of line in the archetype of D—something to bear in mind if it should seem necessary to derive some other MS immediately from that archetype.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Virgils Epische Technik. Von RICHARD HEINZE. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1903. 8vo, pp. viii, 487.

In consideration of the present tendency of philology in the direction of minute investigation of special phases of a subject, Professor Heinze's book with its largeness of scope and catholicity of treatment is a contribution, as unique as it is substantial, to our present knowledge of Virgil's masterpiece. There are many fields of philological endeavor in which works of this synthetic character might be expected as the logical sequence of a long series of elaborate dissertations; and it must be conceded that a great many of these dissertations find their sole reason for being in the assumption that they are parts, albeit small, of a mighty whole, which will be constructed in due time, when some master mind looms large upon a startled world. But curiously enough Heinze's book deals with a subject in which surprisingly little detailed work has been done. The technique of pre-Virgilian narrative, whether in prose or in poetry, has been but superficially examined, and the results are of the most meagre character. Of the writers who have dealt with Virgil some, like Plüss (*Vergil und die Epische Kunst*), Sabbadini (*il primitivo disegno dell' Eneide*), and Bethe (*Vergilstudien*, Rhein. Mus. XLVI, 511 ff.), have treated subjects similar to Heinze's, but it is only here and there that he shows indebtedness to them. The great majority of Virgil specialists have helped him only indirectly. The work is his own, and the bibliographical boggy justly plays a strictly subordinate rôle.

The book is an interpretation of the *Aeneid* from a technical point of view. Professor Heinze is concerned with the poem only in so far as it is a product of conscious art, and his aim is to make clear the principles of that art. While in his exposition he is sometimes compelled to touch upon such themes as Virgil's personality, his political views, and the general tendencies of his age, these questions are only incidental to his main subject. Matters of language and of verse-structure are passed over entirely.

Of the two parts into which the work is divided, the first (pp. 1-232) contains a technical analysis of the whole poem with the exception of the sixth book, which is omitted in order to prevent any duplication of Norden's work. The analysis, which follows the order of the events and not the order of the books, is carried through under the following heads: *Ilions Fall*, *Die Irr-*

fahrten des Aeneas, Dido, Wettspiele, and Aeneas in Latium. In each of these chapters Heinze describes the problem which confronted the poet, and reconstructs, so far as it is possible, the reasons which led him to the solution which he finally adopted. The second part of the book (pp. 235-480) is a highly elaborate recapitulation of the results of the detailed analysis, treated systematically in a series of chapters on *Die Methode des Schaffens*, *Erfindung*, *Darstellung*, *Komposition*, and *Ziele*.

Heinze's discussions of the different aspects of his subject abound in suggestive comments and far-reaching interpretation. Even theories that are not original with him gain new life from his spirited treatment. But in such abundance of material it is difficult for a reviewer to single out those points which will best serve to give an adequate idea of the book. The first chapter, for example, *Iliions Fall* (pp. 1-80), contains, besides introductory matter, technical analyses of Virgil's version of the story of the wooden horse, of his account of the sack of the city, and of the departure of the Trojan refugees. Of the substance of these only a brief summary can be given.

A notable passage is that in which Heinze points out how singularly well-adapted to Virgil's peculiar genius the subject was. The fall of Troy had been a favorite theme of poets and artists for centuries. It had been treated in early epic, in lyric, in classical drama, and in Hellenistic poetry. It had been painted or carved in countless works of art. It was known of all whom any poem of the Augustan age would reach, and it was for precisely this reason that Virgil was attracted to it. His literary ambitions, his best hopes of achievement did not lie along the lines of invention or originality, but of excellence in some such familiar field as this; and as a matter of fact there is no part of his work in which he attains a greater height of artistic merit than here.

The question at once arises, did Virgil include this in his work solely or mainly because it was a subject which attracted him, and in which he saw that he could do effective work? Or is it an essential part of his epic? Heinze does not leave us in doubt as to his opinion. He believes that its inclusion is not simply technically justifiable, but is even necessary to the unity of the poem. That it is technically justifiable will be conceded by all. The transfer of the Trojan Penates to a new site occupies an important place in the traditional versions of the story, and this in itself is enough to establish a connection between the city that had been and the city that was to be. The events of Troy's last night had accordingly a much stronger claim for a place in the Aeneid than they could ever have had for a place in the Odyssey. But Heinze overstates the case when he says that Virgil was obliged to include the story of the city's fall (p. 3, 'also musste die Iliupersis in das Gedicht aufgenommen werden') because it was on that occasion that Aeneas was charged with

the mission of transporting the Penates. We may reasonably ask the source of the obligation. Does Heinze mean that the poet was compelled by the unanimity or even by a preponderance of the traditional versions to make the last night of Troy the time of the imposition of this task upon Aeneas? So far as we know the versions of the story accessible to Virgil, this was not so. In reality, the only instructions bearing on the Penates which Aeneas receives in the second book are given to him by Hector's ghost (II, 293, *sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates*), and this scene Heinze himself in another part of his book (p. 240) ascribes to Virgil's own invention.

Our author makes some especially suggestive remarks in explaining Virgil's technique in putting the story into the mouth of Aeneas. He begins by pointing out that we have here something much more than a mere imitation of the narrative of Odysseus. The two cases are indeed very different. The adventures narrated by Odysseus were for the most part his own, and so could be described by him without much danger of violating the unities of time and place. But Virgil undertook the task of crowding into the experience of one man events which on any reasonable interpretation of the authorities must have taken place in many different parts of the city. He did this, as Heinze shows us, for the sake of the effectiveness that would come from concentration. Nor is there any doubt but that he has in the main attained his end. The interest in the narrative is sharply focused. That in a few passages he has failed to overcome entirely the difficulties of the situation and has made Aeneas recount as an eye-witness things which he could only have heard of later, does not detract appreciably from the general success of the method.

The most serious difficulty which Virgil had to meet in the composition of the second book was the fact that he was compelled to show us the Trojans in defeat, and the Trojans are not only the heroes of his narrative, but also the ancestors of the Romans and in a sense identified with them. More than that, he had to describe their desertion of their city and the moving of the city's gods. How tender a question this was with the Romans we know from more than one passage in Latin literature. It comes out clearly, for example, in the famous speech of Camillus, Liv. V, 41 ff. Virgil fully realized the delicacy of his task. Yet he could not to any great extent simplify the problem by introducing new material, for the main lines of the story were too well-known. His only plan was to order his narrative in such a way that there would be no sign of weakness or cowardice on the part of the Trojans, and that their action in abandoning the ancient site would be fully justified. Heinze's analysis shows how skilfully Virgil has done this. There were, it will be remembered, besides the *ex post facto* prophecy in the Iliad a number of versions of the circumstances of Aeneas's

survival. The oldest of these, which was adopted by Sophocles in his *Laocoon*, represented Aeneas as withdrawing from the city before the final catastrophe; but this was rejected by Virgil because it did not show the Trojan in a sufficiently heroic light. The later form of the story, according to which Aeneas saved father and gods from the conquered city through the assistance of Venus, had certain features which suited Virgil's purpose, but he could not adopt it because the supernatural element would have tended to depress Aeneas's individual heroism. There were also, from Virgil's point of view, serious objections to the version mentioned by Livy, I, 1. In this account Aeneas fell into the hands of the Greeks, but was spared by them because there was *hospitium* between him and Odysseus, and he had moreover made an effort to induce the Trojans to restore Helen. But Virgil could not represent his hero as accepting favors from the Greeks. In the version of Timaeus it was only the prominent place given to Aeneas's *pietas* that was adapted to the poet's plan. Between the story of Hellanicus and that of Virgil there are more points of contact, but, just as we should expect, that part of the account of Hellanicus which dwells upon the defeat of the Trojans in the city is not incorporated in the Aeneid. Virgil's method, therefore, of dealing with his sources was one of selection, of modification, even of manipulation. He had at all costs to save his hero's face. The same purpose influenced to some extent the character of the new material, small as it was in amount, which he introduced. The ghost of Hector warns Aeneas that the destruction of the city has been decreed by fate. In making the apparition speak with such emphasis about the will of the fates, Virgil is endeavoring to make it clear that no human power could have saved the city, and that Aeneas in abandoning it was yielding not to the Greeks but to the insuperable might of the gods. The implication is that only the bravest of the brave would have fought as Aeneas did. For in spite of the fact that it had been revealed to him that the city was doomed, he did not leave it till the spread of the conflagration proved the truth of Hector's words. In keeping with this is the stress laid by the poet on the extent of the *incendium* even early in the night (cf. vv. 310, 327, 329, 353, 374, etc.), which has no other purpose than to show how hopeless further resistance on the part of Aeneas would have been, and to justify his flight. It is noticeable that in the versions given by most of Virgil's predecessors the Greeks did not set fire to the city until just before their departure. In the matter of the transportation of the gods, Virgil reduces the repulsive element by making the point that they had originally been established in Italy, and so they were not emigrating, but returning to their former home.

In his second chapter, *Die Irrfahrten des Aeneas* (pp. 81-112), Heinze subscribes to the general opinion that the third book is far inferior to the second. He does not, however, think that its

inferiority is due to the fact that in it Virgil had to deal with a loosely connected series of adventures, while in the second his subject was a single catastrophe. The poetical possibilities of adventures of voyage have been too clearly established by the Odyssey to admit this argument. Indeed it is altogether likely that the similarity of this part of Virgil's poem to the Odyssey has had a great deal to do with its indifferent success. It has suffered by comparison. Moreover, Virgil himself, although he has frequently dared to measure himself with Homer, in this case does not seem to have brought his usual spirit to the task. It will be remembered that this book was one of the last to be written. Furthermore, in his account of the fall of Troy he had before him the works of more than one poet; but of Aeneas's wanderings there was a lamentable dearth of poetical versions.

Material there was of course in abundance. There were many legends of settlements made and temples founded by Aeneas after his flight from Troy. Virgil did not have to invent adventures for his hero. His task was to give to the adventures which tradition assigned to his hero, or to a selected series of those adventures, a consistent motive and a reasonable degree of unity. The motive which he finally hit upon was the gradual revelation to Aeneas of the end of his wanderings: the Trojan leaves his native land on the strength of auguries which bid him seek a new home in a foreign country; this general intimation becomes more definite at Delos with the oracle's reference to the *antiqua mater*; in Crete he learns from the Penates that it is Italy that is meant; at the Strophades Celaeno prophesies the eating of the tables; in Buthrotum Helenus mentions the west coast of Italy, and reveals the import of the prodigy of the sow; it is he too who bids Aeneas consult the Sibyl at Cumae. So through successive stages Aeneas fares towards the fulfilment of his destiny.

The third chapter (pp. 113-139) discusses the Dido episode from various points of view. That Virgil should have said something about his hero's love-affairs was, Heinze thinks, only to be expected in consideration of the parts played by Calypso and Circe in the story of Odysseus. Yet in his treatment of the subject Virgil has not followed Homer. He has indeed departed more widely from early Greek epic here than in any other part of his poem. The detailed description of romantic love found no place in Homer. Enamoured divinities regret Odysseus's departure, but we do not find them portrayed as overwhelmed with grief. There is no especial poignancy of feeling indicated: Calypso shows a praiseworthy interest in Odysseus's commissariat; Circe very considerably tells him how he can best direct his course. In neither case do we hear anything of parting words. In Hellenistic poetry, however, the case was very different. Apollonius's portrayal of the passion of Medea has many features that are strikingly modern, and it was by such examples as this that Virgil was influenced. The presence of Hellenistic

influence here is significant of his attitude towards his literary predecessors. Speaking generally, he modelled his epic on that of Homer, but where later periods had developed new interests he was quick to take advantage of them and to incorporate them in his work. Yet not without discrimination. He was, for example, careful in the last interview between Dido and Aeneas to refrain from that excessive elaboration of detail which he recognized as belonging to epyllion rather than to epic. Otherwise epic dignity would have been quickly submerged in a somewhat gruesome sentimentality. There are other features also in which Virgil's method differs essentially from that of the Hellenistic erotic poets. With the latter love at first sight, without preamble or preparation, is the usual thing. A case in point is the love of Medea for Jason in Apollonius. But Virgil's procedure is much more methodical. We hear of no flaming up of passion on the occasion of the first meeting of Aeneas and Dido. Moreover, as if extremely sceptical of the possibilities of such incendiary emotion, Virgil shows the greatest care in leading up to their meeting, and provides with the utmost deliberation for a favorable impression. The different stages are noticeable: on Aeneas's side his mother's account of Dido, his own view of the new city and of the queen discharging her official duties; on Dido's side the description which Teucer had given her of Aeneas's part in the war (I, 619 ff.), and the words of his own followers who had reached her court before him. Heinze suggests that Virgil may have adopted these deliberate preliminaries on account of the mature age of his hero and heroine, but a more likely explanation is that the poet was influenced by Roman ideas. Another point of difference between Virgil and the erotic poets of Alexandria may be noticed. In the latter the main stress is generally laid upon physical beauty; but Virgil, while he does not neglect this side (Cp. I, 588 ff.), gives considerable prominence to other reasons for the interest which Dido and Aeneas felt in each other: admiration for their respective achievements, sympathy with one another's trials, and the similarity of their fortunes.

The scenes in which Anna is introduced have a high technical importance. Anna's part, it should be pointed out, is very different from that of Chalciope in Apollonius's *Argonautica*, with which it has frequently been compared. Apollonius, adhering in this respect to traditional epic standards, did not make Chalciope Medea's confidante. He was apparently afraid of encroaching on the domain of drama. But Virgil boldly made Anna the confidante of Dido, and through her introduced a large dramatic element into his poem. The gain was very great. By means of this dramatic device many scenes have a vividness that they could not otherwise have attained to. It is in conversation with Anna that Dido's deepest feelings are revealed. Direct analysis or description of her emotions would have been much less effec-

tive, and a series of monologues could not have failed to be monotonous. As it is, Virgil resorts to the monologue only in pathetic crises.

In the chapter on Wettspiele (pp. 144-166) there is an instructive comparison between the games celebrated by the Trojans on the anniversary of the death of Anchises and the funeral games in honor of Patroclus in the Iliad. The former are so manifestly an imitation of the latter that we have an excellent opportunity of examining Virgil's methods in imitation. The comparison shows us that his treatment differs from Homer's in several respects, in some of which the balance of artistic merit is clearly on Virgil's side. In the first place Virgil has reduced the risk of monotony by cutting down the number of events. He has, moreover, shown a greater regard for proportion than Homer, and has succeeded in introducing more variety into the ordering of the contests. In Homer each contest begins in pretty much the same way. A statement is made regarding its nature, the prizes are enumerated, then *στῆ δ' ὀρθός καὶ μῦθον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν*, and after the speech *ὅς τ' ἐφαρ'*, *ἔπειτα δ' ἔπειτα*, or *ἔπειτα δ' αὐτίκα*, and the names of the contestants. This is repeated again and again with but slight variation. In Virgil on the contrary the preliminaries of each event are carefully differentiated. Homer's description gives the impression of eight separate events; Virgil is more successful in giving unity to the games, and he rounds off the whole with the *Troiae ludus*. In Homer the first event takes more lines than all the others together. The latter, moreover, show a fairly steady decrease in length, almost every one being shorter than its predecessor. In Virgil the first is also the longest, but the third is almost as long, while the second and the fourth are about half the length of the others. So we have long and short pieces alternating, and this arrangement tends to give the effect of a unified whole instead of a merely chronological series. Nor is there any diminution of interest towards the end, as in the Homeric account, where the last event is despatched in 14 lines as opposed to 389 assigned to the first.

That Homer's games are still the more interesting, and Heinze hardly disputes this, is very largely due to the characters of the contestants. In Virgil those who take part are, as compared with the brilliant figures of Homer's pages, almost unknown. The mere names of Homer's heroes are material to conjure with, and would save the piece even if there were still greater disregard for proportion and other proprieties of structure. Virgil's attempt to connect some of his contestants with famous Roman families does not go very far towards relieving their obscurity.

The fifth chapter, entitled Aeneas in Latium (pp. 167-232), deals with what Virgil himself called his *maius opus*, i. e., his account of the events between the landing of the Trojans and the death of Turnus. The material presented by these six books is so manifold, the points of view so various that Heinze's compact

and orderly treatment again commands our admiration. He begins with a summary of different versions of the Trojan settlement in Latium, touching on those of Cato, Dionysius, and Livy. We see that Virgil, as usual, did not draw exclusively from any one source. He follows Cato in representing the Latins and Rutulians in league against the Trojans, but differs from him in describing Latinus as at variance with his own people and opposed to the war. He adopts the story found both in Cato and in Dionysius which makes the Etruscan Mezentius one of the chief opponents of Aeneas, but in enlisting the main force of the Etruscans on the side of the Trojans he has, in part at least, adopted a version of which we find traces in Timaeus. The reenforcement of the Trojans by Evander and his Arcadians is apparently an invention of Virgil's.

For some of these alliances the poet's reasons are manifest. The league with the Arcadians accomplishes two things. First, it enables Virgil to introduce the episode of Aeneas's visit to the future site of Rome, and so to touch upon many matters of immediate interest to his countrymen. In the second place, Aeneas's absence from the camp gives the poet an opportunity of portraying the prowess of Turnus. Had Aeneas been on the ground Turnus could not have performed such deeds of valor as the ninth book contains without seriously detracting from the Trojan hero's laurels. That Virgil should have adopted the tradition of an alliance between the Trojans and the Etruscans can be readily understood. Without some such reenforcement Aeneas's success in combating the numerous forces arrayed against him would hardly have been possible. In some other respects, however, Virgil's manipulation of his sources does not seem justifiable. Objection may reasonably be taken to his placing the Etruscan prince Mezentius on one side and the Etruscan army upon the other; and his treatment of Latinus is still more open to criticism. Heinze attempts an explanation of the latter case. He suggests that Virgil did not wish to portray Aeneas in the doubtful rôle of abductor. The abduction of women had already brought tribulation enough upon the heads of offending Trojans. So the sympathetic attitude of Latinus and his opposition to the war-policy of his people were intended to justify Aeneas in his somewhat heroic wooing of Lavinia, to save, forsooth, his *pietas*! But this explanation cannot be accepted. Aeneas's *pietas* had survived ruder shocks than this. The part assigned to Latinus must be regarded as one of the least felicitous devices in the poem.

A comparison of Virgil's chronology with that of the traditional versions reveals some interesting points. Passing over the familiar fact of his having compressed the events of a considerable period of time into a few days, we find a conspicuous example of his love for concentration in the manner in which he has arrayed the Latins, Turnus, and Mezentius against Aeneas all at the same time. In the traditional accounts Aeneas meets

these different forces at different times. As an example of effective concentration this simultaneous muster vies with the method of treatment adopted in the second book, and the impressiveness of the *moles belli* is beyond all question. Equally justifiable on artistic grounds is the departure from the traditional chronology in the death of Turnus. In Virgil's sources this took place before the death of Mezentius, but Virgil realized the necessity of making a change. Turnus was the great rival of Aeneas, and it was natural that the defeat of less formidable opponents should be treated as but preliminary to the final conflict between him and Aeneas. That Virgil ends the poem at this point and adds nothing about the founding of the city is one of the many dramatic devices introduced into the Aeneid. The outcome of the final duel shows all our hero's difficulties overcome, all obstacles removed. The rest is left to our imagination.

In his description of the battles (books ix-xii) Virgil once more comes into close comparison with Homer, and we have another good example of independence within imitation. In Turnus's feats of arms in the ninth book there are many reminiscences of Hector's deeds; in the siege of the Trojan fortress the influence of the Teichomachia is clearly apparent; and the source of the catalogue of the Etruscan ships is so obvious as hardly to require mention. But Virgil's narrative shows also many points of difference: e. g. the introduction of cavalry, the absence of those long enumerations of slaughter which occur in the Iliad, as, for instance, at the beginning of the sixth book, the avoidance of anatomical analyses of wounds, and finally less frequent repetition and a more orderly arrangement of the whole. Yet it must not be supposed that Virgil introduced these features into his poem simply to break the continuity of a too persistent imitation. That was not his attitude towards imitation. The changes were made for different reasons. Some of them were based on artistic grounds. Virgil felt, for example, that the anatomical details of a wound, however picturesque they might be, hardly belonged to the province of epic art; and that the numerous repetitions in the Homeric poems had no place in the more developed epic of his own age. Other points of difference in the Virgilian treatment constitute appeals to national interests. A good example is the use of cavalry. This touched the military life of his contemporaries, and here he could be sure of a response. The use of such expressions as *signa sequi*, *vexillum*, etc., is dictated by the same feeling. The greater orderliness of his battle-scenes is doubtless due, as Heinze suggests, to reaction from the confusion which is noticeable in many of the Homeric battles. But Heinze has not observed that although Virgil's descriptions, as a result of his careful treatment, are less complicated, show fewer sudden shifts and turns, and are in all their details more easily kept before the mind, Homer's are more like battles.

The first chapter of the second part of the book contains a general account of Virgil's treatment of his sources, an analysis of his attitude toward his literary predecessors, a discussion of the original element in the *Aeneid*, and a description of the poet's manner of working. Matters of this kind have already been taken up in connection with different parts of the poem. They are now discussed with reference to the whole work. The general trend of Heinze's conclusions on the first three of these questions has already been sufficiently indicated in earlier parts of this review. We have seen that Virgil selected or combined traditional versions of legends only after a most careful consideration of the various aspects of the specific problem before him. It has been pointed out, moreover, that although he made a very large use of the works of poets who had preceded him in the same or in similar fields, yet the amount of independent work, even in passages where the general plan has been borrowed from another, is much greater than is as a rule recognized. The brevity of the section on *das Eigene* (pp. 251-254) is due to the fact that Virgil's originality is to be found in method rather than in matter.

That subdivision of the chapter which deals with *Arbeitsweise* is based on Suetonius's well-known statement, *Aeneida . . . particulatim componere instituit prout liberet quidque et nihil in ordinem arripiens*. Heinze's treatment is interesting, but does not present very much that is new. His conclusions are substantially those of Conrads (*Quaest. Verg.* p. xviii). Accepting the theory that the order of the books is not the order of composition, he points out that Virgil even in touching on subjects to which in the nature of things he would have to return, was more influenced by the immediate requirements of his context than by regard for the interests of the poem as a whole. Moreover, the revision by which the poet intended to remove the inconsistencies that were an inevitable result of his manner of working was never completed. All this is familiar and will not be disputed. The same may be said of Heinze's remark that the poem was intended to be read aloud in parts, rather than to be perused in its entirety, and that each part accordingly had to have a certain degree of completeness. In developing his theme, however, Heinze goes farther than seems warranted by the facts. He has been speaking of the custom of recitation, and then, describing an epic poem, adds '*das Werk muss die Eigenschaften eines zusammenhängenden langen Gedichts homerischer Art und eines Kranzes von Einzelgedichten Kallimacheischer Art in sich vereinigen*'. That this passage contains a reasonably accurate description of the *Aeneid* is apparent; and that this kind of epic is very largely due to the custom of recitation is equally clear. But whether Virgil was justified in departing from traditional standards of epic poetry in order to conform to the literary fashions of his day is a different question.

Heinze assumes rather than demonstrates that such conformity on Virgil's part was a matter of necessity.

One section of the chapter on *Erfindung* is given up to a discussion of Virgil's characterization. It is pointed out that the poet's work in this respect is for the most part in keeping with the Hellenistic tendency to portray types rather than individuals. In the delineation of a majority of the characters the lines of differentiation coincide with differences of age, sex, or nationality. In Ascanius we have the type of the young noble. Euryalus, Lausus and Pallas are types of young men. Ilioneus, Nautes (V, 704), Evander, and Anchises are typical old men. Certain general characteristics are obvious also in the case of the women. Their most noticeable quality is their excitability, which is of a peculiarly passionate kind, and frequently passes into frenzy. The Trojan women in the fifth book, Dido, and Amata are good examples, in an ascending scale, of the different stages of its manifestation. It should, however, be added that the delineation of the characters of the more prominent women shows something besides general characteristics of the sex. Dido, for example, represents Virgil's ideal of the heroic type of woman (p. 134). Of national types we have but meagre characterizations, setting forth with more or less faintness of outline the conventional attitude of the Romans towards foreign peoples: Sinon is the shifty, lying Greek; the phrase *Tyrii bilingues* reproduces Roman prejudice towards the Carthaginians; while the description of the pleasure-loving Etruscans given by Tarchon in his speech (XI, 736) corresponds to current Roman ideas.

A special section is devoted to an analysis of the character of Aeneas. This is one of the least satisfactory parts of the book. In Aeneas Heinze sees 'den Typus des Römers wie er dem Römer selbst sich darstellt—wohlgemerkt dem Römer augusteischer Zeit und stoischer Observanz'. He is, to be sure, alive to the fact that there are many incidents in Aeneas's career which are not consistent with this theory: e. g., his lack of coolness and steadiness on the night of Troy's fall, his continual complaints about the hardness of his lot, the oblivion of his high destiny shown in his stay at Carthage, his pusillanimity on the occasion of the burning of the ships in Sicily. But Heinze's explanation is that Virgil does not intend to represent Aeneas as the ideal type of Roman from the beginning, but rather as in the process of making. That Aeneas is shown to us in moments of weakness in the first part of the poem is, according to this theory, for the specific purpose of contrast with the strength he evinces in the later stages of his career. He is a man whose spiritual growth is through affliction. He is stronger from the time of his interview with the Sibyl, which is supposed to mark a crisis in his development. The stoical element in his character Heinze illustrates by a number of parallel passages quoted from Seneca.

This interpretation of Aeneas's character will commend itself to very few. To suppose that the many incidents in which

Aeneas manifestly falls short of any reasonable conception of Roman ideals are only so many stumbles in a long course of moral advancement is inconsistent with what we know of Virgil's method of working. Heinze's own exposition of that method makes so systematic a portrayal of the hero's character extremely improbable. We have already seen that Virgil was more interested in the particular book that he was writing than he was in the consistency of the books or in the due subordination of each one to the whole poem. That we see different aspects of Aeneas in different parts of the work is due to the fact that Virgil was prone to emphasize those qualities which were best adapted to the immediate purpose of the scene which he was describing.

Pages 348-389 contain an analysis of Virgil's method in narration. Among other things we see that he regarded the deeds of individuals as much better material for his narrative than the actions of masses. Even where he is obliged by the circumstances of the case to say something about the concerted or simultaneous action of a group, he passes with all possible speed to the individuals. For example, in the first part of his account of the funeral services of Misenus (VI, 212 ff.) he speaks of the Trojans generally, but the crowd is soon broken up into smaller parties: *pars calidos latices . . . expediunt . . . pars ingenti subiere feretro*; and finally we come to individuals: *ossa cado texit Corynaeus . . . at pius Aeneas*, and so forth. We find precisely the same thing in the description of the landing in Italy (VI, 5). And in battle-scenes the same method is adopted. In telling of the attack on the Trojan fortress in IX, 25 ff. Virgil gives only two lines to matters of a general nature, then at once directs attention to prominent individuals in the attacking party. The account of the Trojan defense is similar: an introduction of one or two lines is followed immediately by the speech of Caicus. With this may be compared the situation of the beleaguered Trojans in X, 120 ff. The explanation of Virgil's method is not hard to find. Ever watchful of the interest of his audience, he saw clearly that this could be held much more effectively if it were centered in individuals than if it were dissipated among miscellaneous groups. To this method of Virgil's there is one striking exception: his treatment of the cavalry in XI, 597-635 and 868 ff. Heinze's explanation, that in the compact squadrons of horsemen we have so many units, seems wide of the mark. It is more probable that Virgil departed from his usual custom in this particular case because he realized that the thunder of cavalry was effective enough to be substituted for any individual prowess.

One feature of Virgil's narrative which deserves especial attention is its compression. He fully realized the necessity of cutting down his material. He saw that if he were to describe Aeneas's adventures in strict chronological order, monotony would be inevitable. So, following the example of Homer in

the *Odyssey*, he began his poem at a time when Aeneas's long probation was already drawing to an end, and let the hero himself tell the story of the previous years. This made the compression of the material that belonged to those years comparatively easy. For it was only natural that Aeneas, telling the story as he did, should single out only those adventures that marked epochs in his career.

Still another characteristic of Virgil's narrative style is its sympathetic quality: 'Virgil hat sich in die Seele der Handelnden versetzt und erzählt aus ihr heraus'. More than this, he has inspired the same sympathy in his readers, not by direct appeal to them but by subtle suggestion. In the series of passages quoted by Heinze the effect is largely due to single words (often epithets) and phrases charged with a tempered emotionalism. These produce the impression of depth of feeling, but of feeling under strict control. It was consistent with this sympathetic attitude that Virgil should have phrased some of his descriptions of nature with special reference to the matter in hand. For while most readers will agree with Heinze that the remarks attributed by Servius, XI, 183, to Asinius Pollio are too comprehensive, it cannot be doubted that there is an intentional correspondence between certain descriptions of dawn, for example, and the situation of the heroes of the poem. Perhaps the most remarkable thing in connection with this sympathetic quality in Virgil is that it is in no way dependent upon subjectivity.

Of the remaining chapters of Heinze's book the most important is that on *Komposition*, but as this has already been touched upon, further reference may be omitted.

In conclusion it is not too much to say that no one for many years has deserved so well of Virgil as Heinze. Special investigations that have gone deeper we have had; but there has been no work that combines so successfully comprehensiveness of scope and skilful handling of material. Heinze has, moreover, without at any time taking a brief for his author, proved clearly and concretely the fallacy of that view which would see in Virgil nothing but a rather superior imitator. While readily accepting the fact of Virgil's great indebtedness to Homer, he definitely establishes 'Selbständigkeit in der Imitation'. That there are some conclusions that will not be accepted, even some deficiencies in the book, is undoubtedly true. It is, for example, to be regretted that it contains so little about the influence of the rhetorical schools upon Virgil's style. But in spite of such shortcomings no student, and especially no teacher of Virgil, can read it without being profoundly influenced by it.

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The Tragedies of Seneca, Rendered into English Verse. By ELLA ISABEL HARRIS, Ph. D. (Yale). London, Henry Frowde, 1904.

Hardly has any other Latin literature experienced such remote extremes of popularity and neglect in England as the tragedies of Seneca. Many an Elizabethan schoolboy thumbed their pages, and still enjoyed them in his erudite manhood. They gave the Elizabethan drama, in its most robust period, a manner of utterance and a material quite suited to its exuberant vitality, at the same time imposing upon it the restraint of a permanent and controlling form. It is thus quite natural that Seneca should have been among the earliest English translations; even in the first year of Elizabeth a translation was begun by Jasper Heywood, which was carried forward by various hands, and completed and published by Thomas Newton in 1581.¹ Yet from that day to this, excepting a perfunctory prose version by Watson Bradshaw in 1902, the interest in Seneca has not been sufficient to inspire a translation of more than three of his plays from any one hand.

Miss Harris' Seneca is a book for which no thoughtful reader of Elizabethan literature will ask an apology. If one is to understand the origin, spirit, and fullest fruition of Elizabethan drama, he must have access to Seneca. Take, for example, the following lines from the Thyestes :

Hear, O ye seas, stayed by inconstant shores ;
Ye, too, ye gods, wherever ye have fled,
Hear what a deed is done ! Hear, gods of hell.
Hear, earth.

What better comment on the inflamed outburst of Hamlet?

O all you host of heaven ! O earth ! What else ?
And shall I couple hell ? O fie ! Hold, hold, my heart.

Here is more than a mere parallel or imitation ; it is proof that the bombast of Seneca was not too swollen and vociferous for even Shakespeare's most refined hero. How natural then that all Shakespeare's characters approaching the extreme marked by Hotspur and Laertes should lapse frequently into 'Ercles' vein'. And among his contemporaries the practice is, in general, proportionately more common, according as they are forced to re-

¹ Several of the plays in this collection were first published separately, as is shown by the British Museum Catalogue. Other renderings there mentioned are as follows : 1648, *Medea*, by Sir Edward Sherburne ; 1651, *Phaedra*, by Edmund Prestwich ; 1660, *Troades*, by Samuel Pordage ; 1674, *Thyestes*, by John Wright ; 1701, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, and *Troades*, by Sir Edward Sherburne. In 1810 C. A. Wheelwright published translations of the *Medea* and the *Octavia* in his *Poems, Original and Translated*. In his preface he mentions an English rendering of the *Thyestes* by John Crowne in 1681, and of the *Agamemnon* by Blackmore, in his *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1718.

sort to it to make up for their lack of the deep and genuine passion in which he surpassed them all.

Mr. Cunliffe, in his excellent study, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, has shown us as much of this matter as a monograph can well show. But the influence of Seneca reveals itself more convincingly to one who comes to the Elizabethan plays directly from the reading of Seneca, especially an English Seneca in the metre employed by the dramatists themselves. Miss Harris has done wisely in choosing blank verse—a medium through which the varying qualities of the original, whether good or bad, can be made to appear most distinctly. Thus the obvious faults of Seneca—his blatant sonority, his falsetto, his rhetoric, his sensationalism—are all faithfully reproduced. It took greater skill to exhibit, as Miss Harris has done, certain of his virtues, as his aphoristic conciseness; his vividness and directness of description; his harsh stoicism, touched at rarest intervals with pathos and tenderness; his tragic calm, as at the close of the *Oedipus*, or in certain speeches of *Antigone* in the *Phoenissae*; his restrained passion, as in moments of the great scene in the *Troas* between *Andromache* and *Ulysses*, which Klein is said to have considered unsurpassed by Shakespeare.

'We must try its effect as an English poem; that is the way to judge of the merit of a translation', said Johnson, and his remark furnishes the most convincing proof of Miss Harris' success. The reader is seldom, if ever, conscious of any other original than the English text before him, so natural and spontaneous is it both in language and metre. At the same time, it is surprisingly literal. Such attainment would, of course, be impossible, were it not that the translator has what is better than mere deftness, namely, a sort of emotional communication with her original by which its qualities flow into her rendering, unconsciously perhaps, and are subtly present there beneath all idiom, or verbal equivalent, or metrical contrivance. This is the secret of making any translation appear like an original poem. As a brief and incomplete example take a sentence from the *Troades*, where the captive *Andromache* describes *Hector's* appearing to her in a vision:

Non ille vultus flammeum intendens iubar,¹
Sed fessus ac deiectus et fletu gravis
Similisque nostro, squalida obtectus coma.

Harris:

Not with flame-bright face
He came, but marred with tears, dejected, sad,
Like me, and all unkempt his loosened hair.

Heywood:

His countenance not now so bright, nor of so liuely cheere,
But sad and heauy like to owres and clad with ugly hayre.

¹ As in battle.

Sherburne :

Nor did his sprightly eyes with lightning glance,
But with a sad dejected countenance
Like mine he stood ; his hair all soiled and wet.

Or this bit from the Phædra, describing a man in retired life :

Nunc ille ripam celeris Alpei legit,
Nunc nemoris alti densa metatur loca,
Ubi Lerna puro gelida perlucet vado,
Sedesque mutas.

Now he skirts the banks
Of swift Alpheus, now through thicket dense
Of the high groves he presses, where flows down
Through silent ways, with pure and shining shoals,
Cold Lerna's stream.

Two or three other passages may be cited without comment :

With songs and supplications Orpheus once
Prevailed upon the cruel king of shades ;
He sought his wife Eurydice ; the art
That moved birds, woods, and rocks, delayed the streams,
And caused the beasts to listen, calmed hell's self
With unaccustomed music, and sweet sound
Reechoed clearly through the silent land.

Hercules Furens 570-576.

Captive Andromache over her boy, who is about to die at the hand of Ulysses :

O pledge of love, light of a fallen house,
Last of the Trojan dead, fear of the Greeks,
Thy mother's empty hope, for whom I prayed—
Fool that I was—that thou mightst have the years
Of Priam, and thy father's warlike soul,
The gods despise my vows ; thou ne'er shalt wield
A sceptre in the kingly halls of Troy,
Metè justice to thy people, nor shalt send
Thy foes beneath thy yoke, nor put to flight
The Greeks, drag Pyrrhus at thy chariot wheels,
Nor ever in thy slender hands bear arms ;
Nor wilt thou hunt the dwellers in the wood,
Nor on high festival, in Trojan games,
Lead swiftly on a band of noble youth,
Nor round the altars with swift-moving steps,
That the reechoing of the twisted horn
Makes swifter, honor with accustomed dance
The Phrygian temples
. My little one,
Thou diest, but feared already by thy foes ;
Thy Troy awaits thee ; go, in freedom go,
To meet free Trojans.

Astyanax.

Mother, pity me !

Andromache. Why hold thy mother's hands and clasp her neck,
And seek in vain a refuge ?

The close of the Oedipus :

Ye weary ones, with fell disease
Burdened, behold, I go; draw breath again,
Lift up your heads; a milder sky will shine
When I am gone; whoever still retains
His life, though weak and prostrate, still shall draw
Lightly the breath of life. Hence, end thy work!
The earth's death-dealing poison I will take;
Harsh fates, the black and haggard plague, the chill
Of dreadful sickness, and wild grief shall come
With me—with me! Such guides for me are meet.

A few false quantities in proper names, and several unpardonable oversights of the proofreader, are the more to be regretted for the excellence of the translation as a whole.

Not only England, but Italy and France as well were stirred with youthful enthusiasm for Seneca during the early Renaissance. It is easy for us, in a time of more mature judgment, to wish that this enthusiasm might have been cooled somewhat by acquaintance with the better models of the Attic three, but the feverish excitement of the early revival could hardly have brooked their artistic restraint and economy, even if they had been more accessible. Nor should we, after all, choose to have King Lear more like Samson Agonistes than it is.

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REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS LXIII (N. F. Bd. XVII), 1904.

I, pp. 1-11. L. Radermacher: Griechischer Sprachbrauch (continued from Philol. LX 490). VII. The idiom δύο ἢ τρεῖς. Examples: Aristoph. Ran. 504; Lysistr. 1051, 360; Plutarch de def. or. 413^a; Lucian ver. hist. II 20 (117); Themison Rh. Mus. 1903, s. 97, 9; 91, 15. VIII. φέροντα = φερόμενον in Hymn to Hermes 159. IX. μετὰ τὸ παραγγέλλματον in the Mithras-liturgy, p. 17, 5 ed. Dieterich. X. ἄλλους in Parthenius π. ἐρωτικῶν παθῶν I. Also the use of Διὸς Ἑρμῆς in the Hymn to Hermes 145. XI. With περίπατος in Aristoph. Ran. 953 is compared the introduction to second Maccabees (β II 30) περίπατος λόγων = verbosity. In fourth Maccabees (17. 3) καθάπερ γὰρ σὺ στέγη, etc., the καθ. belongs to στέγη. For other peculiarities of word-order, Athen. 253^o, ὁμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες, and Pausan. IV 31, 10 μάλιστα, etc. XII. In Aesch. Choeph. 218 read μάστεν' for μάτεν'. XIII. The phrase ἀσθένεια δυνάμεως is the reverse of περιουσία δυνάμεως. Cf. Pröklos in rem publ., p. 276, 18 Kr., etc. Also notes on the mode of citation among late Greek writers. A citation is sometimes given entire and after it is put the word compared. XIV. Examples of the use τῷ παρ' Ἀττάλου στρατηγῷ; Paus. VII. 16. 8 (Spiro) from Amherst Pap. II 41, 5; 35, 13; 31, 5; 61, 7.

II, pp. 12-30. C. Hentze: Die Monologe in den homerischen Epen. The monologue is a sort of dialogue between the speaker and his soul. There are 11 in Iliad; 10 in Odys. They are given to the chief characters and are occasioned by sadness, terror, care, surprise, etc., and begin ὦ μοι ἐγὼ or ὦ πόποι except γ 425, ε 377, ν 18. They have to do with the speaker's own person. According to content they are: a) deliberative, and b) contemplative, while the monologues of the gods constitute a separate group. On p. 30 is a summary of the critical aspects of these passages.

III, pp. 31-40. O. Immisch: ΑΤΤΙΚΟΙ ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ. The reference is to Alexandrian scholars who passed upon the authenticity of some works of Aristotle, discovered in the main library of Alexandria, in the times of Philadelphus.

IV, pp. 41-53. A. Dyroff: Ueber die Abhängigkeit des Aristoteles von Demokritos. Conclusion on p. 53. Though Aristotle sometimes bases his work on Demokritos, he does not draw heavily upon him. On the contrary, wherever closer investigation was possible, the independent and higher methods and

conception of Aristotle appeared in the best light. Therefore, however desirable a more minute examination of the question of A.'s dependence on D. might be, we must not entertain too exalted expectations as to its results.

V, pp. 54-65. B. Lier: *Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum*. Pars III. Continuation from Philol. LXII (N. F. XVI). The sentiments here treated include advice to the living from the dead; doubts about the possession of feeling, etc., by the dead; the sleep of the dead is disturbed by excessive lamentation; men are urged to enjoy life. On p. 65 is a complete index of the sentiments discussed in the paper.

VI, pp. 66-93. P. Jahn: *Aus Vergils Dichterwerkstätte*. (Based on a study of *Georgica* IV, 1-280.) Vergil's obligations to Aristotle, *hist. anim.* IX 40, Varro, *de r. r.* III 16, and Lucretius are examined. Vergil's *Georgics* are an extraordinarily careful and artistic mosaic.

VII, pp. 94-103. O. Rossbach: *De duobus Ciceronis disputationum Tusculanarum codicibus saeculi noni et undecimi ab editoribus neglectis*. These are codex *Cameracensis* 842 (K, Bibliothèque Communale de Cambrai), saec. IX, not from the same source as R, but a similar one, which sometimes agrees, sometimes disagrees with R; and secondly a codex of the *Brit. Mus.* inter Regios 15 C, XI, saec. XI. It is related to *Bruxellensis* 5351 and 5352 saec. XII, and deserves more careful collation.

VIII, pp. 104-115. W. Sternkopf: *Zu Ciceros Epistulae ad familiares*. Notes on I 9, 4; I 9, 18; VII 26, 1; X 18, 3 and X 23, 1.

IX, pp. 116-134. A. Ludwig: *Das elegische Lehrgedicht des Astrologen Anubion und die Manethoniana*. A comparison of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* III 464, 465 with the *Manethoniana* of *Cod. Laurentianus* XXVIII 27 leads to the conclusion that we have in the latter excerpts probably from Anubion, so far as we know, the only instance in Greek literature of an attempt to compose a didactic poem in elegiac distichs on Astrology.

X, pp. 135-138. W. Kroll: *Ein Astrologischer Dichterling*. (On *Ox. Pap.* III, N. 464.) Discusses independently some of the material used in the preceding article by Ludwig.

XI, pp. 139-147. W. Kroll: *Catulls 67. Gedicht*. Caecilius is the heir of Balbus, and his son. Hence Balbus is referred to in vs. 23. In vs. 20 the conjecture *attigerat* is to be accepted (But cf. below, p. 636 f.)

XII, pp. 148-153. E. Kornemann: *Thukydides und die römische Historiographie*. The fact that Thukydides united charm of form with sententious content made him appeal to readers trained in the rhetorical schools, while they could not

tolerate the weakness of Polybios. Laudatores temporis acti in the oligarchic camp—like Cicero—occasionally went back to Polybios. But Sallust and others in the democratic camp fell under the spell of Thukydides, an influence that remained under the empire.

Miscellen.—1, pp. 154–5. N. Wecklein: Zwei Bemerkungen über textkritische Methode. (1) *ὁ σκύφος* as well as *ὁ σκότος* are older and better forms to be restored in Euripides and retained in Homer with Aristarchus. (2) The psychological method of textual criticism, which derives mistakes of transmission not from wrong seeing and reading, but from unconscious and also conscious ideas of the copyist, might upon more careful attention and use, afford many a successful solution. In Xen. Kyrup. VII 5, 74 read *εὐδαιμονίαν* for *ἡδυνάθειαν*, after *βιοτεύειν*.

2, pp. 155–6. K. Praechter: *Πρόσωπον* (on Dio Chrysost. or. 15, 12). The MS reading should be retained in sense of "soziale Persönlichkeit", "Ansehen".

3, pp. 156. P. v. Winterfeld: Zu Calpurnius Flaccus Decl. 51, read *post factas nuptias illa, quod virgo perpessa stuprum conceperat, peperit*. In 37, 15 read *pia mater*. In 37, 18 *ignosce*, and again, *de matre nil meminit*; and again, *dedisce infelix puer, natalium tuorum fatum, disce fortunam*.

4, pp. 157–160. A. Klotz: Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Epen des Statius. The archetype of the MS from which the Puteanus (Paris. 8051) was copied, was written in capitals, and was the ancient codex Iuliani v. c., which had come to the library in York.

5, p. 160. S. Brandt: Zu den Versus Hieronymi ad Augustinum, Augustini ad Hieronymum.

XIII, pp. 161–185. A. Mommsen: Attische Jahrbestimmung. Enumeration of the different formulas for designating archons and other functionaries whose term of office determined the year; also dating by reference to an official body, or by counting from a fixed terminus a quo.

XIV, pp. 186–223. H. Meltzer: Der Fetisch im Heiligtum des Zeus Ammon. Conclusion on p. 214 and 222 f. Q. Curtius IV, 7, 23 and Diodor. Sic. Bibl. Hist. XVII 50. The primitive inhabitants of the Libyan desert worshiped in prehistoric times the soul of some ancestral chief which was embodied in a rough idol. This later became displaced by a deity dwelling in a conical stone near-by—a god whose form was influenced by a god of the neighboring land of the Pharaohs and a wide ruling Semitic trading folk. Afterward the bright celestial divinity Amûn-Rê was united with it.

XV, pp. 224-246. H. Weber: Amphitheos in Aristophanes' Acharnarn. Discussion and characterization of this peace-making deity, a fiction of the poet, which was identified by Müller-Strübing with the poor Hermogenes, brother of the rich Kallias, son of Hipponikos.

XVI, pp. 247-272. O. Apelt: Satura critica. Notes on Euripides and Plato.

XVII, pp. 273-296. W. M. Lindsay: De Plauti exemplaribus a Nonio Marcello adhibitis. A collection of all the citations of Plautus in Nonius to determine what was the character of the two copies apparently used by him, and how much they differ from the Ambrosian and Palatine recensions. Divergence is rare. The scholia cited from Nonius are briefly discussed, p. 273—sometimes they represent the true reading as in Epid. 223 sqq.

XVIII, pp. 297-309. P. Maas: Kolometrie in den Daktyloepitriten des Bakchylides. The division carried through in the papyrus is identical with that preferred by the poet. Excursus I. Ox. Pap. III 1903, 426. Excursus II. Bakch. VII.

Miscellen.—pp. 310-311. G. Helmreich: Galen *περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων* I 13. In the list of cities where ζῆα (spelt) is found, the best reading is in cod. Paris. 634 du supplément grec, from which it appears that the list should contain Krateaia, Klaudiopolis, Dorylaion, and for Heliupolis, Iuliopolis.

7, pp. 311-315. M. Manitius: Handschriftliches zu Vergil und Seneca Trag. The Vergil MS consists of two leaves used in the binding of a Poenitentiale. The text is from the Eclogues and Georgics, and the writing is from the end of the tenth century or later. The Seneca is of the fourteenth century.

8, pp. 315-317. P. v. Winterfeld: Zu Minucius Felix. Thirty emendations suggested, based on the use by M. F. of the rhythmical *clausula*.

9, pp. 318-320. F. Pradel: Zur Textkritik und Erklärung der römischen Sceniker. Reads Plaut. Amph. 383 Nam Amphitruonis sociam memet esse volui dicere. Plaut. Asin. 856 praeter alios frugi meum virum rata . . . frugi with change of punctuation and taking *frugi* with alios. Plaut. Bacch. 304 read *portu illi ire*. Plaut. Merc. 106, read with Pius <emi>mi and avoid hiatus. Plaut. Stich. 688 Nam hinc quidem hodie pol-luctura praeter nos iam nemini. Terent. Andr. 77 may be a translation of the Greek, which might have had as its last words, what Plato says in Legg. 792 D, *προπετὴ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γιγνώμενον*.

XIX, pp. 321-341. O. Schroeder: Pindarica, VI. Aeolische Strophen abermals. Continuation of Philol. 62, 161 ff. Study of Timotheus and renewed study of the ἀπολελυμένα of tragedy,

strengthens Sch. in the conviction that knowledge of the fundamentals of Greek versification is an attainable goal. Metrical analysis of a number of odes is given.

XX, pp. 342-361. A. Müller: Die Parasiti Apollinis. The term *parasiti Apollinis* found on Lat. inscriptions of the second century is limited to a few districts of Italy, e. g. Latium, Campania, Etruria and Apulia. The guild is probably modeled after the *ἐπὶ σύνοδος τῶν τεχνιτῶν*. The Roman actors may have taken the idea from the Greek actors who came first to Rome in 168 B. C. (Polyb. XXX 13). The name of their organization was taken from the rôle which was theirs. They were under Apollo's protection probably because scenic exhibitions were a prominent feature of the *ludi Apollinares*.

XXI, pp. 362-377. J. Ziehen: Geschichtlich-textkritische Studien zur Salmasianuscethologie. Seventeen passages are discussed.

XXII, pp. 378-424. E. Eissfeldt: Zu den Vorbildern des Statius. This article has for its purpose not so much the contribution of original matter, as the collection of previous work in this field, which is discussed so as to show Statius as an imitator, especially of Vergil, and as a poet. The literature of the subject is discussed on pp. 378-9. Statius more than any other poet depends upon his predecessors. The verdict on the *Silvae* (p. 383), is that much of the imitation may be unconscious; the poet was an improvisatore, and also dashed off much occasional poetry at short notice, so that the weakness in the *Silvae* is rather a certain nonchalance than bad intention or lack of poetic gift. In the *Thebais* (p. 421) the imitation is conscious and elaborate. His copious quotation may have been due to a desire to honor his sources.

XXIII, pp. 425-471. Th. Birt: Zu Catulls Carmina Minora. Very illuminating interpretative notes.

Miscellen.—10, p. 472. O. Crusius: Der Gigant Aster bei Euripides? In *Phoen.* 127 f. *ἀστερωπός* ought to be *Ἀστὴρ δ' ἄως*.

11, pp. 473-475. A. Ludwig: Fragment einer unbekannten Iliasrecension. Papyrus fragment of A 484-494 perhaps belongs among the rhapsode-copies.

12, pp. 475-477. E. Drerup: Zum Recht von Gortyna. In col. XI 26/31 separate the words thus: *ὅτι μὲν κατὰ μαϊνύραν ἐγάρται δικάδδεν ἢ ἀπ' ὁμότης*. *ὁμότης* = die eidlich vernommene Partei. Cf. *ὁμωμόται* on inscriptions in Comparetti *Le leggi di Gortyna e le altere iscrizioni arcaiche cretesi* no. 12/13 v. 3, etc.

13, p. 477-478. Eb. Nestle: Ein falsches Bibelzitat der neuen Philo-Ausgabe.

14, pp. 478-480. F. Pradel: Zur Kritik und Erklärung römischer Sceniker. Ter. Andr. 538 sq. cum aetate adcrevit does not seem to have a parallel in early Latin; perhaps the phrase *ἦβη ὁμοῦ ἤβαν* was in Menander (cf. Pompeius Macer Stob. Flor. III Bd. S. 80 = Nauck, Trag. Gr. fr. S. 831) *ἦβη δὲ λύπαι φροστίδες θ' ἤβασ' ὁμοῦ*. Ter. Haut. 218 cognoscere and ignoscere are synonyms; possibly we may assume here a Greek original. At least cf. Plat. Symp. 218 A, *ὡς μόνοις γνωσσομένοις τε καὶ συγνωσσομένοις*. Ter. Adelph. 505. Redito is 3d person. Pacuv. tr. 283, read Gnate, ordine omnem, ut dederit, rem enoda patri. Accius tr. 655 vides sepulcra duo duorum corporum. May we not assume in the original a play on *σήματα, σώματα*? Titin. com. 156 read cupimus for subimus.

XXIV, pp. 481-497. A. Ausfeld: Neapolis und Brucheion in Alexandria. A topographical discussion. The *Βρουχέιον* (from *Πυρουχέιον* ("wheat granary")), the derisive name given to the quarter in which was the Museum, came into vogue during the Roman epoch. The district designated included also the chief granaries, lay along the Dromos and must have been in part identical with the Neapolis. During the first three centuries of the empire the terms were employed for the same quarter, Neapolis the official, and Broucheion the popular, and originally derisive name. After the destruction under Aurelian, the popular name continued, but in the fourth century disappeared, whereas the official term 'New City' became current again in the last centuries before the Arab conquest.

XXV, pp. 498-583. G. A. Gerhard and O. Gradenwitz: *ΩΝΗ ΕΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ*. Commentary on a well preserved contract of 111 B. C., Heidelb. Pap. 1278.

XXVI, pp. 584-596. A. Brieger: Die Urbewegung der Demokritischen Atome. This original motion is to be thought of as generally a horizontal recoil of the atoms which collided.

XXVII, pp. 597-614. E. Lange: Exkurse zu Thukydides. I. The passage I 1, 10-15, *τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐνι παλαιότερα*, etc., should give occasion to no suspicions either as regards the language or the thought. II. On the papyrus fragment of book four in Gr. and H. Ox. Pap. Part IV, p. 141-5.

XXVIII, pp. 615-630. E. Stemplinger: Studien zu Stephanos von Byzanz. 1. The relation of Stephanos to Philon, Herodian, Oros. Neither is a chief source—they are all used side by side. 2. Stephanos and Suidas. Steph. is not Suidas' only source in all his geographical articles. 3. Kapiton's *Ἰσαυρικά*. Stephanos did not merely compile but added from his own reading. 4. Uranios an authority used by Steph. for Arabian places.

Miscellen.—15, pp. 631–633. A. Zimmermann: Ungewöhnliche Abkürzungen der lateinischen praenomina. O. for Aulus, Ca. Cne. Ka. Lu. Mn. Ma., etc., for Gaius, Gnaeus, Kaeso, Lucius, Manius, Marcus, etc.

16, pp. 633–636. W. Weinberger: Der Dichter Ennius als Verfasser eines orthographischen Hilfsbuches. Suggestion that in vulgares notas primus Ennius *mille et centum* invenit, we must see that Ennius the poet invented the *vulgares notas* for the numerals mille and centum; that Isidore found them in his source and wrongly made a numeral out of them.

17, pp. 636–639. H. Blase: Der Potential des Perfekts mit Vergangenheitsbedeutung im Lateinischen. Suggested by Kroll's article in this volume, p. 139 ff.

Indices, etc.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, VOL. LX, PTS. 1, 2.

Pp. 1–30. Keraunos. H. Usener. This article illustrates the development in the conception of certain classical deities, and in their symbolic representation. In Mantinea, and elsewhere, men worshiped a *Zeus Keraunos*, the god who came to the earth in a particular thunderbolt and made his dwelling where it fell. Next we find such personified abstractions as a *Zeus Kataibates* at Tarentum and a *Zeus Kappotas* near Gythion. Finally, the personified thunderbolt is merged in the comprehensive personality of Zeus, and we have a *Zeus Keraunios*. The once independent Keraunos is now a weapon in the god's hand, a symbol. Roman religion shows a close parallel: (1) *Fulgur* (C. I. L. XI 1024); (2) *Iuppiter Fulgur* (Zeus Kataibates) and *Iuppiter lapis* (Zeus Kappotas); (3) *Iuppiter Fulgerator*, *Fulminaris*, etc. The thunderbolt was first thought of as an arrow, or lance. Then it was called *ἀμφήκης* or *ἀμφίπυρος*. The god of lightning was once worshiped under the name 'Ἀμφιτρύων (the god who 'pierces both ways'), and the older statues of Zeus have a thunderbolt in each hand. Another symbol was the double axe (in Crete, in Caria, and in Tenedos). Compare the T-shaped hammer of the Scandinavian Thórr. The name *bidental* suggests that the two-pronged *bidens* was once a Roman symbol of the thunderbolt. Still another symbol of the 'winged' lightning is the eagle, that 'darteth to the plain through the dark clouds' (Hom. Il. XXII 308), the only bird 'that is never struck by lightning' (Plin. N. H. X 15), the 'armigera Iovis'. Compare Aesch. fr. 160 (Ar. Av. 1247), καὶ δόμους Ἀμφίονος|καταιθαλώσω πυρφόροισιν ἀετοῖς. The eagle was also a symbol of Zeus.

Pp. 31-37. Wie sah der Codex Blandinius vetustissimus des Horaz aus? Paul v. Winterfeld. M. Haupt was right in inferring that the 'barbarissimi characteres' mentioned by Cruquius were not uncials. But he was wrong in suggesting that they were Merovingian minuscules. Neither were they Anglo-Saxon. They may have been Irish cursive, for it was the Irish who first brought Horace into France, about the middle of the ninth century. M. Manitius maintains that Horace was known on the Continent at an earlier date, but the evidence he submits is inconclusive (*Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter*, S. 18 ff.).

Pp. 38-105. Zur Entstehung der römischen Elegie. F. Jacoby. F. Leo holds that the Roman elegy is derived from the Attic comedy (especially Menander) through the medium of the Hellenistic subjective erotic elegy. But the existence of such elegy in the Hellenistic period has not yet been proved, and Jacoby maintains that there never were any Greek poems quite like those of Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid. The history of the Greek elegy contradicts Leo's hypothesis (for even the poems of Mimnermos were not subjective), and no evidence can be found to support it. Propertius' references to his Greek models need mean only: (1) that he, too, was writing *elegies* (the Roman poet regularly mentioned his Greek example) like his models in form, but not necessarily in matter; (2) that it was convenient to quote the authority of Kallimachos (μέγα βιβλίον κ. τ. λ.) when he wished to decline a patron's request that he compose an epic; (3) that the legends of the Hellenistic elegy, which were almost exclusively erotic, suggested many subjects for his treatment, and furnished him with a plentiful stock of mythology. The creator of the Roman elegy was Cornelius Gallus, whose love poems were first published in 40/39. He seems to have exercised a great influence upon his successors, even in matters of detail. The new kind of poem was perfected by Propertius, the most original and most versatile of the little group. The principal source was the Greek erotic epigram, but we must also admit the direct use of the Attic comedy and the direct and frequent use of the Hellenistic mythological elegy. Bucolic poetry, too, was laid under contribution, from the beginning. By rhetorical treatment of all this material Propertius or Ovid could expand many a motive or situation into a subjective elegy. The result, however, was a new thing in literature; it had no parallel in Greek, any more than Horace's odes.

Pp. 106-27. Adnotationes criticae ad Libanii orationum editionem Foersterianam. H. van Herwerden. Commentatio secunda (ad Orat. XII-XXV).

Pp. 128-43. Entstehungszeit und Verfasser der akronischen Horazscholien. P. Graffunder. This article insists that at least the kernel of the so-called scholia of Acron is older than Por-

phyrion. In about forty passages Porphyry contradicts, corrects, or refers to them. They refer to no poet, grammarian, or historian later than the time of Trajan. Two of the topographical comments (on Sat. I 8, 7 and Sat. I 5, 91) seem to have been written about the middle of the second century (certainly between 117 and 176), which is just about the time of Helenius Acron. Moreover, our scholia repeat the grammatical views of Helenius Acron (as reported by Charisius), and their kernel probably goes back to him.

Miscellen.—Pp. 144–7. Friedrich Reuss. Ktesias' Bericht über die Angriffe der Perser auf Delphi. What Photios makes Ktesias say about the plundering of the Delphic sanctuary by Matakas should be referred to the sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma.—P. 148. G. Knaack. Zu Strabon. In III 139 for *ἐξακισχιλίων ἐπών* read *ἐξακισχιλίων ἐπών*. Compare Caes. B. G. VI 14, *magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur*.—Pp. 148–50. F. Solmsen. Eine Inschrift aus Pharsalos. This inscription is assigned to the first decade of the fourth century B. C. It shows two forms which are of interest to the student of Greek dialects, the article *τοί* and the *ἀν*- in *ἀνέθ[ε]καν*.—Pp. 150–1. J. Sundwall. Zeitbestimmung einer Inschrift. C. I. A. II 1, 172 should be referred to a date later than 330, perhaps a little later than 328.—Pp. 151–4. W. Gilbert. Zu Horaz Oden (continued from Vol. LIX, p. 630). Notes on III 3, 9 ff.; III 26, 11 f.; III 29, 43; IV 5, 17 (the 'bos' is ploughing, not grazing); IV 9, 34–44 (lines 37–39 should be taken as vocative; line 39 means 'voll Richterhoheit nicht durch Amt nur für Ein Jahr').—Pp. 154–8. G. Lehnert. Zur Textgeschichte der grösseren Pseudo-Quintilianischen Declamationen. I. Die subscriptio. We should look for Domitius Dracontius and Hierius in the circle of Q. Aurelius Symmachus.—Pp. 158–9. A. v. Domaszewski. Die Heimath des Cornelius Fuscus. This imperial procurator (Tac. H. III 4) came from Vienna in southern Gaul.—Pp. 159–60. A. Brinkmann. (1) Textual note on the Geneva scholia on Iliad, φ 444. (2) Note on the ancient ceremony of cleansing a sacred image by an annual bath.

Pp. 161–89. ΚΑΤΑΠΑΛΟΙ (Beiträge zum Schiffskataloge und zu der altionischen nautischen Litteratur). M. P. Nilsson. The writer thinks he sees in Aristides Rhetor, I p. 440 Dind., the title of an Ionian poem *Κατάπαλοι*, which was probably composed about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century. The main purpose of his article is to prove the existence of an early Ionian didactic epic. The Homeric Catalogue of the Ships was probably composed in the Dorian island of Rhodes, and based upon an early Ionian *περίγησις* of Hellas. It is always regarded as alien to the Homeric style of poetry, and akin to the Hesiodic (i. e. didactic) school; but Hesiod himself was closely connected with Asia Minor, and his didactic tendency may as fairly be called Ionian as Boeotian.

Pp. 190-201. Zu Senecas Schrift über die Freundschaft. E. Bickel. An attempt to restore one of the three fragments (Studemund, Apogr. p. 13).

Pp. 202-28. Lesarten und Scholien zu Juvenal aus dem Dresdensis D° 153. M. Manitius. The writer adds some readings from Dresdensis D° 155.

Pp. 229-40. Bedeutungsgeschichte griechischer Worte (continued from Vol. LIX, p. 237). K. Dieterich. III. Mod. Gr. λαλῶ, ὁμιλῶ, κελα(ῖ)δῶ, τραγουδῶ = Anc. Gr. λαλῶ, φημί, κελαδῶ, ᾄδω. IV. Anc. Gr. ξηρός, σκληρός = Mod. Gr. στεγρός, ξερός.

Pp. 241-55. Interpretationes latinae. L. Radermacher. I. In Quintilian, Inst. Or. I 6, 13, 'positum' is used in the sense which later writers (e. g. Macrobius, Saturn. I 4) expressed by 'positivum'. Compare Quintilian's 'praesumptum' (= προληπτικόν), III 6, 35, with Priscian's 'praesumptivam', 16, 1. In I 5, 55 we should punctuate, 'taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque (nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insecutur, quemadmodum Pollio reprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem): licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam'. 'Licet' is not a conjunction, but a verb. For similar parenthetical constructions, compare IV 1, 21; IV 2, 61. In I 5, 59 the words 'grammaticum veterum amatorem' probably refer to M. Valerius Probus. II. In Juvenal, Sat. I 126, the words 'noli vexare, quiescet' should be given to the patron. III. In Grattius, Cyneget. 422, read 'da vento', etc. The passage 161 ff. is not derived from Aristotle; Grattius may have followed some Alexandrian writer. IV. In Seneca, Epist. 89, 22, we should read 'quantulum est ex istis epulis, quae per tot comparatis manus, fesso voluptatibus ore libasse!' Compare Juvenal, Sat. 9, 59. And at the end of the section we should punctuate, 'infelices! esse (i. e. 'edere' contractum) quid intellegitis? maiorem vos famem habere quam ventrem?' In Epist. 79, 2 read 'neutrum autem incredibile est, nec montem, qui devoretur cotidie, minui, nec manere eundem, quia non ipsum exest sed in aliqua inferna valle conceptus exaestuat et aliis pascitur ignis, ipsum montem non alimentum habet sed viam'. In Epist. 75, 12 read 'itaque qui plurimum profecere, extra morbos sunt, adfectus adhuc sentiunt, perfecto proximis secundum genus est eorum, qui et maxima animi mala et adfectus deposuerunt'. In 76, 30 keep the MS 'inludunt'. V. Textual notes on Quintilian, IV 3, 14; Cicero, Orat. 68, 124, 44.

Pp. 256-61. Minerva auf dem Capitol und Fortuna in Praeneste. C. Thulin. The worship of the Capitoline triad (Juppiter, Juno, Minerva) was introduced from Etruria. In this group 'Minerva' represents an Etruscan goddess of fortune. The 'Fortuna' of the Etruscan town of Praeneste (Cic. de Div. II 85) may be identified with the 'Minerva' of Martianus Capella, I 47.

Pp. 262-72. Firmicus de errore profanarum religionum. F. Skutsch. Textual notes.

Pp. 273-96. *Neue Firmicus-Lesungen* (derived from a recent examination of the Codex, Vatic. Palat. 165). K. Ziegler.

Pp. 297-306. *Der Pinienzapfen als Röhrenschmuck*. K. Tittel. J. Strzygowski holds that the pine cone was a symbolic ornament in mediaeval Christian art, derived from the ancient Orient by way of Syria, that it was employed especially in representations of the Fountain of Life. E. Petersen maintains that the model of all such Christian fountains was the huge Pine Cone of bronze which stands in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican, which once rested on the roof of the Pantheon. Ch. Huelsen asserts that the pine cone was a conventional ornament of Roman water-pipes even before the building of the Pantheon. And now Tittel argues that such things were known in Alexandria at the beginning of the first century B. C.

Pp. 307-14. *Ranbemerkingen*. W. Kroll. I. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II 2, 324-30, argues that Minucius Felix should be assigned to the third century. In one or two passages the Octavius seems to be of later date than Tertullian: compare Min. 31, 3 with Tert. 9, 7, and Min. 34 with Tert. 48. II. The letter of Alexander, Minucius, 21, 3, must have been derived from some Greek writer on apologetics. Compare Athenagoras, 26, and August. Civ. Dei, VIII 5 (also 27). III. Textual note on Minucius, 21f. IV. The name Storax, Terent. Ad. 1, was known at Rome (C. I. L. VI 26879) and at Beneventum (IX 6407). At Brescia we have a Plenia Storacia (V 4850).

Miscellen.—Pp. 315-17. L. Radermacher. Lucian, *Philopseudes* Cap. 11 und 24. Parallels from Tyrolese and S. German folk-lore.—P. 317. E. Bickel. *De Merobaude imitatore Senecae*. Pp. 317-20. F. Bücheler. *iugmentum*. *offimentum*. *detramen*. The word 'iugmenta' (= cross-beams) is glossed by ζεύγματα, it is quoted from Varro, Charisius, p. 135, 18, and it is found in C. I. L. VI. An older form was 'iugumenta'; a later popular form, 'iumenta'. This is the 'iouxmenta' of the Lapis Niger, with which compare the Gr. ζεύγος. 'Offimentum' (= peg, nail) is glossed by ῥλος. It is to be connected with 'offigere', and compared with 'offixm-'. In Pelagonius, Veterin. 199, 'detramen' means lint. The early form 'trama' had by that time been changed to 'tramen', doubtless under the influence of 'stamen' and 'subtemen'. The new formation 'detramen' was suggested by 'detrahere'.—P. 320. G. Knaack. *Nochmals zu Strabon III 139*. The writer has discovered that his emendation (p. 148) was made long ago by Palmerius, and was received into Meineke's text.—P. 320. F. Jacoby. *Zur Entstehung der römischen Elegie* (s. oben S. 38-105). The writer finds that his theory had been anticipated by the Hungarian scholar Némethy.

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BRIEF MENTION.

For the vacation months of the current year the editorial affairs of the Journal have been in the hands of my tried friend and valued colleague, Professor C. W. E. MILLER, and it is due to his superintendence that there has been no unwonted delay in the appearance of the summer and autumn numbers. So efficient has been his service that on my return from an unusually long and varied trip abroad I find this third number practically closed, except for a few pages of *Brief Mention*, which I proceed to fill with some meditations on the difficulties under which so many American scholars labor during our long summers. The summer, which to most of our European colleagues offers the choicest time for the prosecution of research, is a serious problem to most of us. 'Eine Erholungsreise mache ich nie' said a distinguished scholar to me the other day. If he had lived under American skies, he might have struck another note, and there are those among us, who are so worn by the exacting toil of the class-room and the worries of administration that they seek nothing but rest and refreshment from the long vacation. Of those who feel that our generous summer holidays are too long for idleness, too long for recreation, a favoured few betake themselves to Europe and plunge into the recesses of the great libraries, where they collate and collect to their heart's content. But most of us spend our holidays by the seashore or in the mountains far from the scenes and the apparatus of our daily business, and it is very difficult to carry on any considerable constructive work at a distance from libraries. Everyone, who has taken great boxes of books to his summer abode, knows to his sorrow that by some malice of fate the very books one needs most are always left behind. The true philosophy seems to be to do that part of the year's work that requires little apparatus. My old friend WHITNEY used to devote the long holidays to the making of indexes, and I have generally found in a shelf of texts and a box of cards sufficient occupation for such time as I can spare in summer from the studies of the *école buissonnière*. Even when the exigencies of travel reduce the apparatus to two or three books, much profit or, what is the same thing, much delight can be gained by communion with one or two authors, large-margined or interleaved for the reporting of observations or fancies. To this end a fresh copy is desirable so that previous notes may not interfere with the directness of vision. 'Musst immer thun wie neugeboren'—and this is the nearest approach an old scholar can make to Goethe's 'new birth' or Victor Hugo's remade maidenhood. The contemplation of such a work of art as a Pindaric

ode or a Platonic dialogue, undisturbed by the impertinences of commentators or one's own previous fancies, is great gain. To be sure, when one looks at the results afterwards in the light of the literature of the subject, it is sometimes mortifying to find how much is reminiscence. Still there is some substantial residuum, and if I were not jealous of the rights of my contributors, I might have filled not a few pages of the *Journal* with my musings on the Nemeans and Isthmians of Pindar, which I studied a year ago, now in the smoking room of an ocean liner, now in a bustling French watering place—the noisiest resort I ever visited.

The Pindarist of to-day is severed by a yawning gulf from the Pindarist of twenty-five years ago, and an edition of the Nemeans and Isthmians on the plan of my Olympians and Pythians would be an impossibility to me now. Believing as I do in the determining influence of artistic form I should find it necessary to restudy the whole subject of Pindaric metres and readjust my interpretations of stylistic phenomena to the new views. Logaoedic, one blushes to use the word, and dactylo-epitrite must go, and some other explanation must be found for the variations in quantity and syntax that were supposed to follow the more rapid and the more majestic rhythms. And what is true of Pindaric metres is true of other important things. The bold Norseman, who made a piratical descent some years ago on the symmetrical castles, which Pindaric scholars had been building up for generations out of the precious stones of the Epinikian Odes, has found more and more followers. Still a fresh study of the Nemeans and Isthmians has only strengthened my faith in the correctness of my attitude toward the great problem of Pindaric composition. I believe in contemplation. It reveals much, but the value of its revelation depends on the beholder. One sees in the moon nothing but the familiar figure with a bundle of sticks, another the beautiful profile of a goddess, and everyone knows what faces can be conjured up out of an innocent wall-paper. Impressionism does not carry with it conviction. Nor on the other hand is analysis the right way. Analysis is apt to become a wooden and mechanical thing. What it yields is a jointed doll, not a rhythmical statue. The true way is to rethink the poet's, the philosopher's work. It is far more valuable to reproduce on a smaller scale than it is to translate, for it is hardly a paradox to say that a man may translate fairly well and yet fail to understand his author. And this reproduction can be done anywhere, perhaps better, when one is removed from the facile consultation of authorities. At any rate the mastery, real or fancied, of such problems—say, as the structure of the Seventh Nemean, when gained in this way, is a joy that is quite independent of learned apparatus and is as much a part of the traveller's delight

as sunrise at sea or the afterglow that lights up the summits of the Alps, for Pindar is both sea and mountain.

It was while I was thus engaged, now more than a year ago, that I came across Tennyson's astounding characteristic of Pindar. 'Pindar', he allowed himself to say, 'is a manner of Australian poet; has long tracts of gravel with immensely large nuggets imbedded'. 'A hasty judgment, perhaps', adds Palgrave 'on that colossal genius, if his work be studied as a whole'. A hasty judgment, undoubtedly, but one that has its value as throwing strong light on Tennyson's own lapidary methods, and in that light Professor Mustard's work on Tennyson finds ample justification. A hasty judgment, undoubtedly, but one that has its value as a warning against recent tendencies and recent flippancies. Sooner than renounce all hopes of organic unity in the Pindaric odes, I should surrender to the Terpendrian nome and the recurrent word. Touching the recurrent word, some of the readers of the Journal may remember that in a review of Rossetti's edition of Shelley's *Adonais*, I undertook to show by an application of Mezger's principle to the threnody on Keats how readily any poem would yield to such treatment (A. J. P. XII 94), and I was much amused when a recent critic selected other words than 'eternal' and 'light' as specimens of Shelley's characteristic iteration and said that "throughout the *Adonais*, the words 'death' and 'die' hoot their perpetual lament."

Every classical scholar knows that the Greek Pegasus is only the remote sire of the modern poet's steed. The Greek Pegasus is the Muses' steed, which is a very different thing, but the *sons caballinus* and the fall of Bellerophon are enough to explain the development, for which Bojardo stands sponsor. An amusing illustration of the way in which Pegasus has penetrated all our literature is Daudet's criticism of Ovid. 'Ça un poète', he cries. 'C'est tout au plus de l'infanterie montée'; and some years ago in a semi-popular article, I did not hesitate to treat the Pindaric version of the story as a lesson in the art of poetry. The *φάρμακον πρᾶν* of O. 13, 85 was made the poetical incorporation of v. 47: *ἐπεται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέτρον*.¹ If these old myths are to live,

¹ This was the spot where Athena appeared to Bellerophon, weary with vain endeavor to yoke the son of Medusa; and as he slept, she brought him bit and bridle. The headstall had a golden frontlet, but the poet does not dwell on that adornment. The bit is the charm, the bit is the wonder, the bit is the gold that tames the spirit, and Bellerophon was straightway wide awake and leaped to his feet. The poet must have visions, but he must have vision as well, clear eye and steady hand, and, above all, the bit. There is a whole theory of poetic art in Pindar's use of the myth; and his very insistence on the element of control is part of the self-irony in which genius is apt to indulge'.—Atlantic Monthly, May, 1897.

they must grow and must be accommodated to the time. But that is a very different thing from giving a prophetic perspective to the antique poet himself, as my fellow-Pindarist Fennell has done in the Introduction to the First Nemean. Like most Pindaric scholars, he is as eager to discover allusions and aptnesses in the poet, as he is to detect illusions and ineptitudes in the poet's commentators, and I cannot help wondering what my caustic critic (A. J. P. XIV 501) would have said, if I had been guilty of such a lapse as this. 'There is a possible bearing of the myth' <of Herakles' birth>, he says, 'which has not, I believe, been noticed, namely that Amphitryon was a type of hospitality, so that Chromios' palace might suggest the scene of the myth in this connexion'. Amphitryon as a type of hospitality dates from—Molière.

I have often fancied Plato's divine smile as he watches from Dante's first circle his barbarian commentators passing dryshod over the Ilissos of his style; and the well-nigh universal use of galoshes must be a wonder to the man who is figured by Raphael in his School of Athens as going barefoot like his master. A mere *μονοσύλλαβος*, a mere *γωνιοβόμβυξ*, I was studying, now many years ago, Plato's use of *τε* combining single words. Cf. my note on Pindar, O. 9, 43, anticipated by Frederking, Jahrb. 1882, p. 534; also Shorey, A. J. P. IX 410 and Lutoslawski, p. 107. In the course of this quest I lighted on Phaedrus, 267 A: *Τεισίαν δὲ Γοργίαν τε εἴσομεν εὔδειν*. 'Clearly a bit of fun', I said to myself. The lonely *τε*, the poetic *εὔδειν* for *καθεύδειν*, the dactylic close, *εἴσομεν εὔδειν*,—not uncommon, it is true, but suggestive for all that, cf. Sympos. 203 B *βεβαρημένος ἦδεν*,—the allusion to the *ἐγκοτοί κύνες* of the Choephoroi 924, 1054, the allusion to the sleeping bitches of the Eumenides, the punning reference to Tisiphone, the joke on Gorgias, familiar from the Sympos. 198 C, where he translates Homer's *Γοργεῖη κεφαλὴ* into *Γοργίου κεφαλὴ*, Plato's free way of handling poetical citations (A. J. P. XXIII 233)—all these things combined seemed to me irresistible proof that Plato was amusing himself by a semi-quotation, which could not have escaped even so poor an observer as was the late Mr. Pater (A. J. P. XV 93). But there is nothing about it in Ast or Stallbaum or Thompson, and perhaps this exegetical note is as well worth recording as some of the conjectures with which we are favored from time to time. If I have been anticipated here also, I shall not be worse off than the run of conjectural critics. It would be interesting to take the census of the *palmares emendationes* that have been anticipated.

I have long maintained by precept, if not by example, that the philologist should pay some attention to the form of his message. If a thing is worth saying at all, it is worth saying well, and this

old-fashioned principle has vexed me often in the study of philological work, has vexed me, for I fret no longer. 'Mich besiegen die gewalt'gen Stunden' and I am satisfied, if I can make out the meaning of much that it would be profanation to call literature. Even the French are not so exacting as they used to be. M. Navarre lamented not so long ago the decadence of rhetoric in the scheme of French education (A. J. P. XXI 472), and I was interested to read the other day in the important correspondence between Renan and Berthelot, a passage that shews a rebellion against form, such as one would not have expected from the brilliant author of the *Vie de Jésus*. It is nearly fifty years since Renan wrote to his friend (p. 148): Je comprends parfaitement le tort que fait par un côté à l'esprit humain la trop grande culture de langage, comme cela a lieu en français et en italien: cela absorbe beaucoup de force et nuit à l'action: les Allemands, qui cherchent seulement à dire tant bien que mal ce qu'ils veulent dire, sont plus heureux'. It is the old story. 'Optat arare caballus'. But there are those who will not regret that Renan had acquired the habit of 'handling his instrument' 'avec réflexion et raffinement'.

W. A. H.: Professor Carlo Pascal, whose *Studii Critici sul Poema di Lucrezio*, 1903, and the edition of Lucretius, of the following year, gave ample evidence of an intelligent acquaintance with his author, has recently published (*Rivista di Filologia*, XXXII, 589-600) an acute study of Lucret. III. 843-868 under the title *Morte e Resurrezione in Lucrezio*. He shows conclusively that Epicurus did not and could not hold the doctrine of a real resurrection, but that he regarded the redintegration of the *concilium*, which constitutes man, as one of the possibilities incident to the combination of an infinitude of atoms in infinite space in infinite time. The effort of editors to associate this doctrine with the Stoic ἀνακατάστασις recurring at fixed cosmic periods is a mistake. The argument is to be considered in connection with Lucret. II. 1048-1089. Thus far Pascal, in the main agreeing with Giussani, is clearly in the right. He errs, however, in fancying that Lucretius in his passion for argument pushed the statement of this possibility beyond the prudent affirmation of Epicurus. When Lucretius says (III. 856) *facile hoc adcredere possis* he does not, as Pascal suggests, state the matter 'come probabile ed ordinario', he merely asserts that it is quite credible. But even if he had done so, he would still have been well within bounds. Granting the assumption, everywhere made by Epicurus, of infinity absolutely realized, every possibility must somewhere at some time be actual. Aristotle could hold to an ἀπειρον δυνάμει δὲ which should never exist ἐνέργειᾳ; but Epicurus, no less than the Stoics, repudiated the δυνάμει δὲ. The essential difference between Epicurus and the Stoics was that the latter

assumed a fixed term of years within which the cycles of change recurred with necessity, whereas the former made no such assumption. The one system predicated the doctrine on the law of fate or necessity, the other on the law of chances. The statement of St. Jerome (apud Usener, *Epicurea*, 215) is entirely consistent with Epicurean doctrine if we do not press *periodos*, taking it merely in the sense of recurrence after intervals. It seems not to have been remarked that this tenet was inherited from Democritus. Cp. Cic. Acad. Prior. II. 17, 55 Et ais Democritum dicere innumerabiles esse mundos et quidem sic quosdam inter sese non solum similes, sed undique perfecte et absolute ita pares, ut inter eos nihil prorsus intersit, itemque homines; and Simplic. de Caelo 310, 10 οἱ δὲ Δημοκρίτου κόσμοι εἰς ἑτέρους κόσμους μεταβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀτόμων ὄντας (Lucretius makes this same assumption regarding man) οἱ αὐτοὶ τῷ εἶδει γίνονται, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ ἀριθμῷ. The last phrase means that while the worlds are absolutely alike, having the same constituent atoms in the same order, etc., they differ in time, and so are two worlds, not one. This is precisely what Lucretius says III. 851 interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostri, putting it from the psychological point of view, and, from the physical point of view, III. 860 inter enim iectast vitae pausa.

G. L. H.: Mr. Brandon's thesis, "Robert Estienne et le dictionnaire français au XVI^e siècle" has a very suggestive title, which does not perhaps fill its promise. It is divided into two parts. The first part, which is a sketch of the life of the great printer, based upon some of the most obvious authorities, shows a lack of acquaintance on the part of the author with some of the standard works on early French printing, and with certain recent bibliographical contributions on the work of the Estiennes. The single time Mr. Brandon takes issue with Renouard, in placing Robert Estienne's trip to Venice after, instead of before, his emigration to Geneva (p. 23, n. 4), he has hardly hit the mark, for there is evidence that this Italian trip was made two years earlier than the date assigned by Renouard. Mr. Brandon fails to mention the final work upon the question of the Greek types, the book of Bernard, which is entered in the bibliography, but not cited on the body of the book.

The second part of the book deals with the lexicographical work of Estienne. The four pages of the introductory chapter upon "La lexicographie latine avant R. Estienne" is hardly adequate. The author's acquaintance with mediaeval encyclopaedic and lexicographical work is almost entirely confined to Littré's article in the *Histoire littéraire*, and the estimate of the works of Perotti and Calepino fails to emphasize their importance in the history of humanism, while the "Commentarii" of Dolet, on account of the relations between it and the *Thesaurus* of

Estienne, is assuredly due something more than a short footnote. In the following chapters the accounts of the first edition of the "Thesaurus", the aims of the author, its superiority—somewhat overstated—to earlier works of the same kind, the use of French in the interpretation of Latin words is discussed in full. But with this full treatment of the first edition Mr. Brandon has intentionally subordinated the importance of the second edition of 1536, which, however, marks an epoch in the history of French lexicography, as well as in Latin. Mr. Brandon has lost a good chance to show the relations between the lists of proper names in the "Thesaurus" and R. Estienne's reprints of the "Elucidarius" of Torrentinus, and his own compilation the "Dictionarium poeticum" (p. 57). One might be curious to know why Nebrija's name is spelled Lebrija (pp. 49 n., 57, 127), and it is perhaps worth noting that that scholar's Castilian-Latin lexicon was a separate work published in 1495, and was not published at the same time as the Latin-Castilian dictionary. Lazare de Baïf and Jacques Toussain were well enough known, so that they do not need to masquerade under their Latin names (p. 60).

The place filled by the *Dictionarium Latino-gallicum* in the evolution of Estienne's lexicographical work is sufficiently emphasized, before the treatment of the final phase in the editions of "Le Dictionnaire françoislatin". In the account of the two editions of this work for which Estienne was responsible, the innovations and additions of the second edition are brought out into relief, in order to support Mr. Brandon's thesis that it was really a French dictionary, and not merely an aid to the study of Latin as the earlier lexicographical works of Estienne.

The chapter upon the later editions of the "Dictionnaire" is merely noticeable on account of a very unjust estimate of the value of the work of Nicot to whom, however, too much credit is given for the introduction of technical marine terms (pp. 75, 89), without taking into consideration the publication by Estienne in 1536, of the "De re navali" of Baïf, and the use made of it in the second edition of the "Thesaurus". Just as in the first part of this book Mr. Brandon has failed to give a rating of the position held by Estienne in the learned circles of his day, so, in the final chapter of the second part, upon the rôle played by "Le Dictionnaire françoislatin", in the history of the French language, there is the same lack of perspective. For instance, not one word is said of the influence of Estienne's alphabetical arrangement upon the final form of the modern dictionary.

G. L. H.: One of the most noticeable publications ever made, in the field of Romance languages, in the United States, is Professor C. H. Grandgent's, "An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal" (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.,

1905). It is not only the best manual of the subject in English, for in arrangement and completeness it surpasses any other treatment. It presents a clear exposition of the generally accepted facts and principles of the linguistic growth of the language of the troubadours; exceptional linguistic developments which have called for special explanations are noted with references to the authorities. Owing to Professor Grandgent's extended work in general phonetics, in which he has gained such an enviable reputation, one can read through the whole book and never hesitate over the meaning of a statement, on account of a technical term of dubious import, a fault often found in historical treatments of a language.

K. F. S.: F. PLESSIS' book of selections from the Roman epitaphs (*Épigraphes, Textes Choisis*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1905), for the use of non-professional scholars is the result of a series of *conférences* upon this subject and, except for the preface, is largely the work of his advanced students in the *École Normale Supérieure*. One epitaph (No. 67) is published here for the first time. The remaining 66 are taken from Buecheler's *Carmina Epigraphica*. The general introduction is by M. Focillon. The epitaphs of the Scipios were intrusted to M. Riemann, the remainder distributed among MM. Eggli, Gautreau, St. Jolly and de Pérera. Time and further investigation will doubtless prompt M. Focillon to revise some of his general conclusions to a certain extent. Otherwise I do not remember to have read a more attractive and inspiring account of the subject. The commentary is, on the whole, less satisfactory. It is somewhat wordy and would gain much not only by the excision of unnecessary repetitions but also by greater compression and point. But these and other defects are by no means serious and are the inevitable result of the method by which the book was composed. Moreover, it is only fair to add that the choice of this method was made for a special purpose. A number of educational reformers have recently promulgated the view that the famous old *École Normale* has outlived its usefulness. Plessis' book replies by showing what the school is now doing. As such, the work is a brilliant success. France could ill afford to dispense with an institution which attracts and trains such students as these. Otherwise, those who have read the charming *Étude sur Properce* cannot help regretting that the comment upon these *obiter dicta* of the average man was not entirely the work of Professor Plessis himself.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I wish to call attention very briefly to the nature of three or four of Professor Knapp's criticisms of my *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, in his review of the book in the last number of this Journal, pp. 213 ff.

Professor Knapp says: "On page 138 the altar of Aius Locutius is said to stand 'On the *northwest*' slope of the (Palatine) hill'; on page 139 we read 'There are on that part of the hill which lies between the domus Augustana, the domus Tiberiana, and the *southwest* edge (of the hill) the remains of two temples'. These statements, on successive pages, refer to precisely the same part of the Palatine". Not precisely. The first statement refers to the point at the southern end of the northwest slope of the hill, where the altar stands. The second statement refers to the area on the hill which is bounded by the domus Augustana, the domus Tiberiana, the southwest edge, and the northwest edge of the hill, and in defining this area three of these four sides are mentioned, the southwest rather than the northwest because of its greater length and its relation to the two temples.

Professor Knapp says: "On page 214 the author says: 'Caesar *decided to remove* the Rostra to the Forum, but his definite plan seems not to have been carried out until after 42 B. C. Thenceforth the Rostra of the empire was a long platform extending across the *west* end of the Forum'. Now, on page 179 we have already read that 'Julius Caesar *erected* a second platform, the rostra Iulia, at the *east* end of the Forum, in front of the Regia', etc." My critic does not seem to know that there were two rostra in imperial times, according to the theory of the *rostra Iulia* that I accept, and that the statements quoted refer to these two different structures.

Professor Knapp says: "On page 373 the pons Sublicius is described, in passing, as 'later pons Aemilius'. On page 80 the author says of the pons Sublicius: 'The strongest evidence seems to indicate a point between the porta Trigemina and the ruined ponte Rotto, and very probably close to the latter'. On this same page (80) a paragraph is headed, 'Pons Aemilius, perhaps the ruined ponte Rotto'!"

The pons Sublicius is not "described, in passing, as 'later pons Aemilius'". These three words stand in a parenthesis (p. 373), and are not intended to mean what the reviewer says they do, but that the road, which first ran to the pons Sublicius,

¹ The italics are Professor Knapp's.

afterwards ran to the pons Aemilius, as most of the traffic was probably diverted to that bridge. Perhaps any possible ambiguity ought to have been avoided, but after reading the careful discussion of the bridges in chapter V, some of the statements of which he quotes in this very connection, the reviewer should have known that the parenthesis on page 373 could not mean what he says it does.

Professor Knapp says: "On page 137 we have a brief discussion of the temple on the Palatine which in recent times has been generally regarded as that of the Magna Mater. It closes thus: 'Inscriptions relating to the Magna Mater, a portion of a colossal female figure—undoubtedly the goddess—seated on a throne, and a fragment of a base with the paws of lions, the regular attendants of Cybele, have been found near the podium of this temple'. From all this one would naturally infer that the author believed the temple to be that of the Magna Mater".

My words are quoted incorrectly. What is actually said (at the end of the sentence quoted above) is this—"have been found near the podium of the temple marked C on the plan of the Palatine". A careful reading of this passage would have shown my critic that the language was intentionally chosen to guard against any such definite identification as he assumes at this point, and to leave the whole matter open for the discussion on pp. 139, 140.

Professor Knapp says: "Again, cross-references are lacking often" (the index is apparently overlooked) "where their insertion would have been most helpful, even to the author himself in forcing him to correlate his statements at various places in the book. Thus, on page 74 the Septizonium is called 'a seven-zoned structure'. There is nothing to explain this till we reach page 156".

Why should there be? The first is a passing reference, the second the detailed description of the building in its proper place.

Professor Knapp continues: "On page 17 it is stated that the accumulation of the fragments heaped together in monte Testaccio began as early as the last century of the Republic; on page 399 we read 'it is certain that the dumping of debris on this spot began as early as the time of Augustus'".

Here again my critic has read carelessly and omitted an important word in his citation. On page 17 it is stated that the accumulation doubtless began as early as the last century of the republic, while on page 399 it is said that it is certain that it began as early as the time of Augustus. Doubtless, in ordinary usage, indicates a high degree of probability, and I wrote the sentence in this form at this place in order to express my own opinion that probably the process did begin somewhat earlier than the time of Augustus. On page 399 I wish to state only what is certain. The difference in the statements, and the reason for it, ought to be sufficiently plain.

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S. B. PLATNER.

Through the courtesy of the Editor of the Journal I have been permitted to see Professor Platner's remarks on my review of his *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*. It is with great reluctance that I reply, because I am convinced that controversies of this sort are generally valueless. Yet, lest silence on my part be construed as a plea of guilty on the counts in the indictment drawn by Professor Platner, I shall reply briefly, and, so far as I am concerned, finally.

Professor Platner seeks to throw doubts on my carefulness. This compels me to be more personal than I would otherwise be, in explaining how the review was written. I first heard of Mr. Platner's book in Rome, in July, 1904. A book such as this professes to be was precisely what I wanted at that time. I secured a copy and read it through. I then carried it about with me among the ruins day by day, reading it through again in this way in detail, not merely once but several times, as I studied the individual monuments. I then wrote out a very lengthy review of the book, which I compared with the monuments on the spot, reading the portions affected over and over. The condensed form finally printed was itself written out twice. Ignorant I may be, but careless surely not.

So much for a general reply. I note that Professor Platner picks out but five or six points of the many raised in the review, all of them, too, points of minor consequence. On page 139 Mr. Platner says: "There are on that part of the hill which lies between the domus Augustana, the domus Tiberiana, and the southwest edge two temples". I remember puzzling over this sentence and examining it in connection with the diagram of the Palatine given in Figure 16. The temples under discussion are there marked C and F. Inasmuch as between C and that part of the hill which Mr. Platner in his present commentary on his book describes as "the southwest edge" considerable ruins lie, I decided finally that by "the southwest edge" Mr. Platner meant the stretch of the hill along the Velabrum, at whose terminating point stands the altar which he describes on page 138. In the light of the conclusion thus laboriously reached I wrote the passage in the review. Mr. Platner has now supplied a commentary on his language. I *can* see how his words *may* be interpreted as he assures us they ought to be interpreted. I can only say that his description of the location of these temples, as he has now interpreted it, is faulty. Why mention at all the edge which he now defines as the southwest edge? Why omit the edge along the Velabrum? Why go from the east side to the north side and then to the south side, omitting the west side entirely? Why not give as the southern boundary the structures commonly known as the Scalae Caci? On this same page, I note now, in describing temple F in detail, Mr. Platner gives the Scalae Caci as one of its boundaries.

On page 373, the following words are to be read: "The forum Boarium was originally the open meadow where cattle were

bought and sold, extending from the Velabrum to the Tiber, and from the valley of the Circus Maximus on the east to a line which was approximately indicated by the road leading from the pons Sublicius (later pons Aemilius) to the Velabrum". I dared to say that Mr. Platner here described, in passing, the pons Sublicius as later the pons Aemilius. He now tells us that he meant "that the road, which first ran to the pons Sublicius, afterwards ran to the pons Aemilius, as most of the traffic was probably diverted to that bridge". I submit that no person with the usual training in language would dream of interpreting Mr. Platner's words as he would have us understand them.

Lastly, let us come to the Monte Testaccio matter. Mr. Platner himself confesses that on pages 17 and 399 he has given two distinct views concerning the matter under discussion, thus fully confirming the contention in my review.

It is evident from the little I have allowed myself to say that Mr. Platner's views of the meaning, interpretation and use of English words are widely different from mine. I hold that it is a writer's first business to be absolutely clear. He has no right to reserve to himself part of the meaning of his words, or to set up canons of interpretation of his language which are not universally recognized. It is clear also that Mr. Platner's theories of bookmaking are different from mine. I maintain that a writer should use all possible diligence in coming to reasoned conclusions, and that he should be at harmony with himself in different parts of his book. Consistency has, I know, been characterized as the vice of fools, but surely in a manual of topography meant, as this book was evidently meant, for the widest possible audience, and not merely for those who out of extensive acquaintance with other manuals or first-hand knowledge of the monuments themselves could supply that commentary which Mr. Platner has so generously furnished now to me on one or two points, in a manual of this sort, I say, consistency would be a decided merit, and any lack of clearness is a decided blemish.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
October 2, 1905.

CHARLES KNAPP.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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CORRECTION.—Little did I think when I commented some years ago on the lapse of an eminent scholar, who confounded Strepsiadēs and Pheidippides (Curtius, Studien, I 2, 275), that one day some editorial Puck would get astride of my pen and make me write 'Acharnian' for 'Megarian', as happened in the last number of the Journal (p. 242, l. 5). In my handwriting, it is true, Acharnian and Megarian are not so far apart, but I will not saddle printer or proofreader with my inadvertencies. Nor will I say that to the Greek scholar the error corrects itself, as the dialect is Megarian. Else Professor HUMPHREYS would not have called my attention to the matter. *μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω.*

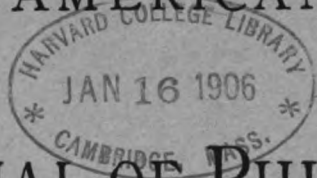
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VOL. XXVI, 4.

WHOLE No. 104.

I.—A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE INDO-IRANIAN NASAL VERBS.

PART III.

T. Miscellaneous.¹

T. a. To hurl, shake, quake.

53) *drūṇāti* 'hurls': no *n*-forms and no cognates of obviously related meaning.

I would define *drūṇāti* by some word like 'iaculatur', e. g. σκήπτει (1) 'stakes, props'; (2) 'throws a stake', cf. Eng. *brandishes* 'shakes a brand', and βάλλει 'strikes, hurls (at)' (see P.). Even more precise is Eng. *throws*: Gr. τείρει 'pierces', Lat. *terit*. A base DRĒ(W)- 'caedere' (cf. DER- in no. 1) would be warranted by Skr. *dráviṇam* 'property' (see P.), by *dravyam* 'ξύλον, scheid'; and by *drávatī* 'runs' (see R.).

54) *dhūṇāti/dhunóti* 'shakes': *n*-flexion in θύνει, θυνεῖ 'darts, dashes' (see R.).

Base DHĒ(Y)-(?), DHŌ(W)-/DHĒ(W):

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | Skr. <i>dhūṇāti</i> 'kindles' | <i>fāmus</i> 'smoke' |
| <i>fōmes</i> 'kindling' | <i>favilla</i> 'cinders' | <i>fovet</i> 'warms' (but see no. 117) ² |
| <i>thueia</i> 'mortar' | <i>θυέστis</i> 'pestle' | <i>θυῖ</i> 'subat' ³ |

¹ These verbs are not classified with vigorous exclusion. Thus nos. 53, 54, 55, might well be put under K.

² Cf. the gloss *fomito* 'πελεκῶ'.

³ Primary meaning in this group is 'caedere'. With this sex-verb cf. Lat. *fusiit*, with *f-* from *dh-* (but see 41 fn.). The sexual use of the terms 'mortar' and 'pestle' is commented on for Italian by Boccaccio, Decam., Conclusionē, and is found in the stories at 7. 2; see *permolere* in Hor. S. 1. 2. 35. Does *fustis* (from DHU-S-TIS?) 'club' belong here or to 41 fn.?

Skr. *dāvatī* 'washes' (see M.)*favissae* 'pits'¹*dhārā* 'schneide'*fovea* 'pit'Skr. *dhārā* 'stream'*dhārakā* 'vulva' (no. 51)

Forms from DHĒ(ŷ)- are rare but

θῖς (stem θi-v-)

Skr. *dha-nū-s*Lat. *ſ-ni-s* 'sandy shore, *litus*, boundary' (see no. 2)

may belong here (cf. Skr. *velā* 'finis, rivus, litus' in no. 36); DHĒ(ŷ)- appears in an extended form in no. 11, fn.

55) *kṣubhñāti/kṣubhñōti* 'quakes, trembles': no *n*-forms.

The primitive sense is more nearly approached by O. B. *skubq* 'vello', O. E. *scufan* 'schieben, stossen'. The meaning 'quakes' is but an intransitive to 'shakes' (no. 53), and both meanings are combined in Lat. *vibrat*, a denominative to a stem attested by Skr. *vādhar* 'weapon', with the vocalism of *vidhyati* 'pierces' (see no. 36).

T. β. (= G.). To nod, sink, bend.

We saw in G. above that Eng. 'nods' derives from 'shakes, beats, pushes'. Prellwitz (s. v. κλάδος 'twig') writes a base KELO-/KLĀ- which he defines by 'schlagen, brechen, biegen', and s. v. κλάθω, a base KALA-/KLŌ- 'biegen, flechten'. Uhlenbeck, s. v. *rugnās*, writes two bases LEUG-, the one meaning 'biegen', the other 'brechen', but he suggests their ultimate identity. In the technical language of the game of cricket 'to break' is 'to curve' a ball. A 'broken' landscape is one "marked by elevations and depressions", cf. *κεκλασμένος* 'deflected'. So *πλάγιος* 'bent, sloping' belongs with Lat. *plāga* 'blow' (cf. *ἀπότομος* 'abrupt, steep'), and it would seem that Lat. *flectit* 'bends, twists' belongs with *θλάει* ('zer)stösst, verwundet' supposing it to have been assimilated in flexion to *plectit* 'plaits, twists', (cf. *plectitur* 'is beaten', whose derivation from *πλήκτης* 'schläger' seems most improbable, even though *πλήκτρον* 'quill, pick', a technical word, was brought over in Latin as *plēctrum*). In view of *φλάει* 'θλάει', *flectit* may be more specifically connected with *flocus*² 'lock of wool, κοῦρά', *φάλκης* 'curved beam, δόρυ', *φολλκός* 'bow-legged', (cf. *τόξον* 'bow', cognate with Skr. *tāksati* 'cuts, hews', no. 85), *falc-s* 'secula'.

¹ But see Studies, p. 191.

² Cf. *ſides* 'faex vini' (Caecilius, ap. Non. 114, 15), with a primitive sense, I take it, of 'broken up, carries' (no. 7).

In English, *bends* is a specialized sense of *binds*, O. E. *bandan* meaning specifically 'to string a bow, bind a string to it'; and, if Skr. *bandhurás* 'inclined, bent, sloping' be correctly written with *ḍ*- and not *v*- (the latter in the smaller Petersburg lexicon), this specialization may have been proethnic.

Other ways in which the notion of 'bending, leaning, sloping' may have originated are not lacking. In English, 'sloping' and 'slanting' have both developed, it would seem, from the notion 'slippery'; 'tapering' from the shape of a wax candle or of its flame; and *dips* 'slopes' goes back to the notion of 'deep', whose primitive sense would seem to have been 'fossa' (see Uhlenbeck, got. Woert. s. v. *diups*). The English verb *tilts* 'slopes' derives from a noun *tilt* 'zelt'. In Latin *fastigatus* 'roof-shaped' was generalized to 'sloping', and so was *turbinatus* 'top-shaped'.

56) *ḡrñāti* 'slopes': *n*-flexion in *κλίει* and *in-clinat*.

Base *ḡLā(Y)*-, 'to strike', cognate with the base *S)KEL*- 'caedere' of no. 11: cf. *κλάει* 'breaks'. I am not averse to supposing denominative origin, from a base *ḡLāY*- 'tilt' found in *κλίσιον* 'shed', *κλίς* 'clivus', *κλισία* 'hut'. The notion of 'sloping' would have been suggested by the tent ever so early¹. The phrase 'zelt schlagen' (cf. no. 14 fn.) is also of semantic interest in this connection. Noting the development of the sense 'hides, covers' in nos. 18, 19, we can unite *κατά* 'hut' with *κλίσιον*, writing a base *ḡELā(Y)*-, cognate with the base *ḡEL*- found in Skr. *ḡaraṇām* 'hut', *ḡárma* 'roof' (cf. Eng. 'hut': *hides*, see Skeat, s. vv.).

57) *hruñāti* 'bends': no *n*-flexion and not enough cognates to throw clear light on the original meaning.

T. γ. To grow old, be born.

We commonly express the effect of age in terms of the verb 'to break' and 'to bend': old age is 'frail' (: *fragilis*) and 'bent'. Man cometh up as a flower (cf. *putrás* 'scion' in no. 41), and is cut down. He fades like a flower.

58) *jināti* 'ages': *n*-form in O. E. *cwinan* 'schwinden'. Lat. *viescit* 'withers' is also compared. If we might define *jināti* by 'breaks' (intrans.) it will be a special sense of no. 9; cf. Lat. *marcet* 'droops, languishes' (no. 5).

¹ Written previous to the appearance of Meringer l. c. p. 120 "**k̑li* 'lehnen' ... von einem speziellen 'lehnen', vom zusammenlehnen von stangen, um ein zelt zu bauen".

59) Av. *sānaite* 'γίγνεται'.

Only in Avestan does the root ĠEN- exhibit *n*-flexion. This may be a mere innovation, modelled on forms of the homophonous root ĠEN- 'to learn', or a survival from the proethnic period. The root ĠEN 'gets (= begets), is born' was doubtless of early establishment in the proethnic period, too early to allow of any certain inductions as to its original meaning. When we separate from it the stem G^w(E)NĀ 'woman' we blink, in my opinion, rather than solve a difficulty. Uhlenbeck (ai. Woert. s. v. *jānati*) proposes to unite the two roots ĠEN-, deriving from a primitive meaning "vermögen, im stande sein." This vague definition is far from satisfying. I too would unite these roots¹ (see no. 63) but with a sexual meaning, noting the "euphemistic" sexual use of γίγνωσکو and Lat. *nosco*. In view of the common occurrence of the reduced grade -ĠN-, it is always possible that this root started as GHEN- or G^wHEN- (cf. G^w(E)NĀ 'woman'), identical with G^wHEN- 'caedit, molat' [cf. μύλη-φάρος 'mill-ground', and note the sexual use of caedit, (per-)molit]. Great morphological difficulties are presented by Av. *sānaite* and Skr. *jāyate* 'γίγνεται', and I am disposed to set up a base Ġ(H)Ē(Y)-N- 'caedere', cf. O. E. *cīnan* 'to burst, bud', *cīnu* 'riss'; *cīd*, O. H. G. *-kidi* 'schössling, spross'. This brings us to a development of meaning already discussed above (no. 41). If in ĠE-N- *n* is a 'determinative', the root GHE-D- (Skeat s. v. *get* writes G^wHED) 'gets' may also belong with GHĒ(Y)-, the sense being explained as in P. above. Then Eng. *gets* 'gignit, procreat' is an ultimate cognate of *gignit*.

T. 8. To stick, tarry.

60) Av. *miθnāiti* 'weilt, tarries'. This Avestan form has developed from the bases discussed in nos. 12, 30, 46. For the meaning cf. Goth. *beidan* (no. 14), and Germ. *bleibt* (no. 166).

T. 9. (= E). To sing.

The development of the notion 'to sing',—to make a noise— from words meaning 'to strike' may be seen in locutions like κόπτεσθαι—τύπτεσθαι τίνα 'plangere aliquem', *plaudere* 'to clap, cheer'; 'to strike' means 'to give forth sounds', and *schlagen* is defined by 'to sing, warble'; Italian *stampila* was a song accompanying the "patting" that marked time for the dancers,

¹ Cf. Eng. *kin* 'genus, cognati': *kith* 'cognoti', but = kindred, like Homeric γῆναι τε γυναι τε 'brothers and sisters'.

but has come to mean 'song' in general (cf. Zambaldi, *Vocabolario Etymologico*, 1027 E, and Körting, l. c., 7744). The base s)NŌ(w)-/(?) s)NĒ(y)- has the sense of 'sing', developed on the same lines, perhaps (see E above).

61) *grṇāti* 'sings': no *n*-forms.

In the absence of other *n*-forms, it is not clear but *grṇāti* 'sings' has been modelled in its flexion on the homophonous *grṇāti* 'swallows' (see no. 43), though the two roots (GĀR- and G^WER-) may both be translated (nearly) in terms of 'schlagen', (1) es schlagen die vögel (2) der fresser schlägt sich den leib voll. But neither of these roots makes strongly the impression of belonging to the technical roots, but rather of being onomatopoetic, whether by direct or by symbolic¹ imitation.

T. ζ. To think, to learn.

Verbs of mental perception are easily derived from verbs meaning 'to split, pierce', as our association groups for the words 'penetration, insight, perspicacity' clearly attest. The perception may be even physical, i. e. sight. A curious illustration is afforded by our word *keen*, which now means 'sharp, cutting' but, so far as its history is recorded, this is a throwback from the sense 'knowing'. Luther used *bescheidenheit* as a translation of γνῶσις, and *scheiden* (: *scindit*) means 'to distinguish', cf. *cernit*: *krṇāti* (no. 11), *scit* 'knows': O. Ir. *scian* 'knife' (Wharton, *Etyma Latina*); νόος 'mind', νοεῖ 'perceives', Goth. *snūtrs* 'wise' (see B. γ.) belong to sNŌ(w)- 'to cut'. 'Thoughts' and 'notions', as well as emotions strike us (see S). Further verbs that admit of this explanation of their meaning are *sentit* 'perceives': *sentis* 'thorn', σκίπτεται 'peers, searches, examines': σκίπρον 'axe'; *re-perio* 'I find out, learn': πείπει 'pierces'. Here, perhaps, *μυθάνει* meets its explanation, if it started with the sense 'to search for, grope for, seek to learn' (cf. no. 30, and Ital. *frucare*, Fr. *fouiller* in no. 51); and so, perhaps, *μυθάνεται* = 'seeks to learn by inquiry, pries into',² unless 'to wake up', as in Skr. *bódhati*, was the primary sense. The root WEID- 'to see, learn' is explicable on this line. Sk. *véda* 'veda' has beside it *vindāti* 'finds', whose etymological meaning is

¹A vocal gesture for the throat would certainly employ a guttural: the throat being named for the gutturals, the nose from the nasals, the teeth from the dentals, not conversely.

²In English, 'to pry', a popular perversion of 'to prise', clearly attests the notion of 'finding' out by 'splitting' into.

'trifft, antrifft' (see P. above), though Uhlenbeck defines WEID- by 'sehen', cf. 1) *vidu-* 'kennend, vertraut mit', 2) *vidu* 'findend, gewinnend'. I would derive *vind-* from *vidh-* 'to pierce, cut, separate', most clearly attested for the proethnic period by *vidhú-s* 'solus' (no. 15), Lat. *viduus*, Lith. *vidùs* 'medius, interior', O. Ir. *fid* 'δóρv, δρὺς',¹ Eng. *wood*.²

62) Av. *mānāiti* 'thinks': *n*-form in O. B. *mi-nē-ti* 'put are', no. 25.

The base was *ME(Y)*-, discussed in no. 12. With different determinatives, *meditatur*, *μῆδεται* 'plans, contrives', *mēlitur* 'measures, plans.' The base *ME-N*- was specially isolated and allocated to the meaning 'to think.'

63) *jānāti* 'knows': *n*-flexion in Lith. *žino-ti* (?), Goth. *kunnan*.

As to the form, I explain *jānāti* as for *ĜE(Y)-NĒ(Y)-TI*, 1st pers. *ĜE(Y)-NŌ(W)-MI*; the form *GI-NŌ(W)-MI* may be inferred from Lith. 1st. plur. *žino-me*, though *ĜN-NŌ-* is also possible. That in *jānā*, Lith. *žino-* the syllables *nā* and *no* correspond to *ν* in *γν-γ-ν-ω-σ-κω* seems to me highly probable.

As to the meaning, a base *Ĝ(H)E(Y)-* 'caedere' was found in no. 59. This definition is further supported by the cognates of Lat. *hi-scil* 'cracks, splits, gapes' and, with "determinative" or suffixal *n*, by Skr. *hā-nu-s* 'jaw' and its kin; cf. particularly *γένυς* 'blade of an axe, jaw', to which Eng. *knife* is ultimately related. The jaw with the teeth was the first cutting instrument, and Samson made use of the jawbone of an ass for bloody slaughter. A further extension of *Ĝ(H)E(Y)-* 'caedere' is found in *ĜE-BH-* and, with "infix" nasal, *ĜE-MBH-*; see the cognates cited by Uhlenbeck s. v. *jāmbhate* 'bites' and by Prellwitz, s. v. *γόμφος* 'tooth, peg'. This group especially connotes opening the mouth to eat (see Q.). See further on *ĜHE(Y)-* no. 107.

T. η. To buy (cf. no. 12).

64) *krināti* 'buys': *n*-flexion in O. Russ. *krinuti* 'emere', O. Ir. *crenim* 'emo'.

Base *K^WRE(Y)-*: this base, barring the difference in gutturals, may be an extension of *S)KER-* in no. 11, with meaning developed as in Eng. *swaps* (no. 12). Even the shift between *κ* and *K^W* may be found in the case of *SKER-* (see no. 11, p. 174,

¹ The special form *vyadh-* of the Skr. root *vidh-* is a compromise form, made up of the roots *vadh* and *vidh*, see no. 36.

² Note the semantic equation *wide*: *wood* = *broad*: *board* (see 26 fn.).

fn.). There is no phonetic inconsistency in supposing SKER- to have mutated with K^wOR-. There are too many ways of arriving at the notion of 'buying' to insist, however, on this one way; thus 'purchasing' is 'pursuing' (= 'acquiring, getting' —in short, 'seizing', see P.); or it is 'taking' (cf. Lat. *emit* 'takes, buys', or it is 'securing' (cf. Lat. *destinat*); or it may be like Germ. *kaufen* (denom. to Lat. *caupo* 'huckster'), or have developed like Fr. *acheter* (from Lat. *acceptare*). A base K^wRĒ(Y)- 'caedere' might be abstracted from *πῑ-ros* 'oak', *quer-cus*¹ (fr. **qwrī-cos*), if it is right to derive *δρῖς* from DER- 'to split'.

Returning to the base K^wOR-, alternating with SKER-, the words *πόρνη* and *scortum*, both = 'meretrix', invite identification.² Prellwitz, to be sure, derives *πόρνη* from *πίρνημ* (cf. no. 100) 'vendo', and the notion of traffic, of sale or purchase, inheres in the modern conception of the 'meretrix', as it probably does in the meaning of the word "meretrix". With SKÖR- as a base we can unite Goth. *hōr-s* with this group (cf. Eng. *w* > *hore*, with inorganic *w*). With *hōrs*, Lat. *cārus* 'beloved' is connected, with *ā* from *ǵ*, I take it, cf. Skr. *cārus* (from KĒRUS). It may well be that the primitive sense of *cārus* was 'magni pretii', and if so the bases S)KER-/K^wOR-/K^wRĒ(Y)- are to be brought under a single rubric, cf. WEL-/WLĒ(Y)- in no. 6.

Here an explanation of the English verb *hires* offers itself. Skeat writes a primitive Teutonic base *hūr-*, which would derive from KÖ(W)-R-, a form possibly mutating with the base SKER- (see no. 11, p. 174, fn.).

v. (cf. also j., w., and nos. 52, 140, fn.).

I permit myself here a brief excursus on the guttural question. If we admit the entire validity claimed for the etymologies generally adduced to establish proethnic K̂ Q Q^w, not a few cases remain where words of close synonymity show bases identical save in the nature of their gutturals. Here an adjustment becomes necessary; we may either lay most weight on the semantic correlation and admit a proethnic shifting in the gutturals, whether of an occasional and sporadic nature, or a general and regular interchange of the gutturals conditioned on definite phonetic environments, e. g., (1) KA, (2) K^ʔE-, (3) K^wO- with final adjustments whereby, after allocation to definite shades of meaning, *k*, *kʔ* or *k^w* prevailed; or we may lay most weight on

¹ Lat. *scrī-nium* 'chest' = 'made of wood' (no. 61)?

² Note that *-vñ* and *-tum* are both participial suffixes.

the phonetic correlations and refuse to unite under the same rubric K^*ER- (= $\tilde{K}ER-$, no. 7), $KER-$ (= $QER-$, no. 11) and K^*ER- (= Q^*ER- , no. 64), basing such refusal on the existence of bases like $S)KER-$ (no. 11), $S)TER-$ (no. 26) and $S)PER-$ (no. 35), all of which mean 'caedere, pungere'.

II. The *nu-* class verbs.

A large proportion of these verbs have been already discussed, without regarding the relative chronology of the *nā-* and *no-* suffixes, in the previous chapter, viz.:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 65) <i>aḥnōti</i> (no. 34) | 75) <i>lunōti</i> (no. 2) |
| 66) <i>inōti</i> (" 44) | 76) <i>vr̥nōti</i> (" 51) |
| 67) <i>kṛnōti</i> (" 11) | 77) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{ur̥nūtē} \\ \textit{vr̥nōti} \end{array} \right\}$ (no. 18) |
| 68) <i>kṣinōti</i> (" 10) | |
| 69) <i>kṣubhnōti</i> (no. 55) | 78) <i>sinōti</i> (no. 15) |
| 70) <i>dhūnōti</i> (" 53) | 79) <i>skabhnōti</i> (no. 21) |
| 71) <i>pr̥nōti</i> (no. 27) | 80) <i>skunōti</i> (no. 19) |
| 72) <i>pruṣṇōti</i> (no. 24) | 81) <i>stabhnōti</i> (no. 20) |
| 73) <i>minōti</i> (no. 12) | 82) <i>str̥nōti</i> (no. 26) |
| 74) <i>riṇōti</i> (" 48) | 83) <i>spṛnōti</i> (" 35) |

The remaining stems in *-no-* follow, repeating in their arrangement the classification of the previous chapter; the letters K' , L' , etc. constitute, without more ado, a reference to K , L , etc.

K' .

84) *akṣṇōti* 'mutilates': no *n*-forms.

On the basis of *nir-akṣṇoti* (A. V.) 'zermalmt, jagt aus einander' Uhlenbeck derives *akṣ-* from *aj-* in *ājati* 'drives'. I divide *ak-ṣṇōti* (cf. no. 2), and connect with *aḥānis* 'acies', cf. *āksus* 'stake', *akṣanayā* 'obliquely' (= 'stake-shaped', see T. β and no. 56).

85) *takṣṇōti* 'hews, fashions': no *n*-forms, but cf. *τέχνη* 'art, skill'.

Base *takṣ-* cognate with *takti* 'hastens' (see R.), *stakati* (Dhātupāṭha) 'strikes against, thrusts back'; also with *tāk-man-* 'τῆκεν οὐ' (cf. no. 41).

86) *ā-tinōti* 'crushes' (?).—Probably a false reading, but capable of explanation from *tāyús/stenás* 'robber', *stāyāti* 'is stolen'; sense as in no 38.

87) *dabhnōti* 'harms': no *n*-forms.

Base DEBH :

δέπει, δέψει Lat. *depsit* 'kneads, tans, beats'
dabhrás 'small', cf. *kpadrás* (no. 12, fn. 2)

88) Av. *vinaoiti* 'schlachtet'. See no. 36.

89) Av. *stərənaoiti* 'peccat'. See the base STER- in no. 26; for the meaning note *πταiei* 'anstösst, peccat' (: *πρίσσει* 'zer-malmt', see no. 123).

90) *sundti* 'premit': no *n*-forms.

Base *sō(w)*-. Generally cognate is the group in no. 15. The notion of 'pressing' came from 'beating', cf. also *sātás* 'driver', *suvāti* 'drives' (see R. and no. 48); with *somas* 'vinum' cf. *mustus* 'gepresstes' (no. 38). Here *sau-cius* 'wounded' (*sōw-κ/sē(y)-κ-*), *sū-rus* 'stake, branch', Skr. *somas* 'moon' (if = 'sickle'); *sūnús* 'son' = ausgepresstes, ausgeschnittenen, or = scion (cf. *sūrus* 'branch' and see no. 41).

L'. To splice, bind, fasten.

No examples.

M'. To strike, beat, wash (by beating).

No examples.

N'.

91) *minōti* 'walls, builds'. See no. 12. Classified here, like Lat. *struit* (no. 26).

92) Av. *gūnaoiti* 'verschafft (Keller), schenkt' (Bartholomae Hdbch.).

Cognate Avestan words: *gaona-* 'abundance, plenty', *xratu-gūt* 'thought-abounding', but not *gaona-* 'kind, color': Skr. *guṇá-s* 'thread, string, kind'. As to *gūnaoiti*, one may wonder if Bartholomae's rendering by 'schenkt' had etymological purport. The context is as follows:

yō vīspāhu karšvōhu mainyavō yazatō vazaite x'arənō-dā;
 y. v. k. m. y. v. xšaθpō-dā:

aēšāṃ gūnaoiti vərəθraγnəm | yōi dim dahma vīduš-aša
 zaoθrabyō frāyazənte.

'*ā-rēμbei* 'harms' is not a cognate, but belongs rather with *στέμβει* 'shakes, harms', to which Lat. *temnis* might belong—(?) from **tem-b-nis*, though the *p* in *contemptri*, *contemptus* is no proof—and Eng. *stamps*, base *STEM-B-*, extended from *STEM-* in *στόμα* 'point, edge, mouth' (?=slit), *στόμιξ* 'όόρν', *tōmentum* ('shreds), stuffing', *τέμνει* 'cuts'.

"Mithra the heavenly divinity comes to all regions giving glory, . . . giving power:

Of those he spreads-abroad the victory | Who, pious and knowing right

With oblations worship him".

The rendering 'spreads-abroad', like 'schenkt', conveys my sense of the etymology, viz., *gūnaoiti* = 'fundit'. For Latin *fundit* (as for Greek *χίαι*) the connotation of 'heap, abundance, quantity' is clear. Note in general Lewis and Short's definitions: B. a., 'to pour forth in abundance'; B. b., 'to bring forth, bear or produce in abundance'; also note especial examples like Gallorum fusa ('large, well-grown') et candida corpora (Liv. 38, 21, 9), ne (vitis) in omnes partes nimia fundatur ('spread, grow, increase'), with which we may compare in Greek *χυτὸν ἔπρος* 'a luxuriant vine'. Further Greek examples: *χύσεις* 'quantity, abundance' (Anthol. Pal.); *χύθην* 'in floods, heaps'; Aristotle's *χυτοὶ ἰχθύες* 'shoals of fishes', echoing *ἰχθύες* . . . *κίχυνται* 'the fish are heaped up' (Odyssey). But if the meaning 'abundance' is clear, it yet remains to reconcile phonetically *gūnaoiti* 'schenkt' with *zaothrā* 'χοή, libatio'. This is the problem of guttural variation (G^WH / GH) frequently mentioned above, and the solution lies in establishing a base $\widehat{GH}\check{E}(Y)$ - alternating with $G^{(W)}H\bar{O}(W)$ -. The *f*- of *fundit* attests, I take it, G^WH -, for the current explanation of *fu*- from *χυ*- is mere special pleading. Generally speaking *χ* might, to be sure, have been rounded before *u* to *f*-, but was it? In Greek precisely the contrary happened, the group G^WHU - yielded 'unrounded' *χυ*-, and not *φυ*-, e. g., in *ελαχύς*: *ελαφρός*. There is no real support for the contention that *fu*- in *fundit* is the product of Italic *χυ*-, the further examples adduced by Brugmann (Gr. I² § 605, 3) being far from cogent.¹

¹ These examples are: (1) *fulvos*, doublet of *helvos*, but the variation G^WH - / GH - in this group is attested in Slavic and Indo-Iranian languages (see 52, fn. 2); (2) *furca* 'fork': *χάραξ* 'paling'. But why *furca*: *χάραξ* to the exclusion of *furca*: *φράσσει* 'stakes, hedges in'? Who shall say that 'stake' is the prior meaning of *furca* rather than 'fork'? That it was not the V outline that constituted the "furcitas" of the *furca*, rather than the tail of a Y outline? Starting with the V outline, *φάραγξ* 'cleft, chasm' is the true etymon for *furca*; cf. the alternative geographical names *Furculae* Caudinae and Caudinae *fauces*, and if *fauces* be correctly rendered in point of metaphor by *φάρυγες*, *Furculae* will be correctly rendered in point both of metaphor

93) *ἰ cínōti* 'heaps, gathers': no *n*-forms, and no certain cognates. The definitions point to a semantic development as in *stṛnāti* (no. 26). Supposing a primary sense like 'stacks, stakes' possible cognates are

κίς 'grub'

ci-mex 'bug'

ciet 'goads, hastens'

κινεῖ 'drives' (see R.)

O'.

94) *dunōti* 'burns': *n*-flexion in O. E. *týnan* 'to injure, torture'.

Base *DĀ(w)*-, justified by *δαίει* 'burns', *δάφιος* 'hostile' (with *ā=ē*); *DĀ(w)*-L-, by *δᾶλειται* 'injures' but *DĒ(w)*-L-, by *dēlet* 'destroys'.¹ The base *DĒ(w)*- is a compromise form of *DĒ(y)*-/*DŌ(w)*- 'to split > <splice' in L. fn. 'To burn' is not the primitive sense. Homeric *δηίος* means 'destroying, slaying', and the derivative verb *δηίω* is used characteristically with *ἔγχει*, *χαλκῷ*, etc., see no. 14.

Cognates not previously mentioned:

ἐν-δύει, *ἐν-δύνει* (1) 'pierces, penetrates, enters';² (2) 'fastens on,

δύνεται 'can' ;³ wraps on, in duitur'

P'.

95) *ᾄφ-νότι* 'obtains': no *n*-forms, but cf. *ᾄφνας* 'opes'.

and etymology by *φάραγγες*. In passing, I note how the V shape clarifies the definition of *φράσσει* 'fences' [see the diagram of a *Zaun* (Schräg) in Meringer, l. c. p. 121], while the same V-shaped outline suggests that some sort of 'funnel' or hollow wedge employed in stuffing materials through a small aperture was designated by **farci-s*, whence Lat. *farci* 'stuffs'; or still in terms of the V outline, *farrire* may have meant 'to plug, fill by plugging'. It is possible also to define by 'to ram, tamp' (see N.).

¹ Lat. pf. *dēlēvit* looks like a blend of *DĒ(w)*- + *LĒw*- (see no. 2).

² The sense of motion which was beginning (enters=goes into) in *ἐν-δύνει* seems attested also in the cognates of Skr. *duvās* (see Uhlenbeck, l. c.). This sense of motion (see H.) was very much alive in Gr. *δύω*, but the examples clearly show that the motion was penetration.

³ The development of sense was general, perhaps, on the lines suggested in S above (see also no. 115, below), but a somewhat definite approach seems offered by Lat. *vis* 'might': *ίς* 'sinew, muscle, nerve'. We must undoubtedly start with the concrete sense of *ίς*, and connect *war-* with the base *wǣ(y)*- 'to split > <splice' (see no. 36), cf. Skr. *vayā* 'withe'. Accordingly, I suspect that *δύνεται* 'is strong to' is also a secondary derivative to *DĒ(y)*-/*DŌ(w)*- 'to split > <splice'. Gortynian *vínarai* is similarly derived from *s)NĒ(y)*-/*SNŌ(w)*- 'to split > <splice' (see A. a).

Base $\tilde{E}(Y)$ -P- 'κόπτειν' (: 'capit, captat', cf. $\tilde{E}(Y)$ -S- in no. 45):

Skr. ἰψατί ¹ 'seeks to obtain, desires'

Lat. *optat* 'seeks'

(?) ἰπνός 'oven'

ὀπτῆ 'cooks'²

ὀπώρα 'messis'

A base δp - (= \wp ?) appears in the words:

apio 'ligo'

apiscitur 'obtains'

apex 'top'³

(?) ἀπελος 'vulnus recens'

ἀπρίζ 'mordicus' (cf. L.); 'fast, tight'

ἀπέλλα 'gathering'

Skr. apāṅkṣ 'barb, hook'

which suggest again a sense 'to split > splice'. Besides *ἰψατί* there has been nothing to prove the diphthongal character of the root. Perhaps we should put here

ἰπες 'grubs'

apis 'bee'

ἰπτεται 'premit'

ἰπος 'press, dead-fall, trap'

Further cognates:

Skr. *āpsas* 'corpus, forma' (no. 11)

opus 'εργον'⁴

For the *e*-color of the base, barring the mutating (?) *o* of ὀπώρα , *opus*, *optat*, I am free to admit that there is no certain warrant, *codēpi* (Lucretius) being possibly from **co-eapi*; but further note, with mutating \tilde{E} (?) / \tilde{O} ,

Skr. *āptis* 'friend'

ἡπιος 'freundlich'

Lith. *opūs* 'mollis, fragilis'

ὀπαδός 'ἀκόλουθος', ἡσυχία 'δούλος'

ὀπῶν 'comes, famulus'

opera 'εργάτης'

(?) Skr. *āp-rds* 'operosus'

¹ Brugmann, *Kurze* vgl. Gr. p. 145, anm. 4, explains ἰλ- of Skr. *ἰλῃτε* 'sees' from $\text{ἰ} + \text{opt}$, but this assumption is inconsistent with ἰ in *dn-īkam* 'facies' (= acies), ὀπ-ἰπτεται 'ogles'. I set up a base $\tilde{E}(Y)$ -K ω - 'caedere, videre' (see T. ζ):

Lat. *aegmos* 'ὁμαλός' (no. 15), level'

αἰπός 'ἀπότομος' (T. β; 96)

Skr. *dn-īkam* 'face'

ὀπ-ἰπης 'ogler'

ὀπ-ἡ 'hole'

ὀ-αἶνυς 'eye'

ἐν-ωπή 'προτομή' (no. 51, fn.)

O. Ir. *enech* (Stokes, l. c., p. 48)

Base $\tilde{O}(\omega)$ -K ω -: Goth. *auga* 'eye'.

² This pair of words certainly does not, on the face, reveal a connection with *κόπτειν*, but if the 'butcher' and 'cook' were one [see the citations in Leo Meyer, *Woert.* s. vv. *ἀρταμος* (I. 272; cf. the gloss *ἀρταμεῖν* *κατακόπτειν*) and *μάγειρος* (IV, 318)], ὀπτῆ may be derived from * ὀπτης 'butcher, cook'; cf. ἀρτο-κόπος 'ὁ πέσων ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ' which, with Lith. *kerpū* 'coquo', may be cognate with *κόπτει* 'caedit'.

³ The priests wore an *apex*, a tiny wool-wound rod.

⁴ The sense of spinning found in *εργα* in no. 142 is attested for *opus* by Plautus, *Asin.* 425, *operas araneorum*.

⁵ The rough breathing of Hesychian *ἡπετο-ἡκολούθει* shows the influence of *ἐπεται*, unless the form be from *ἐπεται*.

96) *ῥḁhnōti/rādhnāti*: 'thrives': no *n*-forms; base RĒDH-.

I take the meaning here to have derived, as in *ῥυσῆναι* (no. 41), from a base meaning 'to break, burst forth, bloom', and this meaning to have come from an earlier 'to split > < splice', one of the technical verbs discussed in L. I set up the following bases (see also no. 48):

ṚR-/(?) IR- (: ĒYR-):

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Skr. <i>irīṇam</i> 'bruchiges land' ¹ | <i>irivilla</i> 'ausschlag' |
| <i>iryas</i> 'jealous' (: <i>ἔρις</i> 'strife') | <i>ἄρις</i> 'auger' |
| <i>ἄρ-δ-ις</i> 'cuspis' | <i>ἄρῃ</i> 'arat' |
| <i>ἄρᾰρίσκει</i> 'figit' (L.) | <i>ar-ista</i> 'spīca' |

ṚR(E)D-

Lat. *arduus* 'steep, ἀπότομος'

ṚR(E)DH-

Skr. *iradhate* 'optat' (no. 95) Lat. *arbor* 'tree, stengel' (no. 41)

ER-

Skr. *arús* 'vulnus' ἔρνος 'scion'

ERE-

Skr. *araṇṣ* 'fire-sticks'² ἔρε-τμόν 'runder-stange'³

ER(E)DH-

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ἄρθιος</i> 'arduus' | <i>ἄρθοῦνται</i> 'succeeds' |
| <i>ἐρεθίζει</i> 'irritates' (S.) | <i>ἄρθύνει</i> 'drives' ⁴ |
| Skr. <i>drdhas</i> 'half' (no. 15) | <i>orbila</i> 'rut' (: <i>orbis</i>) |

ĒRĒY- (cf. RĒ(Y) in no. 48).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>ἔρι-φος</i> 'haedus' (= 'pricket') | Lat. <i>aries</i> 'ram' |
| Lith. <i>ėras</i> 'agnus' (with <i>ė</i> = E) | Umbr. <i>erietu</i> 'arietem' |
| <i>ἔρει-κει</i> 'tears' | <i>ἔρει-δει</i> 'props (no. 20), futuit, stösst' |

ĒR-

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ἦρι</i> 'ἄρθρον, at day-break' | <i>ῥα</i> 'point, edge' |
| Skr. <i>ārā</i> 'awl' ⁵ | |

¹ Uhlenbeck compares *ἐρήμος* 'solus' (no. 15)

² Cf. the illustration in Jour. Am. Or. Soc. 25.57 fn., representing a very ancient ideograph for fire in Sumerian.

³ Is not *ἐρε-τμόν* a tautological compound with *τμο-* from *τέμνει* 'cuts'? So *ἀρταμος* 'butcher' (no. 95) may be divided, with Benfey, into *ἄρ* + *ταμος*.

⁴ Tautological? Made up of *ῥο* + *θύνει* (no. 54)!

⁵ On the relation of *ἦρι* to *ῥα* note that *ἦρι* = French *au point du jour*. It is customary to set down *ῥα* 'seam' (no. 15) = *ῥα*, which is in any case phonetically exact, and semantically reasonable, base *ōsā*; but on the other hand *ῥα* = *sōwā* and *ῥα* = *ōra* are at least equally as plausible semantically, and phonetically as correct, for the psilosis of *ῥα* is irregular, whether from *ōsā* or from *sōwā*.

⁶ With *ῥ* because of *ἄρις* 'auger'. The *l* of O. H. G. *āla* exhibits a parallel base in L, perhaps (see G., above); cf. O. Pruss. *yla*, Lith. *ylā* from *əylā*.

ÖRD(H)-¹

ordo ('cut, line), row'
orsus 'locutus'

orditur 'warps on'
ὀρθιάζει 'clamat' (cf. T. ε.)

97) *daghndōti* 'reaches, attains, apiscitur': no *n*-forms, but O. E. *ge-tengan* 'to fasten, join' shows an infixed nasal.

Base DEGH- 'to split > < splice':

Skr. *daghndōti* (Lex.) 'necat, nocet' *d* + \sqrt{dagh} - 'abschlagen,
 to spurn'

daghndōti (Lex.) 'protects' *dēxerai* 'entertains, protects'
δοχμή 'span' (O. E. *spannan* *δοχμός* 'bent, πλάγιος' (T. β.)
 'to bind')

Skr. *ddkpas/ddkpinas* 'aptus'

The meaning is somewhat specialized in the following forms (base DĖ(V)G-):

Goth. *tēkan* 'tangere' Eng. *takes* 'capit' (cf. *dēxerai* 'accipit, excipit')
digiti, *δάκτυλοι* 'fingers' (cf. Viennese *Greiferl* 'manus')²
dexter 'manus alter'

98) Av. *ərənaōiti* 'secures'. See no. 104. In meaning this verb is akin to no. 96.

99) Av. (base) *dēghnu-* 'halten'.

Base DERĜH-/ DERGH-, see Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert. s. v. *dēhyati*, noting the infix nasal form *dēmhati*. The primary meaning is approached in Av. *dərəza-* 'fessel'. Cf. further *δράσσεσθαι* 'seizes, grasps'.

100) *ā-prēnoti* 'is busy': NĖ- flexion, I take it, in *πίρνημι* 'vendo', which belongs to the group discussed in no. 35 (with mercantile sense developed as in nos. 12, 30). The sense 'is busy' is repeated in *πράττει* (see Liddell & Scott, s. v. II. 5-7). This verb, for its paleness of meaning, is comparable with *ῥαμνιτέ* (no. 40).

101) *sādhndōti* ('strikes,) reaches, fixes'; no *n*-forms.

¹ It is not clear to me whether in *ordo rd* is from RD or from RDH. The pairs *verbum*: Germ. *wort*, *barba*: Germ. *bart* do not prove by their *-rbo/a-* from -RDHO/Ā- that -RDHI- might not have yielded -rdi- in *orditur*. The correspondence of *ὀρθιος* and *ordo* seems to me rendered highly probable by *ὀρθιοὶ λόγοι* = *recti ordines*. In view of the ancient form of loom pictured in the illustration in Schreiber's Atlas, pl. 75. 1, and in Guhl & Koner², 240, it seems to me most likely that *orditur* meant 'to arrange in a perpendicular row'; but cf. *κεκροτημένος*, L. fn.

² Cf. French *griffe* 'claw', borrowed from a cognate of Germ. *greift*.

Base $\check{S}\check{E}(Y)$ -D(H)- / $\check{S}\check{O}(W)$ -D(H)- (cf. no. 15) 'caedere':

| | |
|--|---|
| Av. $\sqrt{h\ddot{a}d}$ 'necare' | Skr. $s\ddot{e}dh\ddot{a}ti$ 'scares' (no. 14) |
| Skr. $s\ddot{a}dhm\ddot{a}m$ 'scab, blotch' | $s\ddot{e}dh\ddot{a}$ 'stachel-schwein' |
| $s\ddot{a}dh\ddot{u}s$ 'straight' | $\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\varsigma^1$ / $\iota\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ (but see 156) |
| Lat. $s\ddot{u}b-ula$ 'awl' (?) $s\ddot{u}b-ito$ 'εἰθίτωρ' | $s\ddot{u}ber$ 'cortex' |
| $s\ddot{u}blica$ 'stake' | $\iota\theta-λος$ 'nugae' (B. β.) |
| Skr. $s\ddot{a}dayati$ (1) 'kills'; (2) fixes, arranges' | $s\ddot{u}dum$ 'fair (weather)', = fixed, settled (?) |

Q'.

102) Av. $\check{p}inaoiti$ 'tumefacit, tumescit': no clear n -forms.

The substantive notion of 'grease, fat' seems to me to lie behind all the cognates as, e. g. $\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ 'fat', and this idea may have developed as in $\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}s$ (L. fn.); or a verbal idea, like that of $\check{f}arcit$ (no. 27), was the starting point perhaps;² or a general notion of filling with water, as mentioned in M., and this explanation has been already accepted by etymologists. If either of the two first lines of development is to be followed, the base $\check{P}\check{E}(Y)$ -/ $\check{P}\check{O}(W)$ - 'caedere' (no. 25), is to be recognized as the source. Whether the base $\check{P}\check{O}(Y)$ - 'to drink' (cf. Germ. $zehen$, no. 1) is identical must remain doubtful, as $\check{b}ibit$, Skr. $\check{p}ibati$ look like onomatopoetic formations. But if $\check{P}\check{O}(Y)$ - meant something like 'to quaff', then the derivative $\check{p}\check{o}-clum$ 'cup' is older in meaning than $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\kappa\alpha$ 'I have quaffed'. With $\check{p}\check{o}-clum$, cf. Skr. $\check{p}\check{a}-iram$ 'vessel', $\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ 'lid of a vessel'; the etymological sense is best seen in Goth. $\check{f}\check{o}dr$ 'scheide' (cf. no. 51; B. β.). From the base $\check{P}\check{E}(Y)$ - we can best explain $\pi\alpha-\chi\acute{\upsilon}s$ (with $a = \check{o}$) and Lat. $\check{p}i-n-guis$, with infixed nasal.

103) $\check{j}aghn\ddot{o}ti$ 'eats'.³

This form, if genuine (see Whitney, Roots, Verb Forms, etc., s. v.), might be regarded as a quasi sport of $\check{j}ak\check{g}iti$ (: pf. $\check{j}agh\check{h}\check{s}a$), but I incline to think it a sort of reduplication of \sqrt{han} 'to strike, grind, kill'. For the sense 'to eat' cf. $\check{g}rinders$ = 'teeth'.

R'.

104) $\check{r}n\ddot{o}ti$ 'sends' (= rises, moves): nu -form in $\check{\epsilon}\rho\nu\nu\sigma\iota$.

¹ As for the meaning, cf. Lat. $curtus$ 'cut off, docked': Eng. *short*. It required no geometer to reason that 'short' was 'straight', cf. "a short cut", and Gr. $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}s/\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$: $\lambda\alpha\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ 'caedit, fodit'.

² Whitney defines \sqrt{pinu} by 'fattens' (= $\check{f}arcit$), and it is to this that my classification under Q', rather than under N', is due.

³ Skr. $\check{j}dg\check{d}his$ 'eating' may attest a "root" $\check{j}ag\check{h}$ - for that language.

The base has been discussed in nos. 48 and 96. The sense of 'rises', as in English (so Skeat s. v.), seems to have come from 'moves'.

105) *jindōti* 'quickens, drives on': *n*-form in Lith. *gynū* 'lebe auf'. The base *G^wĒ(Y)*- approximates to the meaning of *ĜŌ(w)*- in no. 47; cf. also no. 9.

106) *stiñndōti* 'mounts': *n*-flexion in O. B. *stigna* 'contendo, assequor'.

Base *ST(H)Ē(Y)-G(H)-* 'stechen' (see no. 110).

στοιχος 'ordo' (no. 96)

Lett. *stīga* 'stake'

στάχυς 'spica, arista'

Germ. *steg, steig* 'schneide' (R.)

The notion 'mounts' is secondary. The cognates show in general the sense of 'hastens'.

107) *hindōti* 'drives': no *n*-forms.

Base *ĜHĒ(Y)-*, see no. 52.

S'.

108) *trphōti* 'is pleased': no *n*-forms.

Physical enjoyment from a satisfied appetite is meant, it would seem (cf. no. 159).

Cognates:

terpidus 'ἐκπλავεῖς'

τραπεῖ 'premit' (see Prellwitz)

O. B. *trupā* 'venter, vulnus, truncus, membrum'

torpet 'is stuffed full'

τρυνά 'terebat'

Lat. *turpis* 'foedus' (no. 12)

The sense of 'stuffs' (Skr. *trpyāti*) developed as set forth in Q. The base *TERP-* in *τέρπειται* is an evident extension of *TER-* in *τεῖραι* (no. 26).

T'. Miscellaneous.

T'. a.

109) *dht-ghōti* 'dares': no *n*-forms.

Cognates:

θορεῖν 'adoriri'

Skr. *da-dht-h* 'fortiter'

Lat. *for(c)tis, ferāx*

Base *DHŌ(W)-R-*: extended from *DHŌ(W)-* (no. 54):

θυρός 'hasty'

furit 'raves'

¹I spell with the manuscripts, but on the basis of a word which appears in but a single book, it seems rash to derive from **sti<ñ>gh-noti*, whence, by loss of *gh*, *stiñnoti*; see, rather, Wackernagel, ai. Gram., § 164.

T'. ε.

110) *stunōti* 'plaudit, laudat':¹ no *n*-forms

Prellwitz, s. v. v. *στεύραι, στυγέω, στύπη, στυφελίζω, στύφω* writes a base STEW- 'verdichten, etc.' I take 'verdichten' to be secondary, and the original meaning of STĒW- to have been 'to strike' (cf. M., N., no. 27), as shown in Skr. *tudāti, τύπτει*, Germ. *stösst*. Beside STĒ(W)-, secondary to STŌW-, is STĒV- (cf. nos. 106, 127, 129, 138):

Lat. *sti-pes* 'stump': *στύ-πος, στί-φος* 'mass, stosz': *στυ-φελίζει* 'stöst'² (see d.)

Skr. *tá-jate* 'is sharp', *στίζει* 'sticht' Germ. *steppst* 'stitch', *stift* 'tack'

111) *unōti* 'cheers': *n*-flexion modelled on no. 110, perhaps.

Lat. *ouat* 'cheers' may be cognate: Base ō(w)-.

T'. ζ.

112) *cinōti* 'notes, observes': no *n*-forms of clearly related meaning, but see no. 164.

Base K*Ē(Y)- in *chayati* 'observes'; not different from the base KĒ(Y)-, cf. *cinōti* 'gathers', nos. 164, 180. Both meanings conform to semantic chains already discussed (N., and T. ζ.). A base K*Ē(Y)- 'to cut' can hardly be altogether unassociated with S)K(H)ĒY- (119).

113) *frnōti* 'hears': *n*-flexion in O. Ir. *clunim* 'audio'.

Sundry cognate forms admit of approximate definition in terms of 'strike', etc., e. g. *clueo, κλέομαι* = 'ap-pellor', *κλείω* = 'plaudo' ('I clap'), *frnvižē* = 'appellaris, tibi plauditur'. Generally, we say 'a sound strikes the ear' = *κτύπος* ('schlag') *οὐατα βάλλει*. In view of *auscultat* (= **aus-clitat*) 'bends ear', we might explain as *fr(u)*- 'ear' + *nōti* (: *νέυει*,³ see T. β.) 'bends'.

114) Av. *fra-φərənaoiti* 'dooms' (= *κρίνει*, *cernit*, see no. 11). Base S)PER- in no. 35.

T'. θ.

115) *gaknōti* 'potest' (see no. 94): no *n*-forms. The suffix -*nōti* is cognate with Gortyn. *νύναμαι* 'δύναμαι'.

¹ Liddell & Scott seem to be in error in citing Pind. Pyth. 11. 62, Ol. 2. 162, for *βάλλει* = 'laudat'.

² The following lemma of Festus, — *stipem esse nummum signatum*, etc. — lets us connect *stips* with *τύπος* 'impression of a seal'; *stipulatur* 'bargains' might be explained as in 12, above.

³ *νεύει* 'nutat' is subsequent to *νεύει* 'inclinat' (so Liddell & Scott), as Germ. *nicken* 'nutare' is a derivative of *neigen* 'inclinare' (see G.).

The group to which *ṣaknōti* belongs has a wide range of meanings (see the Petersburg lexica s. vv. 1 *ṣak-*, 2 *ṣak-*, 1 *ṣikṣ-*, 2 *ṣikṣ-*); the sense 'posse' was not original, I take it, though it may have been proethnic, if Lat. *nequire*, *nequinomē*, *nequibam*, etc., be derived from *ne-cquitre*, etc. (with *-cqui-*, cf. Skr. *ṣáci* 'might').

Base $\check{R}\check{E}(y)$ - \check{K}^w - 'to split > < splice':

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ṣak-ús</i> 'spear' | <i>ṣanḥús</i> 'peg, nail' |
| <i>ṣikṣám</i> 'noose' | <i>ṣikṣati</i> 'helps' (from the <i>ē</i> ilt) ¹ |
| <i>ṣikṣati</i> 'huldigt' (= <i>be schert</i>) | |
| <i>ṣikṣati</i> 'discit' | <i>ṣikṣdyati</i> 'docet' (no. 118) |

The sense 'potest' will have developed in *ṣaknōti* as in Germ. *können*: *kennen* (see no. 63), Ital. *sapere* 'intellegere, posse'; cf. Eng. *skill* (= '*ṣák-tis*'), developed from a root meaning 'to split' (see Skeat, l. c., s. v.): note the passive *ṣakyate* "*überwunden werden*" (Petersburg lexicon).

116) *saghnōti* 'is equal to, reaches to, takes on oneself'. Native lexica define by 'injures, kills'. This definition, compared with O. B. *seṅṇati* 'to stretch out the arm' (= reach), leads me to define the Skr. base *sagh-* by 'to seize, grasp, grasp at, reach to' etc. Add Skr. *sághan-* 'vulture' (no. 51, fn.).

T'. κ.

117) *dhinōti* 'suckles, nourishes': no *n*-forms.

If Lat. *nū-trix* certainly meant a 'wet-nurse' (cf. the gloss *gerula* 'nutrice quae infantes portat') its cognation with Skr. *snāūti* 'drips' is very probable (cf. Pokrowskij, KZ. 35. 227), and the suffix *-nōti* might itself mean 'sucks'.

Base $DH\check{E}(y)$ - / $DH\check{O}(w)$ - (no. 54, fn.),

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Skr. <i>dhdyati</i> 'sucks' | <i>dhdvate</i> 'flows' |
| Lat. <i>fovet</i> 'nutrit' ² | <i>θῶσθαι</i> (Prellwitz, s. v.) |

Base $DH\check{E}(y)$ - $\check{G}H$ - / $DH\check{O}(w)$ - $\check{G}H$ - (no. 11, fn.).

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Skr. <i>dégdhi</i> 'streicht' | <i>dógdhi</i> 'milks' |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|

¹ (?) Eng. *helps*, Germ. *hilft* from a base *KELB-*, cognate with Skr. *kālpdyati* 'vertheilt' (base *KELP-*), Lith. *szēlpti* (base *ŘELP-*); note the English use of *helps* by the carver at the table.

² The best single definition of *fovet* is 'nutrit'. Even *fomes* (no. 54) may be defined by *nutrimenta* (cf. Aen. 1. 176); *fomentum* 'lotion' may belong under 92 as well as here.

The meaning 'sucks' in this group may be of denominative origin, quasi 'nipples'. This lets us ascribe to DHĒ(Y)-

θάλος 'scion' (no. 41)

θηλεῖ 'blooms' ¹

fellat 'sucks' (fr. *felnat)

118) *dāgnōti* 'makes offering': *n*-form in *δεῖκνυται* 'greet's'.

Base DĒ(Y)-*ḱ*-, cognate with no. 97, which meant 'to cut, divide, share, theilen; bescheren'.

ἔ-δωκ-α 'dedit' (no. 14)

δοκός 'δόρυ' (no. 1)

Skr. *daṣṭā* 'μοῖρα'

Lat. *dīcat* 'dāgnōti'

decotes 'togae detritae' (?)

δείκνυσσι 'points out' ²

Skr. *dāṣati* 'bites'

daṣā 'fringe' (= getheiltes)

δοκός 'δόλος' (12. fn.)

decus 'forma' (11)

dicit 'mit-theilt'

docet 'teaches, shows'

di-dicit 'has learnt'

III. The infixd nasal classes.

w. (cf. j.).

It was laid down in the introduction (c.) that *τηνέδῃ* 'crushes' is a blend of the roots TER- in Latin *terit* 'rubs', and NEĜH- in O. B. *nizq* 'figo'. But not only (1) TRNEĜH- but the weakenings (2) TRNĜH- and (3) TRĜH- are well established types. How is TRĜH- to be explained? Not, I believe, as any sort of phonetic reduction of TRNĜH-/TRNĜ- (see j. and v.), but rather as an independent extension of TR- by a root determinative. After one or two pairs like TR-NEĜH- and TR-ĜH- (or TR-GH- / TR-G^WH-) came into being, the language-user roughly, and but half-consciously, got a mental picture TR-<NE>-ĜH- established in his linguistic consciousness, and subsequently flexion by infixation was developed. In the classification that follows I generally write T(E)R-+NEĜH-, even where I think T(E)R<NE>ĜH- the more likely—but a secondary—development.

K."

119) *chinātti* 'cuts off': *n*-flexion in Lat. *scindit*.

¹ That is 'bursts into bloom' (see no. 41), interpreting ā of Doric *θαλεῖ* as a secondary gradation. Thus *θηλεῖ* would mean 'breasted', cf. Goth. *brusts* 'breast, nipple': O. E. *brustian* 'buds', Germ. *bersten* 'to burst'.

² Eng. *points* is derived through *punctum* from *pungit*; and so DĒ(Y)-*ḱ*- 'points' may have come from DĒY^ḱ- 'to pierce'; cf. Skr. *sūcayati*, denominative to *sūct* 'needle' (so Uhlenbeck); so Germ. *deutet*, if its *t* is of Low German provenance, may be cognate with *tundit*.

Base s)K(H)Ē(y)-¹ 'caedere' (see no. 19) + NEDH- (B. γ.):

σχάζει 'scratches' O. Ir. *scíam* 'knife' *scit* 'cernit' (T. ζ.)
(?) Skr. *śi-ṇḍras*/*śi-ṇḍas* 'ploughman' *śi-las* 'wedge'

s)K(H)Ē(y)-D(H)-

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| ἀ-σκηθής 'unscratched' | σκεθ-ρός 'exact' |
| κθάρυ 'fides' (no. 14) | καθάρως 'purus' (no. 25) |
| σχίζει 'cleaves' | <i>caedit</i> 'cuts, strikes, futuit' |
| σχέδη 'board' (no. 26) | Skr. <i>ś</i>) <i>śhiddti</i> 'stösst' |
| σκηδάννυσι 'scatters' (no. 11) | σ)κιδνῃσι 'scatters' ² |
| Skr. <i>śhadanam</i> 'caedes' | <i>śhiddate</i> 'splits' |

s)K(H)Ē(y)-NED(H)-

| | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Skr. <i>śhindti</i> 'splits' | <i>scindit</i> | |
| σχινοδαλμός 'splinter' | κι(ν)δοφος 'sly' | κι-ναδ-ος 'fox' |
| | Skr. <i>śhandaras</i> 'fossa' | κόνδυλος 'knuckle-bone' |

s)KHĒ(y)-N-

Skr. *śhṇati* 'fodit'

s)K(H)Ē(y)-S-

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---|
| κει(σ)ει 'splits' | Skr. <i>śasati</i> 'cuts' | Skr. <i>śasati</i> 'cracks, opens' ³ |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---|

Base s)K(H)ŌW-D(H)- (see no. 19)

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Skr. <i>śhuddti</i> 'futuit' | κν-ν-δαλος 'peg' |
| Celt. <i>hou-do</i> 'schlagen' | <i>cūdit</i> 'strikes' |
| Skr. <i>cōdati</i> 'drives' (see R.) | <i>cūdo</i> 'helmet' |
| σκηθρός 'angry', (= 'cutting') | <i>śhu-rds</i> 'χηλή' (52) |
| Lat. <i>caudex</i> 'stump' | |

To this group belong two Latin verbs of great semantic interest,

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| <i>cēdit</i> 'yields, withdraws, leaves' | <i>cadit</i> 'falls' |
|--|----------------------|

The former is semantically illustrated by Dutch *scheren* = 'to shear, cut; withdraw, go away'⁴ (Skeat, s. v. 2 sheer), with which

¹ On this base see Prellwitz, s. v. *σχάω*. That s)KH- represents the proethnic phonetic value is not certain to my mind. I suspect rather some dialectic wavering comparable with the variation between *scheit* and *stein* in stage German vs. Hanoverian.

² The *i* of *κιδνῃσι* is precious testimony to the diphthongal nature of the base (see no. 11, p 174, fn.)

³ As to *ś*/*ś* in this root, note that *ś*(*ś*) is attested by Av. *śid* = *śhindti*.

⁴ Cf. Germ. *scheidet* 'departs, goes away, ceases'.

we may compare the German locution *reiszen aus* 'fugiant, cedunt'; cf. also the locutions 'to break and flee', 'to cut and run', 'sich streichen' (= cedunt). In the sense of 'falls to the lot of' *cedit* betrays its cognation with *cadit* 'falls'. The sense of 'falls' in *cadit* may have originated from 'fells' in *caedit*, as 'falls' originated from 'is cut' in Lith. *krintiù* 'cado' (see no. 128). In Celtic, the base *kei-do* (Cymr. *cwyddo*) means 'cadere'. The notion 'falls' is not far from *sheds* (:scheidet) and *spills* (:spaltet); see no. 27.

Note for its semantic interest Germ. *schienen* 'cacare'.

Also of semantic interest is Skr. *khādati* 'zerbeisst, isst, frisst', with sense developed as in Q. Perhaps, however, *khād-* arises from KHĒ(Y)-+ED- (: Lat. *edit* 'eats').

120) *chṛnātti* 'screat': no *n*-forms.

Base S)KER-(D)- (11)

σκόρ κόρυζα

Skr. *apaskaras*

kāriṣam

Lat. *c(i)rra mu(s)-scerda* = 'excrementa certa'

+ NED- (B. γ.)

Eng. *smiles* 'screat'

snot 'screatus, mucus'

121) *trṇātti* 'splits, bores': *n*-form in Lith. *trenḑėti* 'to be moth-eaten'.

Bases TER-(D)- (in no. 26) + NED- (B. γ.).

122) *trṇēḑhi* 'splits, maims': *n*-forms in O. B. *trüg-nṇti* / *trignṇti* 'to tear'.

Bases TER-(GH)- (cf. 121) + NEĜH- (B. β.).

123) *pīnāḑti* 'beats, crushes': *n*-form in Lat. *pīnsit* 'grinds'.

Base P(T)Ē(Y)-S- in *paiei* 'strikes', *πισσει* 'stamps' (see nos. 25, 41, 102) + NES- 'to press, squeeze' (B. ε.).

124) *bhanājmi* 'frango': *n*-form in Arm. *bekanem*.

Bases BHĒ-(G)- (from BHĒ(Y)- 'to strike', see nos. 14, 41 fn., 159) + NEĜ(H)- 'infigo' (B. β.).

125) *bhinādmī* 'scindo': *n*-form in Lat. *findit*.

Bases BHĒ(Y)-(D)- 'to split' (cf. 124) + NED(H)- (B. γ.).

126) *hināsti* 'nocet': no *n*-forms.

The form *hināsti* arose analogically from *hīnsati*, desiderative to \sqrt{han} 'necat', thus:

pīnsanti 'pinsunt, nocent': *pīnṇti* 'pinsit = *hīnsanti* 'nocent':

hindsti 'nocet' (see Am. Jr. Phil. 25, 179).

Base $\hat{G}H\bar{E}(Y)$ - 'to split, break; crack, gap; cut off, break loose from, leave' (nos. 52, 107).¹

Base $G^WH\bar{E}-N$ - 'to strike' is a development of $\hat{G}H\bar{E}(Y)$ -, G^WH developing, say, in the syllable G^WHON - (see v., after no. 64).

127) *tundākti* 'stösst': no *n*-forms.

Bases $ST\bar{E}(Y)$ -/ $ST\bar{O}(W)$ - (no. 110) 'caedere, ferire' + $NE\hat{G}H$ -/ $\hat{N}G$ - (see j., v.) 'figere'.

128) *krynāti* 'cuts': *n*-flexion in Lith. *krintù* 'cado' (= caedor, so Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert.).

Bases $SKER-(T)$ - 'caedere' + NET - 'to split > < splice' (A. γ, B. γ.).

129) *tundāti* 'stösst': *n*-form in Lat. *tundit*.

Bases $ST\bar{E}(Y)$ -/ $ST\bar{O}(W)$ - (no. 127) + NED - (no. 119).

130) *mṛñjata* 'tergebant': no *n*-forms.

Base $MEL(\hat{G})$ -/ $MER(\hat{G})$ - 'mulcare, mulcere', extended from MEL - in Lat. *molat* 'grinds' (no. 5). Other extensions in *mṛksāti* 'strokes, rubs', *mṛḥāti* 'tangit', Lat. *mulcat* 'beats', *mulcet* 'strokes';

+ Base $NE\hat{G}H$ -/ $\hat{N}G$ - 'to pierce' (see j.).

131) Av. *mōrənāite* 'nocet'. Like no. 130.

The second base is NEK -/ $NE\hat{K}$ - (B. β). Lat. *murcus* 'short' (no. 5) is a cognate.

132) Gāthic Av. *mōrəndaŋ* (with $\bar{o} = \bar{a}$) 'aufreibt'.

Like no. 130. Second base $NED(H)$ - (B. γ.). Cognate with *mordet* 'bites'.

133) *lumpāti* 'rumpit'. Base $RE(Y)$ -/ $R\bar{O}(W)$ -, no. 48 [cf. base $L\bar{E}(Y)$ -/ $L\bar{O}(W)$, no. 2] + NEP - (B. δ.).

134) *vindhate* 'lacks'. Bases $WE(Y)$ - (see no. 36) + $NEDH$ - (B. γ.). For the meaning, cf. Dutch *schorten* (no. 11).

L".

135) *unābh*- 'to confine' (see no. 17). Bases $WE(Y)$ - 'to bind' + $NEBH$ - (A. δ.).

136) *krynāti* 'spins'. See no. 128. Bases $KER-(T)$ - 'to split > < splice' (see L.), extended from $S)KER$ - 'caedere', + $NE-T$ - (A. γ.).

137) *grynāti* 'ties': *n*-form in *grathnāti* (no. 16). Bases $GHER-(TH)$ - 'to tie' + NET -. The base $GHERT(H)$ - in Goth. *gairda* 'girth'.

¹ The meaning 'leaves, abandons' is clear in Skr. *jahāti jīhite*. Note the contrary sense of *κίχῃσι* 'obtains', which has developed on the lines of P.

² Cf. also (?) *κορίνθιαι αἱ πέδαι, κόρθνας τὰ κατ' ὀλίγον δράγματα* (*δράγματα* 'sheafs, bundles', or *δράγματα δέσμαι*?)—from a base $GHER-DH$ -; *χορδεύσαι* 'remεῖν (?) *χορδή* 'string, gut', base $GHER-D$ -.

138) *ā-tanakti* 'congeals': *n*-form in O. Ir. *co-tēcim* 'coagulo', cf. Lith. *tánkus* 'thick'. For the meaning cf. *πήγνυσι* 'fastens, congeals' *πηγός* 'fastened, firm, solid, swollen' (*κύμα*).¹ Uhlenbeck writes a base *TEŊK-*, and it is not impossible but Skr. *tanák-* has been fashioned to *tañk-* as *hinás-* to *hims-* (no. 126). But we may set up the bases *s)TĒ(V)-/STŌW-* (see no. 110) + *-NEK-* (F. β.). From *s)TĒ(V)-*, Skr. *tedanī* 'coagulated blood': cf. also *σρίap* as explained in Prellwitz, s. v.

139) *bhiṣṇaj-* 'to heal'.

The stems *bhiṣáj-* and *bhiṣṇaj-*, taken in conjunction with Av. *biš* 'healing' (in compounds), favor the division *bhiṣ-ṇaj-*, and Uhlenbeck regards *-aj-* and *-naj-* as suffixes. A base *BHI-S-*, interpreted as 'scaring off' (think of the savage medicine man), invites identification with *bháyate* (see no. 14), *bhiṣáyate* 'scares'. The 'suffix' *aj-* suggests identification with *ájati* 'drives'; cf. Lat. formations like *iurgat*, *purgat*, and Skr. *nāvājás* 'boatman': *navigat*. Accordingly we might interpret *bhiṣ-áj-* as 'demon-driving' (cf. O. B. *bēśū* 'demon'); and *bhiṣ-ṇaj-* as from a dissyllabic stem *BHIS(E)N- + AĠ-*.

140) *yunákti* 'joins, yokes': *n*-form in *ζεύγνυμι*, Lat. *iungit*.

The base *yunáj-* has beside it in Sanskrit a base *yu-* (from *yō(w)-*) in *yāúti* 'joins', which suggests the division into *yu- + naj*, the latter belonging to *NEĠH-* 'figo' (B. β.), mutating with *-ŊG-*.²

Cognates of *ŷōw-* 'to bind':

Lith. *jđutis* 'ox'

Lat. *jūmentum*,³ 'draught-animal'

Skr. *yūthám* 'herd'

gdu-yūtis 'cow-enclosure, meadow'

Lat. *jūgerum* 'acre'

With determinatives:

Goth. *jiu-k-an* 'to join battle'

Skr. *yūdhayati*⁴ 'pugnat'

Skr. *yuyóti* 'separates', the precise opposite of *yāúti* 'unites', suggests that the base *ŷō(w)-* belongs with the group of words in

¹ Cf. *πυκνός* 'close, firm': Lat. *pungit* 'pierces' (see Prellwitz s. vv. *πυκνε-δανός*, *πύξ*, *πύκα*).

² A material alteration of the phonetic environment attends the shift of guttural. Of course, *NEĠH-* and *-ŊG-* might have been the result of continuations (see also j., v., and w.).

³ Whether from **jugimentum* or *jū-mentum* is here immaterial.

⁴ Gr. *βοῦνι* 'in pugna' is as likely to belong with Skr. *√vadāh-* 'caedere, interficere' as with *yūdhmds* 'pugnans'.

L., meaning 'to split > < splice'. With the meaning 'to split', Skr. *yū-p-as* 'stake'. If the meaning 'to split' has nearly died out in this group, it is because some primitive noun like *YUGOM* meaning 'split, cleft' was specialized as 'yoke', and dominated thereafter the "root", as its meanings expanded. However, *jwāt* seems to mean something like 'it tickles' (S.) or 'it helps' (no. 115); Av. *yaoš* 'puruš' (no. 25): Skr. $\sqrt{yup-}$, (see Uhlenbeck, s. v. *yūpas*) 'to smooth, to plane'. If Lat. *jūs* be correctly defined by 'oath' (see Schrader, l. c., p. 657), then it may etymologically be 'the thing struck', quasi *ictum* (cf. *foedus icere*,—*ferire*, etc., and see no. 14).

The \bar{y} of $\bar{y}\bar{O}(w)$ - is probably for \bar{Dy} (i. e. $\bar{Dy}\bar{O}(w)$ -), connected with $\bar{D}\bar{E}(y)$ - 'to bind' (see no. 14, and cf. Am. Jr. Phil. 25, 164 and fn.)

141) *ruṇāddhi* 'impedit': no *n*-forms.

Bases $\bar{L}\bar{E}(y)$ -/ $\bar{L}\bar{O}(w)$ - 'to bind'—extended in Lat. *ligat*, *λυγίζει* 'binds' by *g*—+ $\bar{N}\bar{E}DH$ - 'to bind' (A. γ.). Or was the base $\bar{R}\bar{E}(y)$ -/ $\bar{R}\bar{O}(w)$ - 'to split > < splice' (no. 48)?

142) *vrñākti* 'twists': *n*-form in *ῥίμβει* 'turns round'. The bases are $\bar{W}\bar{E}R$ -(G) 'vergere' + $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{G}H$ - 'nectere'.

Cognate *ἔργον* in *ἔργα γυναικῶν* 'women's spinning' (cf. no. 95); *ἔργον*: *ἔρδει/ῥίσει* shows the \bar{G}^w attested by *ῥίμβει*.

143) *gumphāti* 'serit'. See Uhlenbeck, s. v.

144) *dṛñhati* 'macht fest'. See no. 99.

145) *bṛñhati* 'macht fest'. See Uhlenbeck, s. v.

146) Av. *buñjainti* 'flectunt'. See cognates in Uhlenbeck, s. v. *bhujdti*. The base $\bar{B}\bar{H}\bar{E}(y)$ - $\bar{B}\bar{H}\bar{O}(w)$ - 'caedere', set up in no. 41, seems reflected in Pāli *pari- bhuñjati* (no. 151) 'putat, purgat' (no. 25). Av. *buñj-* 'to save' may be explained by no. 22.

147) *kuñcate* 'contracts, bends, humps'. Base $\bar{K}\bar{O}(w)$ - 'frangere, flectere' (cf. no. 119) + $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{K}$ -/ $\bar{N}\bar{K}$ - 'to strike, beat' (F. β.).

148) *ḡñthati* 'loosens'. See no. 22.

149) *muñcāti* 'loosens': *n*-form in Lith. *smunkù* 'I slide'.

Bases $\bar{S}\bar{M}\bar{E}(y)$ -/ $\bar{S}\bar{M}\bar{O}(w)$ - 'to cut' (no. 12) + $\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{K}$ -/ $\bar{N}\bar{K}$ - (see no. 147); cf. Lat. *mācus* 'screatus' (see no. 120).

M".

150) *unad-* 'to moisten': cf. Lat. *unda* 'wave'.

Base $\tilde{O}(w)$ -/ $\tilde{O}U(w)$ - 'water' + Base NED- in Skr. *nadī* 'river' (C. γ.), which, *pace* Uhlenbeck, I do not separate from Goth. *naifjan* 'to moisten'.

ī-γ-pōs 'moist' Skr. (Lex.) *ojas* 'aqua' Skr. *oghas/āughas* 'flood'
avdnis 'flumen'¹ *ūmor* 'water'
āvidus 'wet' *ī-δ-ω ρ* 'water' Skr. *a-d-bhṛds* 'īdasi'²

151) Pali *pari-bhuñjati* 'cleanses'. See no. 146.

152) *ḥundhati* 'purifies' (cf. no. 169).

Base $\tilde{K}\tilde{O}W$ -(DH)- (cf. no. 119) 'to cut' + NEDH- (see C. γ., and cf. Celtic **snoudo* 'dripping').

153) *siñcāti* 'pours'.

Base $\tilde{S}\tilde{E}(Y)$ -/ $\tilde{S}\tilde{O}(W)$ - (no. 15) 'to cut'; meaning developed as in Eng. *sheds*, *spills* (no. 27). Cf. Lat. *sucus* 'juice', formed like *mucus* (149).

N".

154) *prṇākti* 'mixes, fills'.

Base $\tilde{S}PER(K)$ - 'ferire' (no. 35), akin to $\tilde{S}PEL$ -, no. 27, + NEK- 'premit' (F. β.).

155) Gāthic Av. *minaš*- 'miscere': *n*-form in *μίγννσι*.

Base $\tilde{M}\tilde{E}(Y)$ - (no. 12) 'to beat, mix' + $\tilde{N}\tilde{E}\tilde{K}$ - (F. β.).

O".

156) INADH- 'to kindle'.

The base is usually written AYDH-, but AY-DH- is a complex.

$\tilde{E}(Y)$ -S- / $\tilde{O}(W)$ -S- (cf. nos. 42, 45).

Skr. *īp-ṭakā* 'back-stein, terra cotta' Lat. *ās-tus* 'burnt'
ār-i-dus 'burnt' (*ā = ī*)³ Skr. *dyaś* 'copper' (= bright)

$\tilde{E}(Y)$ -G- / $\tilde{O}(W)$ -G-

αίγλη 'shine, glitter' *īgnis* 'fire'
Skr. *agnis* Lith. *ugnis*
" *aktūs* 'gloaming' *ἀκρίς* 'beam'

The other component base would be NEDH- 'to bind' (A. γ.) which, to be sure, has nowhere the sense of 'kindle', but cf. *ἀπτεῖ* 'fastens, anstekt, kindles'.

¹ Note the semantic equation Skr. *mddati* 'rejoices': Lat. *madet* 'is moist' = Skr. *avditi* 'rejoices': *avdnis* 'stream'. There is a notion of rejoicing in the modern use of *humour*.

² Note the corresponding *a/u* mutation in *μυδός* 'dampness': *madet* 'is damp'.

³ (?) *assus* from **ar-d-tus* like *prōsus* / *prōrsus*.

Was there a weak base $\tilde{\text{IDH}}$ - 'to split', rhyming with WIDH - (see no. 36)? The Greek forms $\dot{\iota}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ 'straight' (but see no. 101), $\dot{\iota}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\pi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\eta}$ (: *fungit*) might belong to it. Here also *idoneus* 'aptus' (see no. 95) and (?) *iduate* 'dividere in lingua etrusca' (Macrobius, Sat. 1. 15. 17), *édhate* 'flourishes' (cf. no. 41).

P''.

157) RNÁDH - 'to flourish'. See no. 96.

Bases $\tilde{\text{ER}}\text{-(DH)}$ - 'to burst out, bloom, flourish' + NEDH - (cf. Skr. *sam-naddhas* "schwellend"—of a bud).

158) *vindāti* 'finds': see no. 36 and G. ζ.

Q''.

159) *dhunāj*- 'to enjoy, eat': Lat. *fungitur* 'performs' perhaps belongs here.

Bases $\text{BH}\tilde{\text{E}}\text{(Y)}\text{-(G)}$ - / $\text{BH}\check{\text{O}}\text{(W)}\text{-(G)}$ - 'to split; break, bend; eat', belonging with $\text{BH}\tilde{\text{E}}\text{(Y)}$ - 'to strike' (nos. 14, 41),

dhājati 'divides, shares'
 $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ 'edere'

dhandkti 'breaks' (no. 124)
dhujdti 'bends' (nos. 146, 159)

+ NEG - 'to eat' (cf. $\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ B. β.).¹

R''.

160) *rñj*- 'to direct, stretch, attain': n -flexion in $\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\sigma\iota$ 'reaches, stretches out, extends'.

Bases $\tilde{\text{ER}}\text{-(G)}$ - (see no. 96) 'to strike, strike out for' + NEG(H) - 'to thrust' (B. β.). This group might have been put under P''; or, in view of $\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ 'grasps at, desires', under S''.

S''.

161) *tñmpāti* 'sich sättigt'. See no. 108.

T'' a.

162) *tañśáyati* 'shakes'.

Bases $\text{s)T}\tilde{\text{E}}\text{(Y)}\text{-/ST}\check{\text{O}}\text{-(W)}$ - in no. 110; $\text{s)T}\tilde{\text{E}}\text{M}$ - (in no. 87, fn.) + $-s$ -, cf. *tēlum* 'spear', from—among various other possibilities— TEMSLOM , *temere* 'hastily' (cf. *temerat* 'violates'), *tensa* 'vehiculum', (?) *tēm-ō* 'shaft, pole' (of a wagon), (?) *tonsa* 'oar'; cf. *ton-d. et* 'clips, shears'.

¹ Stokes (l. c. p. 191) refers O. H. G. *nagan* 'to gnaw' to a Celtic base *neg*- (= NEG(H) -). The Germanic cognates (?) in *kn-* *gn-* may be due to contamination with the base mentioned in G. ζ., and no. 63.

T". δ.

163) *sindati* 'sedet'. Base $\text{S}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-D-}$ (no. 15) with "infix" nasal flexion.

T". ζ.

164) Av. *činaθ-* 'docere', (no. 112).

I compare Skr. 2 $\sqrt{\text{ci}^1}$ 'notes, observes', $\sqrt{\text{cint}}$ 'putare', to which *či-naθ-* seems to be a sort of causative. Was the base (S)K(H) $\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-}$ (no. 119), developing, on the lines of *puto* (no. 25) and *δείκνυμι* (no. 108)?

165) Av. *činas-* 'docere'.

This verb doubtless formed an association group with no. 164. It is probably—in spite of the shifting of the guttural—cognate with Skr. *čāsti* 'teaches', *čisyas* 'docendus'. I set up a base $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-(S)-}$ 'caedere' (see no. 119).

This base appears in Skr. *čāmsati* 'recites, praises' (from $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{M-S-}$, with the development of meaning shown in T. ε. above. Moreover, some primitive ideographic form of writing by scratches would have supplied a connection from 'scribere' to 'legere', and on to 'λέγειν'. In short *carmen* (from **casimen*, cf. *Ca(s)menae*) was 'scriptum' before it was 'lectio'.

Cognate with $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})\text{-S}$ was $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{-N-}$ in Lat. *canit* 'sings', and $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{-N-S-}$ in *censet* 'thinks'.

T". μ. To salve, smear, adorn.

The notions 'to salve, smear' may have come from a nominal source—derived as *δημός* in L., fn.—or from a verb, as in Germ. *streicht*, Eng. *strikes*, both of which mean, in certain connections, 'to smear, rub'. The notion 'to adorn' is illustrated by *pingere* 'sticken, to embroider, to paint'.

166) ANAJ- 'to smear with butter': *n*-form in Lat. *unguit*.

The method of reducing milk to butter is by a violent 'shaking' or 'beating', (cf. Fr. *battre* 'to churn') and the result is a 'solidification' or 'congealing'. Either sense might develop from the base $\text{E(S)N}\bar{\text{E}}\text{-}$ studied in p. above (cf. particularly B. and F.). I derive a base *ONGW-* 'butter' from the base $\text{ENE}\bar{\text{G}}\text{H-}$ 'to strike, pierce.' Words meaning 'cream' and 'butter' also

¹ Ultimately = 1 $\sqrt{\text{ci}}$ 'to gather', cf. Eng. *I gather* which verges on a verb of perceiving: cf. *λέγω* 'I gather, read, talk' (so Prellwitz, s. v.).

² The sort of writing I have in mind is that described by Mason, l. c. pp. 194-195: cf. also *σήματα λυγρά, / γράψας ἐν πίνακι—θυμοφθόρα πολλά* (Z. 169).

³ On this group, see Am. Jr. Phil. 25, 178.

mean 'churn' (see Schrader, l. c., s. v. Butter); add Skr. *mēdas* 'fat' in no. 30?

167) *limpātī* 'smears': *n*-form in Lith. *limpu* 'haeret' (T. θ).
Base s) *LĒ(Y)*- 'streichen' (no. 2):

Lat. *linīt* 'smears'

li-mus 'mud'

With *p*-determinatives:

λίπος 'fat'

ἀ-λείπει 'salves'

With vowel of different color, and with meaning 'slick, shiny, bright' (see J.?):

λάμπη 'foam'

λάπη 'mud' (= sticky)

λαμπρός 'bright'

limpidus 'clear'

Very interesting developments of meaning (see no. 14) obtain in

Germ. *bleibt* 'm a net' (no. 12)

lebt 'vivid' (no. 41)

168) *pihātī* 'adorns'.

Cognate with *πείκει* 'shears, scratches' and with *πικρός* 'cutting, sharp, bitter'. Original sense was 'pricks, stipples, tattoos', cf. *ποικίλος* 'spotted'. With a different determinative, *pingit* 'paints' (see T". μ) and *pungit* 'pricks'.

Base *PĒ(Y)*-/*PŌ(W)*- 'caedere' nos. 25, 41, 51, 102.

This base is particularly instructive because of the *ā* (see h.) in *com-pāges* 'joint', Gr. *πήγνυσι* 'pegs, nails' (: Lat. pf. *pēgit* 'fastened', *pignus*—from *PĒY-G*—'compact', in no. 14), words that show the correlation of 'split > splice' (see L.). The other base is *NEĒ*- (B. β.).

169) *śumbhati* 'adorns': This is no. 152, with a different root determinative.

T". ν. To sift.

The development of this notion from a verbal source has been seen in nos. 25 and 11 above, it is a process of 'cutting, separating'. But the special sense 'to sift' may be denominative and come from a 'sifter'—either of the perforated type, or of the net type (see Schrader, l. c., s. v. Sieb).

170) *vinākti* 'separates, sifts': no *n*-forms of clearly related meaning.

Base *WE(Y)*- 'to split > splice' (see no. 36).

¹The lexical citations give the sense of 'pellucid, diaphanous', but the gloss *limpidat* 'oblumat' (= cleanses by scouring?) throws back curiously to the original meaning.

²Skr. *ud-ti* 'strikes, strikes out for, chases, seeks' exhibits much the same meanings³ as *όρέγεται*, no. 160.

If *vi-* is a nominal element, *vinākti* means 'per cribrum premit', -*nak-*, cognate with *ivaḥ* 'pressit' (see F. β.), supplying the verbal element.

Cognate with *vinākti* are Lat. *vincit* 'beats' (= conquers) and *vincit* 'binds' ($\text{WĒ(Y)-} + \text{NEK-}$ in *nectit*); (?) *viget* 'bursts forth, grows' (see no. 41).

T." o. To leave.

If Lat. *cedit* (no. 119) 'withdraws, leaves' had reached the transitive value of 'leaves' = 'desert' we should have a perfect illustration of the passage from 'caedere' to 'linquere'. Fr. *laisser* (= *laxare* 'to loosen') shows the possibility of development from 'cuts loose, loosens' (see no. 2); and *laxus* 'loose' belongs with *λήγει* 'ceases, leaves off'. The correlated notion *ceases* has been already noted in *παύει* (no. 25), cf. Goth. *af-taurman* (no. 1). The correlation of 'leaves, abandons' with 'splits, cracks, gapes' is exhibited in Skr. *jahāti* (no. 126). We may note locutions like *rumpe moras* 'cease delays', and 'breaks off' = forsakes.¹ The nominal idea would derive along the lines 'scraps, broken meats, leavings'. Schleicher gives Lith. *skalsūs* (cf. no. 11) 'refraining from, giving up, leaving' the etymological rendering "verschlagsam".

171) *rinākti* 'leaves': *n*-form in Lat. *linquit*.

Base LĒ(Y)-/LŌ(W)- 'to cut' (nos. 2. 141).

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>λεί-π-ει</i> 'leaves' | <i>λή-γει</i> 'ceases' |
| <i>λαγρός</i> 'loose' | <i>languet</i> 'faints' |

The second component is $\text{NE-}\bar{\text{K}}-$ 'to cut' (B. β.) which here (by analogy of its opposite SEK^w ?) appears as NEK^w- , cf. *linquit* > < sequitur.²

172) *ḥināsti* 'forsakes, abandons': no *n*-forms.

Base $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})-(\text{s})-$ 'to cut' (no. 165).

| | |
|--|--|
| Skr. <i>ḥdsati</i> 'cuts' | <i>κεστός</i> 'pricked' |
| <i>κίσση</i> 'chest' (= 'trough', no. 2) | <i>casa</i> 'hut' ³ (cf. 'dug out') |
| <i>castrat</i> ⁴ | <i>castellum</i> 'κώμη' (cf. <i>casa</i>) |

¹ But the other day I heard a cabman say "the clouds break off" (= cease).

² This statement tacitly assumes that LĒ(Y)- LI-NEK^w- and LĒ(Y)-K^w- were all in contemporary existence.

³ With dialectic -s-? Sacred word in the phrase 'casa Romuli'; or is s retained by association with *castra*, *cas-tellum*?

⁴ Which might come from $\text{s(K(H))}\bar{\text{E}}(\text{Y})-\text{D-}$ (no. 119), cf. *cassis* 'cudo' (no. 119), *casses* 'δόλος' (no. 12).

The $\ddot{O}(w)$ -grade, without *s*-, in *cōs* 'whetstone', *cautes* 'scaur, schneide' (no. 2), *kōnos* 'cone', *cūneus* 'wedge'; the $\ddot{E}(y)$ -grade, without *s*, in Av. *saeniš* 'point', Skr. *ṣāṇas* 'cos'.

The component base -NES- in B. *e*.

IV. The Sanskrit 8th or *u*-class verbs.

K'''.

173) *hanóti* 'schlägt'.

Base G^wHEN-/G^wHN- , derived from $\bar{G}H\ddot{E}(y)$ - (no. 126).

174) *kṣanóti* 'injures'.

Base $KPEN-/KPN-$ in *κτενέι*, *κτανεί* 'necabit', ultimately derived from $KP\ddot{E}(y)$ -, attested in grade forms by *κτημα* 'possession', *κτάσται* 'gets possession' (meaning as in P.); by *κτίλος* 'tame', i. e. 'broken, tamed by beating' (cf. Homeric *κτίλος* 'ram' = 'striker, aries' and *κτίλα φά* 'hatched—i. e. broken—eggs'); and by *κτίσνυμι* (? for **κτι-σνυμι*, see no. 2) 'κτείνω'. It is indeterminable whether *κτείνω* has an original diphthong or comes from **κτεγω*. There is no good reason, either, if the long diphthong be admitted, for separating *kṣanóti* from *kṣināti* 'destroys' (no. 10), save to provide a Sanskrit cognate for *φθίνει* (see 175).

175) **gṛhanu-* 'minuere' (no. 12); see Keller l. c., p. 203.

Gr. *φθόνος* 'envy, grudge' is a cognate.

The semantic relations of *φθόνος*, which we may define by 'nocentia', specialized as 'invidia', and of *φθορά* 'nex, perniciēs' render probable a structure symbolized by writing *φθό-νο-ς* *φθο-ρ-ά*. I would, therefore, set up a base, $G^w\bar{d}H\ddot{E}(y)$ - 'to cut small, hurt, seek to hurt' attested by *φθί-ναι* 'consumitur', *φθίσει* 'consumet', *φθεί-ρει* (if not from **φθερ-γει*, cf. no. 174) 'consumit'.

L'''.

176) *tanóti* 'stretches'; cf. *tenu-is* 'thin', *στενός* 'narrow', present-stem derivatives.

It is generally assumed that cognates like *τένων* 'sinew' (15), Skr. *tántus* 'thread, string', *tantram* 'loom, thread, warp' derive from the sense of 'stretching'. But the converse may be true, cf. Goth. *spinnan* 'nere', Lith. *pinti* 'plectere': O. B. *pēti* 'spannen' (?). I posit a base $S)TE-N-$ 'spinnen, spannen', derived from $S)T\ddot{E}(y)$ - in Latin 'sub-ti-lis' 'fine spun', 'sub-tē-men' 'yarn, thread' (if not from **texs-men*), *tē-la* 'warp' (if not from **texs-lā*). In view of Lat. *stamen*—currently derived from *stā-* 'to stand upright'—*στήμων* 'warp, thread' is not a certain cognate; but *ται-νία* 'band, fillet' [from $S)T\ddot{E}I-$] really makes for a base

s)TĒ(Y)- 'sticken—to sew, plait, bind ; spin, stretch' (cf. *προταίνι* 'in front of' with *prōtinus* 'forward'. For s)TĒ(Y)- 'stecken', with various root determinatives, the following evidence may be adduced (see also no. 110, and the references there):

Lat. *tinea* 'moth' ¹

στό-νυξ 'point, claw' ²

στευλεῖον 'axe-handle'

στέλεχος 'caudex' (119)

στώ-μυξ· δοκις (no. 118) ξυλίνη

Στή-ν-ια 'April-fooling'

(?) Skr. *tālaka* 'poisonous insect'

τένδει/τένθει 'eats' (Q.)

Lat. *stiv-a* 'plough-handle'

Skr. *stiv-rds* ³ 'sharp, violent'

στή-ριγξ 'furca'

(?) στό-β-ος 'abuse'

In no. 160 *δρίγει* has been defined by ('strikes'), strikes out for, reaches out (for) [i. e. stretches], and this definition is applicable to cognates of *tanóti*. To be sure, the notion of 'stretching' is more generalized in *tanóti* than in *δρίγει*, but so in the German trades is *reckt* 'stretches' much more generalized than its cognate *δρίγει*. For the sense of 'strikes' we may also plead *tenet* 'holds, obtains', with meaning as explained in P. Further, Skr. *tanús* may be etymologically defined by 'corpus' (see no. 11).

M."

177) *dhānutar-* 'flowing, running'.

The base DHEN- is derived from DHŌ(W)- in *dhāvali* 'flows' (no. 54).

P."

178) *vanóti* 'wins'.

Base WEN- extended from WĒ(Y)- 'caedere' (nos. 36, 88).⁴

179) *sanóti* 'wins'.

The base SEN-/SN- derives from SĒ(Y)- 'caedere' in no. 15.

S."

180) *kanu-* 'to long for'.

For this base Keller (l. c.) cites Avest. *činvat* 'cupiens',—cognate with Skr. *cāna-*,—*cinman* 'love'. The base was K^WEN-, extended from K^WĒ(Y)- 'cupere', found, with an *s*-extension, in Lat. *quae-r-it* 'cupit' (from K^WəY-), in *cura* (archaic *coira*, cf. Paelig. *coisatens* 'curaverunt',—from a base K^WOY-S-) 'care'; *τίει* 'cherishes, honors', *τιμή* 'honor' look like cognates:—*τίει*

¹ Cf. *tinea omnia caedunt*, Lucilius.

² Cf. *δνυξ*.

³ In *stiv-a*, *stiv-rds* I see the gradation of Skr. *stiv-is*, in f. above.

⁴ Meringer, l. c., p. 182, defines WEN- by (1) *ackert*, whence (2) 'verletzt, schlägt, siegt'. I would but invert his temporal order.

'exacts a fine' may have developed on the lines of the locution 'aestimat litem', while *τιμή* is well defined by aestimatio (1) 'honor, esteem', (2) 'assessment of a fine'. Also add

Lat. *cōmis* 'loving, courteous'

Skr. *kāmas* 'love'

from a base $K^w\bar{O}(Y)$ -

T.'" ζ.

181) *manōti* 'thinks'.

See no. 62.

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II.—THE VATICAN CODEX OF CICERO'S VERRINES.

In a paper recently contributed to the current number of the *English Journal of Philology*, I have given an account of the most important MSS of the Verrines, with the exception of the Vatican palimpsest. This codex seems to deserve separate treatment, firstly on the ground of its great antiquity, and in the second place, because its authority has hitherto been unduly disparaged.

For the externals of the Vaticanus (V) reference may be made to Zangemeister and Wattenbach's *Exempla Codicum Latinorum*, Tab. IV, and also to Chatelain Pl. xxxii, where it is cited as *Reginensis* 2077. These authorities agree in the view that the 'prior scriptura' of the palimpsest belongs, in all likelihood, to the 3d or 4th century. V must therefore rank among our oldest known Latin manuscripts. Its provenance has been dealt with lately by Mr. Sandys, in the *Classical Review*, Vol. xvii, p. 460.

The readings of V (and especially its errors) have been more or less exhaustively chronicled by H. Meusel, in his dissertation *De Ciceronis Verrinarum codicibus* (Berlin, 1876). After a careful comparison of the tradition as contained in V with that of the *Regius* 7774 A, Meusel sums up emphatically in favour of the latter codex. His judgment of V is contained in the following words: cum Vaticanus non solum maxime ad errores inclinet eosque gravissimos, cum temere saepe metet quae recte tradita sunt, cum non raro, id quod maximum est, consulto eos qui fidem ei habent in errores inducat, summo opere cavendum est religiosis omnibus et prudentibus hominibus, ne ab hoc fallacissimo auctore decipiantur et circumveniantur.

This is altogether too sweeping a statement. It is based on a method which may be described as unduly arithmetical. Meusel's laborious enumeration of differences between V and R in the minutiae of spelling, etc. has tended to obscure the real issue as to the comparative value of the tradition of the Vatican palimpsest where it differs vitally from that of the other codices. Moreover, the new material which has recently become available enables us now to institute a comparison of V not only with R, but also with two other MSS, each of which is as important for

the earlier parts of the Verrines as R undoubtedly is for Books iv-v. I refer to the Cluniacensis (498),¹ the surviving fragments of which, along with what can be reconstructed out of the so-called Nannianus, Metellianus, and Fabricianus, must be considered of supreme importance for Books ii and iii: and Par. 7775 which (with its complete copy Par. 7823) has been shown to stand at the head of the whole family that contains the earlier parts of the Verrines up to the words *de istius singu*[lari in ii, 1, § 111. Moreover, recourse may now be had, for all the speeches, and as a sort of last court of appeal, to a full collation of Par. 7776 (p: 11th century), alongside of which hardly any other member of the same numerous family need any longer be quoted.²

Dividing our examination, then, of the Vatican palimpsest into three parts, let us take, to begin with, the first surviving fragment, from *docet hominem* ii, 1, § 105 to *usitata satis* in § 114. For part of this we have two folios still extant in Par. 7775, which may be cited as S: the rest may be taken with equal confidence from Par. 7823 (D), which, as I have shown elsewhere, reproduces very faithfully the text of S. The important thing to bear in mind here is that the tradition of SD has now been proved to be just as authoritative for the earlier speeches as is that of R for the last two books. The fragment of the Vaticanus above specified is contained in about two pages of Müller's Teubner text (according to which references will be given in what follows); and the first thing to be said in favour of the V tradition is that at two places we are indebted to its unique readings for the true text. These are

180, 8 *reprehendi* V sol. The actual reading of V (but with transposition marks to put in their proper place words which had at some time been omitted *ex homoeoteleuto*), is *neque post edictum provideri potuit reprehendi neque ante edictum = neque post ed. repr. neque ante ed. prov. pot.*

181, 10 *iure* V sol.

The other variants in the palimpsest may be discussed in order:

179, 20 *posset* V and Priscian: *possit* SDp. Alongside of this may be set 340, 7 where *possit* in V is supported by c (my symbol

¹ For an account of this codex, now in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham, see *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Classical Series, Part ix* (1901.)

² Two descendants of p are cited in this paper—Lg. 29 (q), and Harl. 2687 (r). These constitute what I call the Y family, from which is derived the numerous progeny that must be classed as the *deteriores* = *dett.* (δ)

for the reconstruction of the Cluni codex, which in its now mutilated form I cite as C) and its derivative Lg. 42 which I cite as O: *posset* p et rell.: 326, 32 *possit* Vc, *posset* O, *potest* p et rell.

179, 22 *singularis* V Ld. and some dett. (and so at first SD): *singulari* p et al. This might suggest *singularis est audaciae* instead of *singulari est audacia*.

179, 24 *diceret* V,—a mistake for *ediceret*: cp. 181, 11 where V wrongly gives *dixisset* for *edixisses* SDp.

179, 25 *tam inhumanum* V sol.: *inhumanum* SDp (as also Harl. 2687 = r, and Harl. 4852 = Z). It may be noted here that two other MSS at first gave *tam* but afterwards subpunctuated the word,—Par. 7786 and Harl. 5428.

179, 29 *simul* V: *simul et* SDp. (For the tendency of V to omit *et*, see on 187, 3 below, and cp. 255, 12: 256, 24: 278, 14: 467, 35: 473, 17. On the other hand, at 268, 32 V is the only MS that has it).

179, 31 *liberis* V and Priscian: *a liberis* SDp. In the same way V omits *a* or *ab* at 180, 4: 186, 13.

179, 32 *accum* V. Other instances of more or less archaic forms in V are 184, 35 *dicundo* V Prisc., *dicendo* p et al. 185, 15 *uolgi* 186, 1 *inicum* 188, 25 *aedis* 192, 20 *vendundis* V et Ps. Asc.: *vendendis* p rell. Cp. also *Iuni* V, *Iunii* p rell. (191, 14: 195, 29): *Haboni* V, *Habonii* p rell. (195, 19.)

179, 33 *Cum intellegam legem Voconiam* om. V. Here the copyist of V evidently did not recognise the quotation as belonging to the text.

179, 35 *scripsit* V sol.: *fecit* SDp. et rell. This is a remarkable variant. Along with it may be cited 181, 8 where a study of the context will show that a good deal might be said in favour of *iuris* V sol. as against *generis* (*gñis*) SDp. Editors behave somewhat capriciously in similar cases where there is a difference of a word between V and rival traditions. Thus at 186, 22 they take *didicistis* from V against *cognostis* p et rell. Either reading gives a good clausula: and it is interesting to speculate whether the motive of the change, in this and similar instances, was the wish on the part of some copyist to conform more closely to some law of prose rhythm, such as has recently been expounded by Prof. Zielinski. So at 219, 17 *abiret* at the end of a sentence is accepted from V (confirmed now by c and O) against *discederet* rell. But at 186, 35 editors prefer *venissent* p et rell., as supported by Priscian, to *fuissent* V. On the other hand the vulgate *legem*

legi p et rell. has been displaced at 245, 17 by *legem recitari* V (again confirmed by c and O). Of lesser moment is the discrepancy at 255, 4 between *sunt* V O and *sint* p rell. Cp. also 291, 29 *ait* V, *dixit* p rell. (280, 32): 292, 11 *deberet* pq O and Par. 4588, *vellet* V, *haberet* d: 344, 32 *Non me fugit* (*fingit*) Lg. 42 p et rell., *non praeterit* V : 473, 3 *ferreus* R'S et al., *durus* V, *durus et ferreus* p et dett.

180, 1 *sed* V : *sed etiam* rell. The recurrence of this discrepancy in other places induces some doubt: cp. 271, 2 *sed* V (supported by the first hand in O and also by Clark's Harl. 2682), *sed etiam* rell. : 278, 23 *sed* cO, *sed etiam* rell. : 292, 8 *sed etiam* cO, om. V rell.

180, 4 *iuris* P. R, V (*iuris praetorii*? 182, 27) : *iuris* rell.

" " *Recita* V sol. : cp. 192, 33 and 193, 3.

" 7 *ei rei* V : *ei rei* p : *eius rei* SD.

" 15 *Voconium* V : *C. Voconium* SDp et al. This phenomenon seems not to have been sufficiently noticed: there may have been a tendency on the part of copyists to write in a praenomen. Cp. 181, 25 *Verres* V et dett., *C. Verres* pqr, also Priscian: 185, 32 *Trebonium* Vq, *A. Trebonium* pr: 230, 23 *Africani* V and the first hand in Lg. 42, *P. Africani* rell. : 256, 32 *Hortensius* V, *Q. Hortensius* rell. : 259, 2 *Verris* C : *C. Verris* rell., edd. 357, 2 *ad Antoni* V, *ad Anthonium* O, *ad M. Antonii* p.

180, 20 *tam* V : om. SDp.

" 22 *in his ipsis* V : *in ipsis* SD : *in is* (iis) *ipsis* pqr.

" 29 *non* V, cod. Steph., Prisc. : *non* SD : om. G¹Ld. q : om. in lacuna p.

180, 30 *patietur* V Ps. Asc. : *patiatur* Prisc. : *patitur* SDp rell. (an inadmissible clausula, according to Zielinski).

181, 4 *Qui* V (supported by the analogy of 180, 4) : *Si quis* SDp et al.

181, 8 *iuris* V (supported by line 3 above) : *generis* SDp Par. 7786 Harl. 4852 et rell.

181, 9 *amplecteris* V (ut videtur) : *complecteris* SDp et rell.

" 12 *discrimen* V sol. : *dubium* SDp rell.

" 16 *abs (aps) te* V : *a te* SDp rell. Cp. 304, 37 *ab te* V, *a te* p : 326, 18 *abs te* VOpq, *a te* dett. But at 476, 2 V has *a te* against *abs te* R et pler. (Meusel, pp. 15-16): cp. 287, 17 *a Siculis* V, *ab Siculis* rell. : 331, 19 *ab L. Metello* VcO, *a L. Met.* p rell. See on 271, 11.

181, 16 *id* V : *illud* rell. This mistake is repeated at 467, 20 where V is reported as again giving *id* for *illud*.

181, 17 *inventus est* V : *est inventus* SDp et al. (e. g. Par. 7786 and Harl. 4852). This is the first of a considerable number of transposition variants which will be dealt with together for the later books. Müller here follows Kayser and Klotz (against Jordan) in accepting V's reading.

181, 20 *multi in isdem causam sis (causis?) fuerunt* V
multi testamenta eodem modo fecerunt SDp et al. (e. g. Par. 7786, Harl. 4852 and 2687).

This is a very remarkable instance of divergence of tradition: v. Class. Rev. xvii, 202. Possibly the fault lies with the copyist of V, who may have failed to decipher his original. But cp. *in eadem causa esse* 469, 33.

At this point we are left without any further guidance from S and its derivatives, viz. D and the other members of what I have called the X family (as against pqr = Y). So far as we have gone, however, it will have appeared that Meusel's sweeping condemnation of V is by no means justified. The difficulty is to establish some principle of selection. Müller seems to be rather inconsistent, for example,—after accepting *inventus est* from V at 181, 17,—in rejecting *satis non* V at 181, 27. Here, it is true, we can no longer cite S and the rest of the X family : but the presumption is that they would have shown *non satis*, which is the reading of p et pler. The same applies at 181, 31 a few lines further down, where editors follow V in reading *tu tibi* against *tibi tu* pqr Par. 7786. Cp. 186, 16, where V rightly gives *homo sit*, against *sit homo* p et rell. : 193, 18 *iniquissimi hominis* V, *hom. iniq.* pr et rell. : 195, 21 *praeextatum venisse* V, *ven. praet.* pr et rell. : 198, 15 *ego nisi* V, *nisi ego* pr et rell. (as at 223, 3).

For the concluding portion of Book i our main authorities are the extant parts of V (which are fortunately considerable here) and Par. 7776 (p.) How does their tradition compare, on the whole? It would be superfluous to make an altogether complete and detailed enumeration of differences : the following may be taken as the most important:

181, 30 *nata esset* V : *natae essent* p et rell.

182, 17 *nullum* V : *non* p et rell. (wrongly preferred by Müller).

" 30 *intestatus* V and Ps. Asc. : *intestato* p, corr. r, et rell.

- 185, 3 *aliquos* V : *alios* p et rell.
 " 12 *perfacile* VO : *perfacile* p, Par. 7786, et pler.
 " 14 *et iniquitatem tum* p rell. : om. V.
 " 23 *produxisset* V : *produxit* rell. Zielinski thinks that V may be right,—S8 as against S2 (v. Das Clauselgesetz, p. 193).
 185, 28 *conplures* V : *plures* pq (*complures* r).
 " 29 *in iis* V : *in his* p et rell. Cp. 230, 32.
 " 32 *illum* V : *fratrem illum* pqr.
 " 34 *id iurare* p (ut conj. Klotz) : *adiurare* V : *iurare id* qr : *iurare* rell.
 185, 36 *velaret* V (ut videtur) : *velat* p et rell.
 186, 2 *libertus* V : *et ille libertus* p et rell. (*At ille libertus* r, ut conj. Ernesti.)
 186, 11 *tum* pr et rell. : om. V. This is doubtful.
 " 17 *surrexerit* V, which Zielinski thinks probably right (op. cit., p. 193) : *surrex̃* p : *surrexit* r et rell.
 186, 18 *sescenta* V : *LX* p : *sexaginta* rell.
 " 19 *ego non dicam pecuniam* V : *ego pecuniam non dicam* pr et rell. This is an interesting transposition variant : recent editors follow V.
 186, 24 *coepit* V : *coeperit* pr et rell. (supported by Priscian).
 " 28 *non* om. V : in p it is added above the line by the later hand, and subsequently deleted.
 187, 3 *auctoritate* V and Nonius : *et auctoritate* pr et rell. The omission of *et* after a final *e*, as here, might of course be explained : cp. 190, 26 *summo pudore, summo officio* V : *et summo* pr. But V has the support of the extant part of the Cluniacensis (as well as of O) in reading *nova tibi haec sunt, inopinata* at 207, 18 against *et inopinata* rell. Cp. 332, 26 : 467, 35 : 473, 17.
 187, 6 *in causam aequissima fuit* V : *fuit in causa aequissima* pr.
 " 9 *gratiam* V : *gratiamque* pr. Cp. 193, 22 : 277, 36 : also line 33, below (*ac* p : *atque* qr : om. V.)
 187, 17 *credetur* V : *crederetur* p et rell.
 " " *credemus* V : *credimus* pqr : om. dett.
 " 19 *Verres* pr : om. V. Here the name has probably crept in from line 16, above.
 187, 30 *dubitavit* Vpq¹ : *dubitavit* corr. q r et al. A similar case is *iudicavit* Vp at 326, 11. Here in view of the faulty clausula (though his P₃ is of not infrequent occurrence in the Verrines) Zielinski suggests *dubitaverit*.

187, 31 *se* Vq : *sese* pð. So 230, 31, 326, 14 *se* V, *sese* p, supported however by Lg. 42 : 326, 36 *ab se* V Lg. 42, *ab sese* p et rell. Cp. 220, 1 : 223, 30 : 230, 18 : 260, 33 : 369, 29 :

187, 36 *Recita Cn. Fanni (Faeni) testimonium* V : *Rec test. Cn. Fanni* p et rell.

187, 37 *dicenti* pr et rell : om. V.

188, 8 *Ne Tadii quidem tabulis* V : *Ne tabulis quidem Quinti (Q) Tadii* pr et rell.

ibid. *credemus* V : *credetur* pr et rell. (187, 17.)

188, 11 *honestorum* V : *honestissimorum* pr et rell.

190, 26 *venit* V : om. pqr.

" 37 *ab aliis tabellae obsignabantur* V : *alii tabellas obsignabant* p et rell.

191, 5 *inhumaniter* V Prisc. et al. : *inhumane* pr et pler.

191, 5 *se facturam* V, Donatus : *se esse facturam* pr et rell. Cp. 192, 24 *factam* V, *factam esse* p et rell. : ibid. 27 *refecturum* V, *refecturum esse* p et rell.

192, 2 *cuia res* V : *cuia res sit* p : om. r : *cuia res est* Priscian

" 25 *quisquam accedit* V : *quid accedit* p et rell.

" 33 *Recita (-R-)* V : om. p et rell. So 193, 3 and 180, 4.

" 34 *Lex operi* V : *ex opere* pr et rell.

" 36 *Quid enim multis* V : *quid enim uedeo* (corr. *video*) in *multis* p et rell. I propose to read *Quid? est in multis* etc., or keeping the *enim* (197, 35) *Quid enim? est in multis* etc.

193, 10 *si* (before *propinquorum*, and in each of the two following lines) V : om. p et rell.

193, 14 *tu* V : om. pq^l.

" 16 *opus* V : *id opus* p et rell.

" 22 *eisdem* V : *eisdemque* p (187, 9).

" 27 *petivissem* Vpr : *petissem*, q and Priscian, would give a faulty clausula.

193, 33 *accepit* V and Ps. Asc. : *acciperet* pqr : *acceperit?*

" 35 *solvetur* V : *solvitur* pr et rell.

" 36 *se* V : om. p et rell.

194, 5 *facito. Quid est suo cuique* V : om. ex homoeoteleuto p et rell.

194, 7 *ulla* V sol.

" 8 *in ista* V : *et in ista* pqr.

" 16 *eius* V : *istius* pr rell. Cp. 195, 19 *istius* p et rell. : *huius* V.

195, 22 *stetisse cum* V : *stet esse cum* p¹ (ut Par. Lall.) : *tet esse cum* p¹ : *ter esse cum* qr : *testes secum* dett. This is a very important example, as showing the gradual depravation of the text.

195, 35 *eum* V : om. pq¹.

" " *esset* V : *est* pr.

196, 8 *illae* V : *eae* p : *hae* dett.

" 12 *restinguendum sit* V,—a reading which suggests that an *ut* may have dropped out before *communi praesidio* in the line preceding: *restinguenda est* pr et rell.

198, 14 *suae* V : om. p et rell. The word should probably be retained: there seems to be a point in the repetition *suorum—suum—suae*. But the passage is a very difficult one. In explaining it, Mr. Greenidge (Constitutional Procedure, p. 439) omits *suae*. I have thought also of *secundae*. Curtius was the *index* of another *quaestio*: he was to play the part of Iunius,—this time by drafting on to his own *consilium*, which stood next in order, such jurors as Verres indicated he would rather be without. This is certainly the meaning of the closing sentence, though by itself *subsortitio suorum iudicum* would naturally mean a 'supplementary allotment of jurors favorable to Verres', rather than 'in the case of the jurors who were to try him'. Cp. 159, 7.

198, 17 *oportebat quos* V : *oportebat erepta esset facultas eorum quos* p et rell. This is a crucial passage for V. The discovery that the words *erepta esset facultas eorum* are not the addition of a late Italian copyist, but had been incorporated in the text of p as early as the 11th century, might induce a suspicion that they may point to an omission in V, rather than an accretion in p. But even so we should need to have recourse to emendation, e. g. *erepta esset facultas eorum quos* vellem eligendorum cum interea quos *iste adnuerat* etc. No such treatment of the passage is, however, necessary. The fact is that the words *erepta esset facultas eorum* constitute in themselves an alternative apodosis, originally supplied in the margin by some one who failed to construe *subsortiebatur*, and afterwards received into the text to balance *restitissem*. This explanation may account for the note which I report from the margin of p "infiniti modi est non personae tertiae": instead of "had I not withstood him, he was for allotting away out of this panel of yours",—a construction which he failed to appreciate—the commentator who supplied

what I have called the alternative apodosis, *crepta esset facultas eorum*, desiderated a more general conclusion: "had I not withstood Curtius, there would have been no getting the jurors we wanted."

Incidentally, I may report here that Zumpt's conjecture *quos cum iste* has been anticipated by a contemporary MS note in the margin of my copy of J. Sturm's edition.—Strassburg, 1540.

This concludes the review of the variants in V up to the end of the First Book. It will be seen at a glance how little it deserves Meusel's epithet 'fallacissimus auctor'. So far from being unreliable, the Vatican palimpsest is altogether indispensable for the proper constitution of the text of this part, at least, of the Verrines. I stated at the outset of this paper that in the short fragment where we may still compare the tradition of V with the mutilated survival of S (Par. 7775) there are two places (180, 8 and 181, 10) where we are indebted exclusively to the Vaticanus for the true text. To these others may now be added from the later portion of the First Book, where, owing to the failure of S and its derivatives in the great lacuna which begins at the words *de istius singu]lari* in § 111, we are forced to rely on a comparison of V and p. Here again V comes undoubtedly to the front. If the reader will refer to 194, 5 where the words *facito quid est suo cuique* have been omitted in every codex except V: to 195, 22 where in *stetisse cum* V alone preserves a reading which afterwards became depraved: and lastly to the passage at the close of the oration discussed above (198, 17) he will have enough evidence to justify him in regarding the Vatican palimpsest as an authority of the very weightiest character. Of course it contains errors, some of which will be mentioned later on. These are, however, relatively few in number. The variants cited in the foregoing pages do not constitute a complete apparatus for V: I have sought to concentrate attention on important differences. But it may serve to prove the general value of the V tradition for this part of the Verrines if I conclude by stating that out of some 125 passages I have had under consideration, V must be reported wrong in only 22: the rest are either right or doubtful. And for the doubtful places, a presumption in favour of V will be created by a careful study, among other passages, of 180, 8: 181, 10: 194, 5: 195, 22: 198, 17.

For Books ii and iii the Vatican palimpsest must be compared not only with p (a full and accurate collation of which has not been available till now) but also with the extant parts of the Cluniacensis (C) and the lost portions of that important codex (c), so far as they can be reconstructed from reports of the so-called Nannianus, the Metellianus, and the Fabricianus. One striking fact may at once be mentioned. At iii § 70 (p. 298, 6) the received text runs: *Si damnatus eris, atque adeo cum damnatus eris,—nam dubitatio damnationis illis recuperatoribus quae poterat esse?* Here the words *atque adeo cum damnatus eris* occur only in V: in the other codd. they have been dropped in consequence of an error ex homoeoteleuto. Cp. 359, 35 *denis non licere* VcO, om. p et rell.: also 351, 34.¹ The first citation is enough in itself to show the independence of V, and also to suggest an ultimate common origin for all other codices (except perhaps the Cluni MS, which was not reported here by any collator before the time of its mutilation). Take again the striking instance at 221, 28, where O supports V in the reading *amplam nactus*, thus showing that this was also the reading of the Cluniacensis, against *amplam occasionem nactus* pqr Par. 4588 and *amplam occasionem calumniae nactus*, rell. and edd. For *amplam* see Müller's critical note ad loc. There can be little question here that V shows the true text, and that the rival reading is a gloss. More obvious still is 230, 9 *angebatur animi necessario* V: *angebatur tamen animi dolore necessario* pqr Par. 4588. Here again O is in agreement with V, and as the reading is reported by Metellus, we may conclude with certainty that it stood also in the Cluni codex: the other is an interpolation. The readings of O will be found of great assistance in settling doubtful points. For example, transposition variants are among the most frequent instances of divergence between the two traditions. Now when we have at 345, 32 *quemquam ferre* V as against *ferre quemquam* p et rell., and when we find that O agrees with V, we shall probably conclude to accept in most cases the reading thus vouched for.

¹ To these examples should be added 360, 14–15, where a reference to the Zürich edition will show that if it were not for V, with help from O, the true reading would have been altogether lost. The vulgate, as derived from p et rell., has suffered here from an omission ex homoeoteleuto, and runs *tanti aestimabit videtis*, all intervening words being omitted.

These instances of the superiority of V must receive due weight, especially in the face of such a list of errors as that supplied by Müller on p. xli of his 'Adnotatio Critica' in support of his view that the Vaticanus is a depraved and corrupt MS ("foedissime interpolatus est"). The passages there cited will be dealt with in order : meanwhile it may be pointed out that some of them at least are not all to the discredit of the copyist of V. Take, for example, 332, 34 *primum plurimum* : here the scribe misread his text, and after wrongly writing *primum* he inserts the right word *plurimum*, not making any deletion or erasure, in case he might spoil his page. A careless copyist would have left *primum* standing. The same explanation will cover 478, 24 *subito suppeditatum* : cp. also *facile tacite* 230, 12 ; 255, 29 *enim nimirum* ; 261, 28 *apud adversus* ; and *autem aut* 459, 25. So probably also 222, 21, where V gives *unam at domum*,—a mistake for *unam domo (domu?)*. Cp. 301, 5 *pervagatum* edd. (as at 322, 14 ; 389, 34) *pervulgatum* pr et pler. codd. (Meusel, p. 21) : *pervagatum et pervulgatum* V. One instance in which V can be shown to have preserved the genuine text must be held to outweigh a number of such mistakes as these. They are accordingly not included in the lists that follow. But to remind the reader that such errors occur in V, I shall specify here the following : 211, 12 *spectet* for *spectaret* ; 214, 27 *tris* om. ; 219, 10 *quam* (s. l. *quemadmodum*) for *quo* ; 219, 29 *aditum postulatum in ius* ; 221, 13 *se* om. ; 221, 19 *nullum* om. ; 222, 9 *fuerunt quod ad* ; 224, 11 *cum in primis* ; 223, 13 *quod idem* (for *quo die*) ; 223, 21 *iste ad praesens* for *iste* ; 230, 28 *et sua sponte* for *sua* ; 235, 30 *quod cum* for *cum* (see note on 223, 24 below) ; 236, 9 *haec licere* for *id licere* ; 236, 16 *idem demonstrarat* (an obvious dittography : cp. Meusel, p. 17) ; 304, 30 *posita in loco* for *posita* ; 340, 29 *ab aliis* for *ab his* : 341, 28 *nihil a te fictum* (where Halm suggests *adfectum* : more probably the scribe took a *te* from *ad tempus* in what follows). Cp. for Book v the unintelligible *quos ceruos* 455, 9 and *alios quam ob* (for *aut aliquam ob*), *ibid.* 13.

Proceeding now to a more or less detailed examination of Book ii, I here append three lists. The first contains mainly those various readings in regard to which it seems either certain or probable that the authority of V—supported as it frequently is by CcO—ought to be allowed to prevail. This list does not contain, however, the remarkably frequent cases where transposition has occurred : these I have found it convenient to exhibit

by themselves in a second enumeration. Lastly, a number of various readings is cited where the choice appears to be doubtful.

200, 12 *atque* VCO¹ : *ac* p et rell. (On the other hand 363, 19 *atque* p O : *et* V.)

200, 15 *atque* VCO¹r : *atque adeo* p et al.

207, 18 *inopinata* VCO¹ : *et inopinata* rell. See on 187, 3.

" 19 *ex ex* VCO : *de de* p et rell. Cp. 268, 31 *ex* V, *et* O, *de* vulg. : 287, 10 *ex* cO, *de* V, *in* rell. : 327, 23 *ex* VO, *de* p et rell. : 366, 11 *e sacrario* RS, *de sacrario* Vp.

214, 22 *ait* VcO : *aitque* pq et Par. 4588 : *atque* r et rell.

" 25 *postridie* VcO : *postero die* pq et Par. 4588.

219, 13 *Bidini* VcO¹ : *Bidenses* rell.

" 28 *primo* VO¹ : *primum* pqr.

" 33 *sibi* VcO : om. rell.

" 37 *dimittit* VO¹ : *dimisit* rell.

220, 1 *se* V : *sese* rell. Cp. on 187, 31.

221, 13 *de* V : om. p rell. (*ab supra* lin. r). So again 235, 35.

" 19 *iubeat* VcO¹ : *liceat* p rell.

" 25 *iudicium* VO : *novum iudicium* p rell.

222, 9 *L. Metellus* VO : *Q. Metellus* pq Par. 4588.

" 21 *alia Panhormi* om.VO¹. These words should, however, be retained : the agreement of VO might lead us to doubt them : but cp. 210, 32, where the same codd. concur in leaving out the indispensable *rerum*.

223, 1 *laudationes* VcO : *laudationem* p rell.

" 6 *testes* V sol.

" 8 *sociorum* VcO : *siculorum* rell.

" 24 *cum* VO : *quod* rell. Such interchanges are frequent : cp. 222, 9 : 235, 30 : 332, 18 : 339, 26.

223, 30 *se* V. This would seem to make a better clausula than *sese*. Cp. on 187, 31.

223, 35 *ostendisset* VcO¹ : *possedisset* rell. (*auctoritate sua possedisset* r).

230, 24 *et equitate* V, *et aequitatem* cO : om. rell.

" 35 *eximia* Vc Op : *mira* dett.

235, 35 *de* VcO¹ : om. rell.

236, 1 *pertimuit* VcO : *timuit* p rell.

" 11 *et* Vpr : om. O. So in line 15 below, *et* Vp : om. O. Cp. 268, 32 *et* V : om. rell.

236, 17 *fecisse quod* VO : *fecisse id quod* p : *id fecisse quod* q.

" 24 *ornatissimus* VO : om. p.

244, 23 *verum* VO : *sed* p rel.

" 37 *complector* VcO : *complector crimine* p : *complector nomine* al. Forte *complector omnia crimine*?

255, 4 *sunt* VO : *sint* p et rel.¹

" 27 *illius* VO¹ : *istius* p et rel.

256, 8 *velis* VO¹ : *vis* p et rel.

260, 33 *numeros se abs* V. This is nearer the right reading (*numero sese abs* CO) than *numeros abs* pqr 4588.

261, 16 *ab aratoribus* Vp : om. COq.

" 17 *positas* V : om. C p rel.

269, 5 *atque* VcO : om. rel.

The transposition variants in Book ii, I now proceed to exhibit by themselves :

207, 18 *hoc aures tuae* V p et rel. : *aures hoc tuae* CO¹.

210, 33 *ex conventu civium Romanorum* VO : *ex civ. Rom. conv.* pqr and Ps. Asc.

211, 4 *suum civem* V (wrongly, for *civem suum* : perhaps *suum* is an adscript).

219, 18 *amicorum suorum* V pqr and Ps. Asc. : *amicorum* cO : *suorum amicum* dett. With this compare 230, 6, where V pr and the rest have *suorum amicum*, whereas *suorum* must have been again omitted in the Cluni codex, as *amicum* only is reported by Metellus and is also the reading of O¹. For this passage Kayser quotes *amicorum suorum* 'e Pal. sec.'

219, 20 *contemnere et neglegere coepit* V
neglegere et contemnere coepit pr et rel.
neglegere coepit et contemnere O.

Here the probability seems to be that *contemnere et* fell out, and was subsequently replaced in the text as *et contemnere*.

219, 36 *male acceptos ab se* V : *ab se male acceptos* pqr Par. 4588 O. Here again *ab se* is perhaps an adscript.

221, 27 *illud idem (item)* V VO : *idem illud* p rel.

223, 10 *mecum decedere* VO : *decedere mecum* pr et rel.

" 11 *oppida mihi* VO : *mihi oppida* pr et rel.

" 15 *edidi nomina* VO : *nomina edidi* pr et rel.

230, 13 *iste cupiditate* VO¹ : *cupiditate iste* pr et rel.

235, 32 *ita rem* V qr : *rem ita* pO. Cp. 100, 3.

" 37 *Romae liceret* VO : *liceret Romae* pr et rel.

236, 13 *se laqueos* VO : *laqueos se* p et rel.

¹At this place the reading of the vulgate can be traced back to V : *civem Romanum* V p rel. : *togatum* c and cod. Cuiac. : *rogatum* O.

240, 36 *se eversas funditus esse* V : *se funditus eversas esse* CO : *funditus eversas esse* p et rell. If the collocation is wrong in V (which would be a difficult hypothesis were it not for the divergence of CO) it would be easy to suppose that *se* dropped out between *funditus* and *eversas*, and that the true reading is *funditus se eversas*.

241, 9 *hoc homines* C : *homines hoc* qr (cum signis transp.). In V *hoc* is written in *supra lineam* : it is reported as being omitted in "7 dett. Lagg."¹

241, 16 *hostissimum Veneri* V, wrongly, for *Veneri potissimum* C et rell.

244, 28 *locum illum* V sol. for *illum locum* rell.

256, 18 *laudarent publice* V for *publice laudarent* rell.

" 23 *igitur est* V for *est igitur* rell.

261, 5 *quoque vobis* V for *vobis quoque*.

" 25 *tu auctoritate* VCO : *auctoritate tu* p et rell.

269, 4 *ne aut hoc* VcO : *hoc ne* codd. pler. : *ne hoc aut* r et al.

" 8 *litteras primas* V for *primas litteras* rell.

After such an aberration as that at 241, 16 it would be difficult to hold that the last-named variants in V should be accepted against the authority of the other codd. C is no longer available for comparison, except for p. 261, and has not been reported as departing from the vulgate by those who collated it before its mutilation. Moreover, O is not cited as agreeing with V for these inversions, and they are included here for completeness, and to show the nature of the problem, rather than as established readings.

By way of concluding the treatment of Book ii, there may here be fitly appended a third list of divergences where the readings of V must be classed as wrong or doubtful :

222, 12 *rescindit* V pqr : *rescidit* cO.

" 14 *nisi quod* Vδ : *nisi si quid* cO : *nisi si quod* pqr.

" " *poterat* corr. V ex *poteret* r rell. : *potuerat* cO¹. Cp. 286, 31.

222, 21 *alia Panhormi* om. VO¹. See p. 420, above.

¹ That the origin of transposition variants is often to be sought for in a word omitted may be seen from a comparison of the following places: 255, 10 *acceperit iniurias* q, as a result of the reading of its ancestor p, where *iniurias* was omitted from the text and afterwards inserted above the line by the second hand (p²): 268, 36 *mihī nunc* V, *tu mihī nunc* O, *mihī nunc tu* p et pler., *nunc tu mihī* r: 285, 34 *magna est laus* V, *magna enim est laus* p, *magna enim laus* est qr: 297, 13 *in qua re* V, *qua re* cO, *qua in re* p.

223, 25 *iudicasset* V : *diuicasset* cO : *iudicavisset* pq rell.

224, 6 *in istius unius essent potestate* V et rell. To this should probably be preferred the "lectio difficilior" *potestatem* cO. Cp. 119, 6 : 465, 6.

230, 32 *ii se* V : *et se* O : *hi se* rell. Cp. 185, 29.

" " *fortunas et* V : *fortunam ac* p rell.

236, 17 *exemplo multorum* V : *exemplo* rell.

" 27 *cum haec ac* V : *cum acta res* O : *cum res esset acta* p et rell.

240, 25 *cuius* V : *cui* C p et rell.

241, 2 *furtorum flagitiorum* V : *flagitiorum* C et rell. Here *furtorum* has probably been interpolated in V.

255, 6 *abs te* cOpq : om. V.

256, 3 *probare potes* V : *probari potest* p et rell. (*probare potest* O).

256, 25 *ediderint* cO : *ediderunt* Vpq. (But *obsecrarint* VcO : *obsecrarunt* p, in the line following.)

260, 31 *inimicissimique* V p et rell. : *inimici* O.

261, 9 *cupies* V p rell. : *cupias* CO.

" 13 *inimicorum* V et rell. : *iniquorum* CO.

The same process may now be repeated in regard to Book iii, after which Books iv-v can be dealt with together. First, a list of places is cited, in most of which it seems that the testimony of V ought to be allowed to prevail, for reasons similar to those already given:

271, 2 *sed* VO¹ H (i. e. Harl. 2682) : *sed etiam* p rell. See on 180, 1 above.

271, 3 *dicunt* VcO : *indicunt* pr et rell.

" 9 *ab religione* V p et rell. : *a religione* O¹ Par. 4588.

" 11 *ab re pub* V pq H (i. e. Harl. 2682), Par. 4588 : *a* cO. Cp. 331, 19, where we have *ab* VcO : *a* p et rell. Cp. on 181, 16.

277, 25 *exportando* Vc pq 4588. In adopting *asportando* from O sol., as in omitting *neque* (after *horreis*) in the line above, on the same authority, Müller has deferred too greatly to that MS.¹ Cp. the variants at 327, 23 *deportatum* Vc, *adportatum* O,

¹Other instances of the same tendency are *posset* 277, 32: *aliquem si potestis* 278, 20: *audite iudices* 279, 9: *rusticarum rerum* ibid. 37: *decumanum putatis* 281, 3: *quam sibi* ibid. 15. Cp. Class. Rev., Vol. XVI, p. 402, note: to the instances cited there of what appears to have been, on the part of the writer of O, a deliberate attempt to change the sequence, the following may now be added:

280, 32 *esse aiebat omnes* c : *aiebat omnes esse* V : *esse aiebat omnes esse* O.

exportatum p et rell., and at 475, 19 *deportata* R³, *adportata* (app.) V p. See also on 207, 19.

277, 30 *decumano* VcO : *decumani* pr et rell.

278, 1 *instituerit* V : *institueret* pqr.

" 9 *audistis* V (ex silentio) p : *audivistis* O (Müller). Here Zielinski pronounces in favour of *audivistis*: but there does not really seem much to choose between the two clausulae which he denominates respectively S₈ and S₂.

278, 12 *recordamini* VO : *cogitate ac recordamini* p et rell.

279, 8 *ac* corr. VO : *et* p et rell. Cp. 200, 10 *ac* COq¹, *et* pr et rell. (V is uncertain): 290, 20 *ac* VO, *et* rell. : 304, 5 *et* VO, *ac* p et rell.

279, 15 *tantundem dabo* V (cp. 353, 6) : *tantū dē* p : *tantundem* rell.

279, 26 *recilet ex codice professione .r. V*. Here O omits *professione(m)* *recila*: in pq there is a blank space. Cp. 33 below, where V again has .r., which Opq omit. On the other hand, at 287, 12 Oq give *recita epistolam*, while V has *Epistula* without .r. or *recita*.

279, 32 *daturum* VO : *daturum esse* rell.

280, 14 *ac* VO : om. pr et rell.

" 19 *reperietur* V : *reperitur* pqr et rell.

" " *aliqui* VO : *aliquis* rell.

215, 33 *aliquanto ante quam* pqr : *ante aliquanto ante quam* O.

253, 32 *eos ita abs te* codd. praeter O (*eos ita abs te ita*). Here the copyist of O afterwards deleted the first *ita*: this is a good instance of a transposition variant detected in the making. Cp. 295, 32 where p rell. have *tuarum fortunarum*: O at first gave *fortunarum tuarum*, but afterwards the same hand restored the sequence. Again at 303, 3 O alone gives *consultis senatus* for *senatus consultis*. At 312, 22 *graviorisque* O for *graviore certioresque* p rell. is probably the result of an omission ex homoeoteleuto: it is certainly no ground for reading, with Halm, Kayser, Klotz, and Müller, *certiores gravioreque*.

319, 35 *perditamque provinciam miseram* O: an obvious inversion for *provinciam miseram perditamque*. So also at 356, 12 the first hand in O changes *ista ipsa*, which it had at first (as p rell.), to *ipsa ista*,—a unique inversion. And the probable explanation of *utrum his crimen* O, in place of *utrum crimini* (354, 11), is that *criminis* in c was inverted in the same arbitrary fashion (*his* for *-is*) by the copyist of O. Cp. 362, 33 where O gives *huiusmodi rusticae* for *rusticae eiusmodi*,—and many other instances.

In many such places Müller has deferred too greatly to the authority of O. Where the order shown in O is found also in V, there is at least a *prima facie* ground for considering it. But this does not apply to such instances as 322, 32 where Müller takes *michi nervis* from O against V et rell. (*nervis miki*):

- 280, 19 *nondum* VO : *nondum etiam* r et rell.
 281, 8 *avaritia* VcO : *sine avaritia* rell.
 " 9 *ac multo plus* VcO : om. rell. Here p omits *dico plus ac multo plus*.
 281, 10 *decumam* VO : *decumas* p et rell.
 285, 21 *Quid si* VO : *Quid vero si* p et rell. Cp. 305, 1.
 " 31 *interrogare* VO : *interrogari* rell. Cp. 128, 7.
 " " *tacitus* VcO : *tacitum* rell.
 " 32 *quam vis* Vq : *quantum vis* p 7786. Cp. 370, 37.
 286, 10 *quod* V : *quo* cOpq.
 " 14 *arbitrare* VO : *arbitrabare* (-bere) p et rell.
 " 16 *C. Marcellus* VO : *M. Marcellus* rell.
 " 20 *in posteritatem* VcO : *in posterum* pq 4588.
 " 25 *praetore* (pr) VO : om. pq 4588.
 " 31 *potuerat* VO : *poterat* rell. Cp. 222, 14.
 " 36 *putavit* V : *putabit* O : *putasset* pr et rell.
 287, 4 *praetor* VO : *pop Rom.* rell. (pr p).
 " 31 *adsequi* VcO : *exsequi* rell.
 288, 1 *eae* V : *haec* rell. : *esse* O. Cp. 200, 2 *his* VCOp, *iis* edd. : 221, 7 *is* (iis) V, *his* rell. : 292, 13 *his* VO, *iis* rell.
 288, 8 *iugorum* V (318, 24) : *iugerum* rell.
 290, 16 *abalienari* Vc : *alienari* rell.
 " 17 *ac locupletissimos* c[φ] O : om. V p et rell. For the tendency to omit one of two superlatives, cp. l. 25 below, where V omits *ac diligentissimus*. Cp. 346, 16. See also on 366, 8.
 290, 33 *illo* VO : om. pq 4588.
 291, 3 *volusium* VcO : *volusianum* rell.
 " 21 *uxoris* VcO : *uxorem* rell.
 292, 17 *postea cum* VO : *postea quam* rell.
 293, 7 *dixerunt* VO : *dixere* rell.
 " " *eiusmodi* VcO : *huiusmodi* p 4588. Cp. 195, 27 *eiusmodi* p et rell., *huiusmodi* V : 366, 2 *huiusmodi* R'SDK, *eiusmodi* Vpq et rell.
 293, 18 *pervenire* VcO : *venire* pr et rell.
 294, 1 *hoc* VcO : om. rell.

or 342, 3 where again his text gives *ad te haec* (O sol.) against *haec ad te* p rell. The copyist of O was either guilty, in some instances at least, of deliberate and arbitrary inversion, or else he gave effect, somewhat heedlessly, to transposition marks which he may have found, inserted by later hands, in the ancient codex from which he made his copy of Books ii and iii, and which I have shown elsewhere to have been in all probability the *Cluniacensis* (C).

- 296, 23 *omnes* VO : *homines* rell.
 " 26 *homini* VcO : *homini inprimis* p rell.
 " 30 *erat* VO : *erat quid rei esset* rell.
 297, 3 *iudicio* VO : *iudicium* rell.
 " 5 *huiusce* V : *eius* O : *huius* pler.
 " 27 *decumas* VcO : om rell.
 " 34 *istius* VcO : *ipsius* rell. Cp. 255, 27 *illius* VO¹ : *istius*
 p et rell.
 " 35 *at arator* VO : *ab aratore* rell.
 298, 6-7 *atque adeo cum damnatus eris* V sol. See p. 418.
 300, 5 *iniuriis et* V : om. pr et rell
 " 6 *civitates* VO : om p et rell.
 301, 10 *resedisset* VO : *redisset* p et rell.
 304, 36 *te praetore* VO : *ante te praetorem* p et rell.
 " " *piratis* VcO : *privatis* rell.
 305, 1 *vero* VcO : *ergo* rell.
 " 2 *sed* VcO : *et* rell.
 " 6 *quoque* VcO : om. p et rell.
 " 7 *accedant* Vp⁸ : *accedunt* cO.
 322, 27 *pertinebat* VcO : *pertinebant* p et rell.
 " 33 *elaborandum* Vp (475, 16) : *laborandum* rell. Here p
 is found in agreement with V : this is not reported in the Zürich
 edition.
 323, 9 *refrenaret* VcO : *frenaret* p et rell.
 326, 9 *impudentiam* VO : *O impudentiam* p et rell. (366, 35).
 " 19 *rem* VcO : om. p et rell.
 " 30 *utrique* Vc : *utrisque* p et rell. (O not reported.)
 " 32 *estne* VcO : *est* p et rell.
 " " *possit* Vc : *posset* O : *potest* p et rell. Cp. 179, 20.
 327, 5 *animum advertisset* V : *animadvertisset* p et rell. Cp.
 467, 13.
 327, 12 *tute* VcO : *tu* p et rell.
 " 16 *polestis* VcO : *potuistis* p et rell.
 " " *ex hoc* V p : om. O.
 " 23 *deportatum* Vc : *exportatum* p rell. : *adportatum* O.
 Cp. 277, 25 : 475, 19.
 327, 33 *iudicavit* VO : *iudicabit* p et rell.
 " 36 *habeam* VcO : *haberem* p et rell.
 328, 5 *cum* VO : *dum* p et rell.
 331, 17 *reddidisset* VcO : *redemisset* p et rell.
 " 33 *ipse* VcO : *ipso* p et rell.

- 332, 29 *tanto opere* Vpq 4588 : *tantopere* O et rell. Cp. 364, 6.
 " 30 *redundarit* Vc : *redundaret* p et rell.
- 333, 17 *et contemni* V p et rell. : om. O. Müller wrongly brackets these words.
- 333, 19 *conficies* VcO : *perficies* p et rell.
- 338, 25 *usura* VO : *usuris* p et rell.
 " 28 *esse* VcO : *esse cura* p et rell.
- 339, 1 *acceptam* V : *accepto* pr et rell.
 " 2 *tu ipse* VcO : *ipse* p et rell.
 " 7 *fortasse* VO : *fortasse est* p et rell.
 " 22 *publicam* VO : *publice* p et rell.
 " 37 *debeat* VO : *debebat* p et rell.
- 340, 7 *possit* VcO : *posset* p et rell. Cp. 179, 20.
 " 15 *aut Syria* VO : *aut ex Syria* p et rell.
- 340, 31 *emendum* VcO : om p et rell.
 " 37 *amentia* Vp et rell. : *ista amentia* O.
 " " *ex eo* Vp : "*et eo* ϕ " : *eo* O. Perhaps *et ex eo*. At 341, 2 p et rell. have *ex eo* for *et ex eo* VcO. So below, l. 27 *et ex* cO : *ex* Vp et rell.
- 341, 5 *utrum enim te* VcO : *utrum te* p et rell. Cp. 353, 3. On the other hand Vpq omit *enim* at 261, 10, where it should be adopted from CO.
- 341, 6 *emere* VcO : *emere a Siculis* p et rell.
- 342, 5 *aspexi* Vp : *inspexi* cO.
- 344, 29 *ergo* VO : *ego* p et rell.
- 345, 7 *advexerit* Vc p et rell. : *advexit* O.
- 346, 10 *excellentem* VcO : *excellenti* p et rell.
 " 16 *nobilissimos* om. VO. Cp. 290, 17, 25.
- 348, 27 *audivimus* V : *audimus* pq : *vidimus* cO.
- 349, 10 *admetiantur* V : *metiantur* p et rell. (ut l. 3). So 350, 15 *persolveres* V : *solveres* pr et rell.
- 350, 22 *erat* VO : *etiam erat* p et rell.
 " 29 *improbe* VO : *improbi* p et rell.
- 351, 34 *quos non exarat* (*exararat* V?) VcO : om. p et rell.
- 352, 2 *hominis* VcO : *homines* p et rell.
 " 10 *emptum* V : *demptum* O : *dent emptum* p et rell.
 " 21 *Verre* VcO : *hoc* p et rell. Cp. 474, 21.
 " 22 *cum primis* VcO : *cum primis civitatis* p et rell.
- 353, 1 *hoc vectigal* Vc : *vectigal* p et rell.
 " 3 *est enim* V : *enim* O : *est* p et rell. Cp. 341, 5.
 " 6 *possumus* VO : *possitis* p et rell.

- 353, 33 *Sosippus* V : *Sotiis* O : *Sophocles* p et rell.
 354, 33 *etiam* V : *in* pq : *iam* rell. : om. O.
 356, 34 *ne lepidus* VO : *ante lepidus* p et rell.
 357, 4 *omnibus* VO : *omnibusne* p et rell. Cp. 474, 37.
 " 14 *utilitatem* VcOp¹ : corr. p¹ *voluntatem* and so rell.
 359, 35 *denis non licere* VcO : om. p et rell.
 360, 11 *improbos* VcO : *impios* p et rell.
 " 30 *non dicet* V : *non dicat* O : *non dicit* p et rell.
 361, 9 *senatorium* VO : *senatorum* p et rell. Cp. 475, 1.
 363, 17 *et fidelissimi* VO : *fidelissimique* p et rell.

The following is the list of transposition variants for Book iii :

- 277, 33 *ita essent* V sol. : *essent ita* pr et rell.
 279, 20 *enim simile* VcO : *simile enim* p et rell.
 280, 11 *sit licitus* Vq (Zielinski) : *licitus sit* p et rell.
 280, 28 *cohors ista* V : *ista cohors* rell.
 " 32 *aiebat omnis esse* V : *omnes dicebat esse* pqr (p was wrongly reported by Zumpt) : *esse aiebat omnes* c : *esse aiebat omnes esse* O (p. 423, note). For the interchange of *aio* and *dico*, cp. 291, 29 *ait* V, *dixit* p et rell.
 285, 25 *vendidisti decumas* V pr et rell. : *decumas vendidisti* cO.
 " 30 *dicere aude te* V (wrongly) for *aude te dicere*.
 286, 9 *pro his decumis pecunia* VO : *pecunia pro his decumis* p et rell.
 286, 18 *fuit habenda* VO : *habenda fuit* rell.
 287, 3 *civitates Siciliae* V sol. for *Siciliae civitates*, rell.
 " 9 *litteras mittat* V sol. for *mittat litteras*, rell.
 " 34 *augendi criminis* VO : *criminis augendi* pr et rell.
 " 35 *ipse accepi* VO : *accepi ipse* rell.
 290, 35 *aequo vellet* V for *vellet aequo* rell.
 291, 19 *se non arasse* VcO : *non arasse se* pq.
 " 26 *se accepturum* VO : *accepturum p se* rell.
 292, 31 *iniurias eorum* V sol. for *eorum iniurias* rell.
 293, 14 *amplius a me* VO : *a me amplius* pr et rell.
 296, 24 *et fortes satis* pqr 4588 : *satis fortes* (without *et*) V : *et satis fortes* O.
 300, 15 *istius item* V pr et rell : *item istius* cO.
 304, 3 *totum integrum* VO : *integrum totum* p et rell.
 " 12 *hic interpres* VO : *interpres hic* rell.
 305, 4 *omnino frumenti* VO : *frumenti omnino* rell.
 326, 11 *absolvi se* V : *se absolvi* p O et rell.

326, 17 *idoneum iudicem* Vp et rell. : *alium iudicem idoneum* O, which I take to mean "al. *iudicem idoneum*".

331, 15 *amplius vultis* V sol. : *vultis amplius* p et rell. (*multis amp.* O).

332, 19 *hoc sibi* V sol., for *sibi hoc* rell.

338, 23 *posse fieri* V p and vulg. : *fieri posse* O (wrongly followed by Müller).

338, 24 *usura publicanos* VO : *publicanos usura* p rell.

" 25 *usura* VO : *usuris* p rell.

" 35 *tuam pecuniam* V p rell. : *pecuniam tuam* c [F] O.

" " *praetorem* Vc [F] O : *non .pr.* p : *non populi romani* rell.

339, 29 *esset frumenti* V sol. : *frumenti esset* rell.

345, 4 *mihi totum* V : *totum mihi* pq.

" 7 *ac non potius mulio* c p : *non mulio plus* V, omitting *ac* (after *deducat*: this was supplied as *et*, e. g. *et non potius mulio* O).

345, 19 *novam rem* V pq : *rem novam* O (an obvious inversion).

" 26 *molestē ferunt esse* V sol. : *esse molestē ferunt* rell.

" 29 *pretio licet* VO : *licet pretio* p rell.

" 32 *quemquam ferre* VO : *ferre quemquam* p rell.

348, 29 *abs te nunc* V : *nunc a te* pr : *nunc abs te* vulg.

349, 22 *si vis Hortensi docere* VcO : *si quid Hortensi docere vis*, p dett.

352, 5 *quoque homines sunt* V : *quoque sunt homines* p : *homines quoque sunt* O.

352, 19 *dare gratis* V : *gratis dare* pr et rell.

" 31 *ad aequitatem conditionis* c [F] O : *ad aequitatis conditionem* pqr et rell. : *aequitate condicionis* V.

353, 14 *est pecunia* V : *pecunia est* p rell. : om. O.

357, 15 *eius iniuriis* V p rell. : *iniuriis eius* O (and so, wrongly, Müller).

357, 15 *eius omnia* V p rell. : *omnia eius* O (and so, wrongly, Müller).

361, 20 *vos id credidissetis* codd. : *id vos credidisse* p.

For Book iv the surviving fragments of V are very exiguous, and occur only at the beginning of the speech. Books iv and v may accordingly be taken together. My apparatus includes a collation of Par. 7775 (S), 7823 (D), Harl. 4105 (K), and Harl. 4852 (Z) as well as the codd. cited in Baiter-Halm's Zürich edition. I shall enumerate first the places where it may be

argued that the authority of V should be allowed to prevail, even in some instances against the Regius 7774 A (= R).

366, 2 *eius modi* V pq and the dett. : *huius modi* R^sSDK. Cp. 195, 27; 293, 7; 297, 5.

366, 8 *sociorum atque amicorum* V sol. : *sociorum* rel. Müller here brackets *atque amicorum* as an accretion, and the authority of R leads most recent editors to omit the words altogether. But the tendency to omit one of two similar endings has been commented on at 290, 17, where *ac locupletissimos* (after *honestissimos*) is found only in c[φ] O : cp. *ibid.* 25; 346, 16. For the formula, cp. 397, 26 *socii populi Romani atque amici* : 400, 33.¹

369, 29 *eaque sese* V pqr et dett. : *eaque se* RSDG¹AK : *ea se* G¹ Ld. Cp. on 187, 31 above.

370, 9 *ita enim* VR^sS : *id enim* pqr et dett.

" 18 *te* VRS : *a te* pq et dett.

371, 4 *nonne* Vpqr et dett. : *non* R^sSDλ (332, 37).

458, 28 *in insula* V, where the R family wrongly omits *in*. The phenomenon is repeated at 460, 11.

459, 17 *dum* V : *tum dum* RSZ : *tum cum* K et dett. : *tunc cum* Par. 4588.

459, 19 *ablegato* Vp Par. 4588 dett. : *abalienato* R^sS.

" 37 *P^rR^r nomen* Vp Par. 4588 dett. : *P^rR^r* RSD. Cp. however 327, 9 where *nomine* is inserted by V (after *mercedis ac praemii*) against cOpq 4588.

460, 11 *Syracusanum* Vp 4588 and the dett. : *Syracusanorum* RSKZ. Cp. 464, 21, where the same divergence recurs.

463, 18 *maius hoc* V et dett : *maius* R^sSZ.

" 30 *etiam dignitatis* V : *etiam tumultus habita dignitatis* RSDKZ. This aberration shows that in the archetype of the X family, the scribe—after writing *etiam*—had gone back and inserted the superfluous words *tumultus habita* from the immediate context. This seems to speak for the reading of p and the dett.

¹It may of course be argued on the other hand that *atque amicorum* is just the sort of accretion that a copyist might have been tempted to make. There can be no doubt that the text of V was "touched up" in places: e. g. 458, 31 *aestivos iam continuos* V wrongly for *aestivos* rel. : 463, 34 *stupri plenus stuperet* V, for *stuperet* rel. (where the addition *stupri plenus* has come in from above, 463, 15). So too, in all likelihood, 467, 30 *ad se vocari* V (as at 466, 12) for *vocari* rel. : 475 1 *non est senatorium* V for *non senatorium* (-um) RSDZ : *ibid.* 27 *ne enim* V, *ne* RS p et dett. Conspicuous instances of such accretions occur in the famous passage about the imprisonment of Verres's victims, Book V, § 117 sq.: e. g. 472 1 *intro ferre* V p et dett. (from l. 10, below) for *ferre* rel.:

habita est tumultus habita etiam dignitatis. Cp. 420, 5 *pretio adductam civitatem et pretio parvo*, where R has *praecio adductam civitatem et praecio adductam civitatem et praecio parvo*. The fact that p and the Lagg. omit the words *adductam civitatem et pretio* from the text as it stands to-day supplies a clear explanation of this aberration, which can be applied also to 463, 30. In some earlier MS these words had been inadvertently omitted ex homoeoteleuto. They remain away in the earliest member of the complete or Y family. But in the archetype of R the fault had not been committed, and yet some collator had inserted, probably above the line, words which—as they had to be supplied, to make sense, in other codd.—he considered should be added also in the codex from which R is derived. The copyist of R included these words in his text, but afterwards drew a line under *et praecio adductam civitatem*.

465, 6 *postestatem* VRqK : *potestate* p et dett. (224, 6 : 119, 6).

467, 17 *aut* Vp 4588 and dett. where R wrongly gives *ut*, while the other members of the X family (including SDKZ) omit altogether.

468, 15 *atque in vincula* VRp et pler. : *atq. uincula* S : *atque vincula* λG¹Ld : *et vincula* G¹ (477, 28).¹

ibid. 2 *limine ipso* V for *limine* : ibid. 9, *ut tibi cibum vestitumque* V for *ut cibum tibi* rell. (here V shows the influence of Quintilian, who gives at IX, 4, 71—probably quoting from memory, and with a reminiscence of 472, 1—*tibi cibum vestitumque*) ibid. 14 *licitori datur* V et dett., *licitori dabatur* p, *dabatur* RS rell. (here Zielinski would admit *licitori*, though the context shows that *dabatur* must be right, not *datur*). At 476, 16 *uxoresque* V seems an addition (*sororesque uxoresque* V : *sororesque* RS : *uxores sororesque* dett.); so probably also the words at 474, 28 *et ex complexu matris ereptus innocens (filius d)* V pō : om. RSDKZ.

¹ I append in this place a note on 471, 29 *Metum virgarum nauarchus nobilissimae civitatis pretio redemit : humanum est*. This is the reading of Vp 4588, and as it occurs in two places also in Quintilian (viii, 4, 19 : ix, 2, 51) the passage might have been included in the above list of places where the authority of V should be allowed to prevail. But for *nobilissimae civitatis*, there are variants in other MSS.:

homo nobilissimae civitatis RKZ

homo nobilis summae civitatis SDG₁₂

Müller follows Lambinus in adopting a conjecture by Memmius, *homo nobilissimus suae civitatis*, which is said to occur also in one of his MSS : cp. ii § 106. But the right solution of the difficulty is to be found in the parallel passages pp. 292, 6 and 436, 3. In the former there can be no question that the true reading is *Huic homini, iudices, honestissimae civitatis honestissimo*, though V

471, 18 *secum* V : *sed cum* R^sSDKZ : *sed secum* 4588 and the dett. Perhaps *sed secum cum*.

471, 30 *ne* V p et dett. : *ut* RSDKZ.

" 31 *usilatum est* Vp 4588 λ and the dett. (with Quint.) : *usilatum* RSD.

471, 31 *uult* Vp and the dett. (with Quint.) : *volet* RSK.

472, 5 *postremum* V : *postremo* RSDKZ : *supremum* pq.

" 7 *Romanorum* V with Quintilian (viii, 4, 27) and Julius Severus : om. RSDp 4588 KZ and the dett.

474, 14 *omnia* V p and the dett. : om. R^s SDKZ et al.

" 29 *carnifici Sextio* V—obviously right for *carnificis exitio* R^sSD et al.

474, 37 *senatumne* V : *senatum* RSDKZ (cp. 357, 4). On the other hand *veniant* V in the same line is not obviously right as against *venient* R^sSDKZ.

475, 6 *haec arx* V et al. : om. RSG¹.

" 13 *omnes* Vp : om. R^sSD et al.

" 14 *pervenisse* V and the dett. : *pervenirese* R : *pervenire sed* (corr. mg. *se*) SG.²

476, 14 *isdem te* V et al. : *iste* RSZ.

" 34 *veritatem* V (123, 12) : *severitatem* RS (136, 9) : *virtutem* p et dett.

477, 3 *culpae fortunam* V : *culpam fortunae* RSp et dett.

" 27 *te quod* Vpq : *hii quod* R : *hi quod* S : *his quod* D.

" 28 *in invidiam* V (468, 15) : *invidiam* RSp et dett.

The following are the instances of transposition variants occurring in Books iv-v:

365, 36 *hospes esset* VSDK : *esset hospes* RprZ.

366, 17 *Messanam cum imperio nemo* R^sZ.

nemo Messanam cum imperio Vp et dett.

Messanam nemo cum imperio K.

" 26 *cuiquam praeterea* VRpqr : *praeterea cuiquam* SDG¹KZ.

inadvertently omits the words *honestissimae civitatis* : in the latter I propose to follow SD (against RG₃) in now reading *in hominem honestissimae civitatis honestissimum*. In the same way I would read at 471, 29 *homo nobilissimus nobilissimae civitatis* : compare the similar characterisation of Phalacrus in the immediate context *in amplissima civitate amplissimo loco natus* (473, 25). As to the authority of Quintilian, it is not impossible that such an omission in the text might have occurred before his time (cp. on 472, 9) ; and as a matter of fact two 10th century codd. of Quintilian (the *Bernensis* and the *Bambergensis*) give *nobilis nobilissimae* (for *nobilissimae*) at ix, 2, 51.

366, 27 *istius domus* V : *domus istius* RSDp et al., with Nonius.

369, 33 *habuisse illa* VpqrK et dett. : *illa habuisse* RSDZ.

370, 15 *de pecuniis repetundis* VR et al. : *de rep. pec.* SG²λ.

371, 2 *ista laudatio* RVp : *laudatio ista* S, with faint transposition marks; and so G²λKZ.

455, 12 *erant capti* R²Sp : *capti erant* V.

" 15 *capitibus obvolutis e carcere* RSpK,—obviously right for *involutis e carcere capitibus* V.

459, 7 *Cleomenes vir* RSDKZ 4588 : *vir Cleomenes* V.

" 21 *tamen animo* R et pler. : *animo tamen* Vp et dett. (*paulo tamen solutiore animo* K).

460, 7 *haec ego ad* R²SλKZ : *ego haec ad* V : *haec omnia ad* p 4588.

463, 32 *etiam hac* Vp et dett. : *hac etiam* RSD.

464, 17 *parvis myoparonibus* V sol. for *myop. parv.*

468, 24 *nuntio commoti* R²Sλ : *commoti nuntio* Vp et dett.

" " *aspiciunt catenis* RSDZ 4588 : *catenis aspiciunt* VK.

" 37 *indicta causa* V sol. for *causa indicta*.

471, 11 *in tantam* Vp et dett. : *tantam in* RSG¹ Ld. KZ : *in* om. G².

471, 28 *sunt haec* Vp 4558 et dett., with Quintilian (viii, 4, 19) : *haec sunt* RSDKZλG₁G₂.

472, 11 *mortem filio tuo adferam* V sol. for *adferam mortem filio tuo*.

473, 16 *neque tibi neque illis* RSK : *neque illis neque tibi* V : *neque tibi* dett.

473, 16 *illo ipso* Vp et dett. for *ipso illo* rell.

" 31 *vos hic quoque* RSDKZ wrongly, for *vos quoque hic* V et al.

475, 3 *populi causa* R²Sλ : *causa populi* dett. : *causa* PR.V.

475, 8 *non aurum non argentum* Vq, for *non argentum non aurum* RSDpK and the dett.

" 12 *ita velit fieri* V sol. for *ita fieri velit* rell. The reading of V is now upheld by Zielinski (op. cit. p. 198) as giving a good clausula, $\overline{\cup} \cup - / - \cup -$ (L 2¹). A possible explanation of the frequent recurrence of such transposition variants as are here under consideration is, as has already been suggested above, that copyists may have sought to exemplify in some favorite passage the rhythmical canons which are being rediscovered now.

477, 30 *nego securi* V : *securi nego* dett. (*non ego quemquam ex re militari* om. *feriri—metum* R²SDKZ.)

Places where V is obviously wrong are the following:

366, 28 *hic* R¹Spqλ : *iste* V.

459, 22 *set* (*sed*) RS : *at* Vp 4588 and the dett. The construction is quite different from that at 380, 28.

463, 15 *excipit* Vp and the dett. for *excipitur*.

" 16 *clamorem* VB'p and the dett. : *clamore* R'SDK : *excipit* *clamores* 4588.

464, 30 *viderint* R'λ (a 'vera clausula' : V, Zielinski) : *viderent* V and the dett.

465, 9 *invenerat iaciebat* Vp and the dett. for *invenerant iactabant*.

473, 6 *ut fortunam putaret tamen* V for *ut fortunam tamen* *arbitraretur*.

477, 30 *oportere* V sol. for *debere*.

The following may be classed as doubtful:

366, 34 *verbo uno* R'SD : *verbo iam uno* pr and the dett. V is reported as having something in front of *uno*, but what it was cannot now be determined.

366, 35 *O di* p and the dett. (and probably also V) : *di* R¹ with *O* added supra lineam by the manus secunda : *dii* SDK : *di* G¹ : *O dii* Zr. Cp. 326, 9.

367, 9 *fuerint* pr DZ and seemingly G¹ : *fuerunt* RS : V is doubtful.

370, 21 *cotidiano* R'SD : *cotidie* Vp and the dett. In spite of the evidence for the use of *cotidiano* as an adverb, the reading here may be considered doubtful.

370, 37 *quam* R'SDKZ : *quantam* Vpqr and the dett. Cp. 285, 32 *quam vis* Vq : *quantum vis* p 7786.

458, 23 *luxuriam* RSD : *luxuriam* VK and the dett.

" 33 *accubaret* V sol. for *accumberet*.

" 34 *etsi* R'Sλ : *tametsi* Vp 4588 and the dett.

459, 6 *Cleomenis* VG'δ : *Cleomeni Syracusani* R et rel. Here the repetition of *Syracusani* from line 3 might perhaps be dispensed with. For the difference of form, cp. 332, 10 *Timarchidis* Vp et rel. : *Timarchidi* cO.

464, 1 *Syracusas* RSDKZp : *ad Syracusas* Vp and the dett. (Cp. below l. 5 where we have *illa* V sol. for *ad illa* rel.)

464, 8 *commosse* RSDKZ : *commovisse* V and the dett.

467, 13 *animadvertere* Vp 4588 : *animus adverti* RSD : *animus advertere* Z. Cp. 327, 5 *animus advertisset* V : *animadvertisset* p et rel.

467, 35 *admiratio* RZp 4588 : *admurmuratio* V.

475, 24 *totamque* RS : *totam denique* Vp and the dett.

The results of the investigation now concluded, originally undertaken as preparatory to a critical edition of the Verrines which is about to appear in the Oxford Classical Series, may be stated as follows. The earliest editions of these speeches were printed from late Italian MSS—themselves practically amounting to “editions”—which are now grouped under the general head of *deteriores* (δ). The text which they embody is, however, of older date than has been generally admitted. In its purest form, it can now be traced back to the 11th century in Par. 7776 (p), the most important of the surviving codd. which contain all the speeches. The vulgate as thus constituted was modified,—in the first instance for Books iv–v only,—by the discovery of the importance of the Regius 7774 A, (R). This MS must have been originally complete, but in its existing form it contains those books only. Either R, or the archetype from which were derived both R and Par. 7775 (S), stands at the head of the incomplete family, consisting of all the codd. which not only have the great lacuna in Book v, but are also totally wanting as regards Books ii and iii.

For the last two books, the Vatican palimpsest embodies a tradition which—while in certain places, and especially in such passages as seem to have been admired in antiquity, it appears to have been “gone over” and embellished—approximates on the whole to that of p and the dett. This tradition it carries back to the 3d or 4th century, and for crucial differences its readings are to be received with as much authority as those of R. The table of variants given above has shown that there are places also where V takes sides with R against p and the dett.

For the criticism of Books ii and iii, which must henceforward rest on the basis of the recently identified Cluniacensis 498 (C), the testimony of V becomes even more authoritative. Where it is in agreement with the Cluni codex—whether in its present form, or as that codex may be reconstructed from the reports of previous collators, or as it is reproduced for the Second and Third Books of the Verrines in the 15th century MS known as Lg. 42 (O)—we may take it that we have in the main the text as it was before it came to be corrupted by later copyists.

Still more important—as will have appeared from the detailed lists given at the beginning of this paper—is the evidence of V for the earlier Verrines, and specially for that part of Book i which is wanting in the X or incomplete family of MSS. Here we have to depend entirely on a comparison of the traditions contained respectively in V and p.

For the portions of the speeches preceding the lacuna at ii, 1, § 111, it has now been shown that the joint testimony of two Paris MSS, 7775 and 7823 (SD), is as authoritative as is that of R for Books iv and v. Here too account must be taken of the readings of V.

And while the criticism of the speeches seems to divide itself into three parts—depending severally on the traditions of the three codd. S, C, and R—proof has been adduced to show that R was originally complete. If it had come down to us intact, we should probably have found that it is only in accident (such as e. g. the lacuna in the Fifth Book) rather than in essence that there is any great difference,—except in passages that had been “touched up” by revisers,—between the members of the two families hitherto recognised. The common ancestor of the X family is not far to seek: it was either R itself (9th century) or more probably an archetype which was reproduced also by the copyist of S, but only as far as ii, 1 § 111 for the earlier books: finding Books ii–iii comparatively uninteresting, he passed on at once to iv–v. No doubt the mediaeval scribes inclined to copy what was most in demand. The interesting point here is that the very part which, writing in the 13th century, the copyist of S omitted, had already been excerpted by the writer of the Cluniacensis in the 9th century, and survives in its now-mutilated form, to give as true a guide to Books ii–iii as is R for iv–v or S for the earlier parts of the speeches. And the common text from which all these separate portions have been derived is to be looked for in its most ancient form—but with characteristic variations—in the Vatican palimpsest.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL,
October, 1905.

W. PETERSON.

III.—CULEX 367, 8 AND CIRIS 66.

Hic Curius clarae socius uirtutis et ille
Flaminius deuota dedit qui corpora flammae.

The difficulty of 368 is well known. No Flaminius is recorded whose history suits the poet's description. Hence the most desperate remedies have been resorted to, none, perhaps, more improbable than the view lately propounded by Professor Housman, *Cl. Rev.* XVI. p. 339 that the poet wrote:

Graminibus deuincta gerit qui tempora Flamma

and alluded to M. Calpurnius Flamma, who, as military tribune in the first Punic war rivalled the exploit of Leonidas at Thermopylae by occupying with 300 volunteers a height surrounded by the enemy and so rescued his army. *Liv.* XXII. 60. 11; *Plin.* XXII. 11; *Ampel.* 20; *Liv. Perioch.* 17. Flamma was rewarded by a crown of grass, as Pliny records.

The story is told at great length by A. Gellius *N. A.* III 7, who however states the number of volunteers at 400 (not 300), and names the tribune Q. Caedicius, or (according to Claudius Quadrigarius) Laberius. Cato, however, from whom Gellius draws his narrative and from whom he quotes a long passage, expressly states that this heroic act was little known and had received a very small amount of recognition. Cato contrasts the obscurity of the Roman tribune with the fame of the Greek Leonidas. 'Leonides Laco, qui simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius uirtutes omnis Graecia gloriam atque gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae decorauere monumentis: signis, statuis, elogiis, historiis, aliisque rebus gratissimum id eius factum habuere: at tribuno militum parua laus pro factis relicta, qui idem fecerat atque rem seruauerat'.

The act being thus obscure, it is hardly likely that its hero would be combined with Curius; and still less can the rest of Prof. Housman's emendation be admitted, leaving, as it does, out of six words, only one unaltered and even that one with a slight change of inflexion, Flamma instead of flammae.

In its general outline the passage looks as if it ought to refer to L. Caecilius Metellus, who when pontifex maximus, saved the palladium when the temple of Vesta was on fire, and in the effort

lost his own eyes. The references to this story are frequent and almost a commonplace of Roman literature. Nicolas Loensis (in Gruter's *Lampas* v. 636 sqq.) quotes Ov. *Fast.* VI. 437-456, Plin. H. N. VII. 141, Plut. *Parall.* 17, Liv. *Perioch.* 19, to which Cic. *Scaur.* §47 and many others might be added. Among these, two call for special attention, partly as occurring in rather out of the way writers, partly as throwing a more or less direct light on the passage of the *Culex*.

The first of these is Dionys. *Antiqq.* II. 66. Dionysius, after stating that the temple of Vesta was burnt during the first Carthaginian war, continues thus: *ἐμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τῶν παρθένων φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν τις Λεύκιος Καίκιλος ὁ καλούμενος Μίτελλος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ὁ τὸν αἰοῖδιμον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων καταγαγὼν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλεφάντων θρίαμβον, ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα παρκεινδύνευσεν εἰς τὰ καϊόμενα βιάσασθαι καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀρπάσας ἱερὰ δέσσωσεν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός. ἐφ' ᾧ τιμὰς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηνέγκατο μεγάλας, ὥς ἡ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν Καπετωλίᾳ γενομένης ἐπιγραφή μαρτυρεῖ.* Here (1) Caecilius is called *ἱεροφαντῶν τις*. (2) His victories in Sicily made him famous. (3) His exploit in saving the sacred things was rewarded by a statue with an inscription on the Capitol. (4) Nothing is said of his losing his eyes in the attempt.

Each of these points bears on our discussion.

1. Metellus is called one of the pontifices: this seems strange if he was *pontifex maximus*. Dionysius seems to say in II. 73 that 'hierophant' was *his* word for *pontifex*: and C. Papirius is called by him III 36 *ἀνὴρ ἱεροφάντης*. It would seem that in the account of the story known to Dionysius, Metellus was mentioned only as one of the body of pontifices, not as *pontifex maximus*.

2 and 3. His fame on three grounds, as obtainer of a splendid triumph, as hero of a religious enterprise of the highest national importance, and as distinguished by a statue on the Capitol, quite justifies his being ranked in the poem with Curius.

4. The absence of any mention of eyes both in Dionysius and the poem may perhaps point to both writers following a common version, which made no mention of Metellus losing his eyes in rescuing the Palladium: *deuota dedit qui corpora flammae*.

The second passage is from the elder Seneca, *excerpta controversiarum* IV. 2 (p. 380 ed. Bursian). In this controversia, of which a short abstract alone has survived, the blinding of

Metellus was taken as the basis of the various points which the situation suggested to the declaimer. Prefixed to it is the following lemma: 'Sacerdos integer sit. Metellus pontifex cum arderet Vestae templum, dum Palladium rapit, oculos perdidit. Sacerdotium illi negatur'. One of the requirements for holding the office of pontifex was a sound body. Metellus lost his sight in the flames and therefore could no longer be pontifex. This is the point on which the latter part of the epitomated controversia dwells, and it has a direct bearing on the line of the Culex. For the chief reason which has interfered to prevent Metellus being considered the person alluded to in that line is the substitution of *corpora* for what would have been expected, *lumina*. This substitution *may* find its explanation, as I said above, in a version of the story which said nothing about the blindness. But it may also be explained, and with more probability, in reference to the requirement in a pontifex of a sound body, with no imperfection of limbs; deuota dedit qui *corpora* flammae. For *corpora* applied to a single body, like Greek σώματα, see my note on Ibis 412: it is indeed very commonly so used.

This brings me to the most difficult part of the inquiry, the word *Flam(m)inius*. So far as I know, this has hitherto been universally supposed to be a proper name. I suggest that it may have a different reference, namely to the word *flamen* with its derivatives *flaminicus*, *flaminium*. It is perhaps hardly likely that *Flaminicus* which is glossed (Götz, Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum p. 456) as *ιερεὺς Καίσαρος* should take the place of the proper name which would naturally be combined with Curius in the sense of a holder of priestly office, but it seems not impossible that the office of flamen (*flaminium*) should be used as = *sacerdotium* with specific application to a case where possibly the etymology of the word (*flamen* connected with φλέγειν), more certainly its connection with fire (*flamines πυρῆς* and see the other glosses of the word in Götz all pointing to πῦρ) made such an application legitimate and intelligible. I would write therefore:

Flaminio deuota dedit qui corpora flammae,

constructing the dative *Flaminio* with *deuota*, 'the hero who devoted his body to his priestly function and delivered it to the flame', thereby endangering his claim to retain his priestly office, owing to the damage his body had sustained.

[After this was written, I read O. Lenze's paper in Philologus LXIV. 95 sqq. in which the writer argues that the story of

Metellus' blinding was no part of the original legend, but a late accretion, dating from the period when such stories were worked up by the schools of declamation, probably not much before the Augustan era. His arguments do not appear to me convincing, but my own positions are scarcely affected by them. It is enough for my purpose that the act of Metellus was accompanied by a *bodily* injury which enhanced its heroism. And in any case the *Culex* was written at a time when the legend was sufficiently old to have assumed many variations].

Ciris 66.

Ipse † gratinei matrem sed siue † eritheï (al. erichthei)
Siue illam monstro genuit graeua biformi
Siue est neutra parens.

The second of these verses I have already discussed in A. J. P. XV 471. It is on the verse before it that I now offer a suggestion.

The corruption is in two names, the former of which has been satisfactorily emended by Heyne from Od. μ 124, *Κράταιν Μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης* into *Crataein ait*; the latter *eritheï*, for which Nicolas Loensis conjectured *Crataeis*, can hardly be considered solved, though since its first promulgation, the conjecture has generally been accepted as right. To me it seems improbable, not to say impossible. Whence comes the *e*, so wholly absent from *gratin*, in which no one doubts *Crataein* to be concealed?

Apollonius Rhodius IV. 826, 7 speaking of Scylla describes her parentage thus:

Σκύλλης Αἰσονίης δλοόφρονος ἦν τέκε Φόρκῳ
Νυκτιπόλος Ἐκάτη τῇν τε κλείουσι Κράταιν

from which it appears that Scylla was the daughter of Phorkos and Hekate, a goddess widely known under another name as Krataeis. This double name of the goddess, Hekate or Krataeis, the poet of the *Ciris*, recondite in his learning and widely read in Greek poetry, appears to me to have expressed in the verse before us, and I suggest that for *eritheï* we should write, retaining the *e*, (*H*)*ecateis*. The meaning would thus be, 'Homer himself says Scylla's mother was Krataeis, but whether she was daughter of Hekate (i. e. the same mother under her other name), or whether she was the offspring of a sea-monster, or lastly was not progenerated of either, she deserves to be recorded as a heroine of unusual celebrity'.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

IV.—DE THUCYDIDIS I. 1-23.

Prooemium Thucydidis conscriptionis—sic enim *συγγραφὴν* interpretatam velim—ad eum tractare modum in animo habeo, ut partim singulos locos quam potero diligentissime examinare atque, si opus fuerit, emendare coner, partim ut quam in hac possessionis sempiternae particula componenda rationem secutus sit Thucydides et investigem et exponam.

Ac primum quidem de primo capitulo haec habeo quae dicam. Primum in ipso initio post scriptoris nomen excidisse videri δ 'Ολόρου; nam ex corruptis Scholiastae verbis, id quod Stephanus primus animadvertit, hoc saltem evadere, ita hic proprium suum nomen commemorasse Thucydidem, ut a cognominibus se ipse distinxerit. At levius hoc fortasse neque longiore dignum disputatione; graviorem vero moverunt quaestionem qui pro *ξυνέγραψε* primam personam repositam voluerunt. Nam, si *ξυνέγραψα* amplexi erimus, sequitur ut pro *δρῶν* participio, quod constructionem verborum haud paulum impedit, facili negotio reponere possimus *ἑώρων*. At haec in incertarum numero coniecturarum habenda; multo certius—ne dicam certissimum—illud est, non *ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους* Thucydidem scripsisse sed *ὃν ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, quae verba latine reddas, ratione habita sedis quam obtinet illud *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, 'quod inter ipsos gesserunt'. Sicut tradita nobis sunt verba ista varie possunt accipi, ut significant aut 'ut <id bellum> inter ipsos gesserunt' aut 'ut inter ipsos bellum gesserunt' aut 'quo modo <id bellum> inter ipsos gesserint' aut 'quo modo inter ipsos bellum gesserint'. At diligentius locum relegenti idoneam quidem sententiam ex eis interpretationibus tibi praebere debet nulla. Reducto δν pronomine *τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων* δν *ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους* nihil aliud significabit nisi 'id bellum Peloponnesiorum et Atheniensium quod inter ipsos gesserunt', quibus verbis quam optime significatur quod appellari solet Bellum Peloponnesiacum. In insequentibus *καὶ* particulam inter *καθισταμένου* et *ἐλπίσας* infertam et ipse Thucydidī abiudicandam censeo. Praeterea digna est quae attendatur suspicio quam in commentario Classeno-Steupiano verbis expressam legimus de

lacuna statuenda post τῶν προγεγενημένων. Debut sane Thucydides τῶν προγεγενημένων Ἑλληνικῶν πολέμων scribere. Vix necesse habeo dicere ante ἐς αὐτὸν non ἦσαν me sed ἦσαν verum habere. Hic quasi in transcurso significare mihi liceat in verbis quae sunt τὸ δὲ καὶ διαροούμενον non habere καὶ particulam quo suo quidem iure referatur. Quid si non sic scripsit Thucydides sed plene τὸ δὲ καὶ <αὐτὸ> διαροούμενον? Ante verba quae sunt κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο facere non possumus, si recte cogitamus, quin subaudiamus καὶ ὁρθῶς ἤλπισα μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων Ἑλληνικῶν πολέμων vel tale quid. Violentissima est sane ellipsis, sed γὰρ particula apud Thucydidem saepe numero valde elliptice usurpatur. In insequentibus non possum non cum Steupio facere verba καὶ μέρει . . . ἀνθρώπων suspectante. Certe importunissime inferta sunt ea verba. In verbis quae proximam obtinent sedem re vera obaeravit, ut ita dicam, Thucydidis studiosos Herbstius pro τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν reposito τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ. Hoc loco haud absurde fortasse animadvertero γὰρ particulam ideo positam esse ut introducat ratiocinationem cur dixerit Thucydides κίνησιν ταύτην μεγίστην δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν γενέσθαι, quo modo usurpatae γὰρ particulae exempla minime desunt. Cetera minutiora quae commemoratione haud indigna in hoc capitulo obvia sunt ut recenseam, haud dubium mihi quidem videtur quin ἀδύνατον ἦν alteri scripturae, quae est ἀδύνατα ἦν, praeferendum sit; neque spernenda erat Cobeti coniectura elegantissima pro obscuro et impedito illo ὃν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι planum atque apertum hoc ὥς ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα γενέσθαι reponentis.

Eo iam prorepisimus unde Herbstii acumine hic saltem felicissimo usis ac totius prooemii ratione habita latius nobis prospicere liceat. Nam si quis diligentius legerit neque ambagibus scriptoris seductus a summa rerum oculos detorserit, sic ab initio prooemium a Thucydide adumbratum esse aut perspiciet aut certe perspicere debet, ut primum capitulum cum vicesimo tertio artisimo esset vinculo coniunctum. Quae tamen duo capitula tam late nunc sunt distracta, ut nemo, quod sciam, veram quae eis inter sese intercedit rationem perspexerit neque mendum correxerit quod initium capituli vicesimi tertii deturpat. Ut planam legentibus rem efficiam atque apertam, primi capituli finem et vicesimi tertii initium, utrumque mendis purgatum, hic ob oculos

proponam. Ecce igitur in unum coniuncta quae diu fuerant separata :

τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὡς ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. τῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὁμῶς ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε, τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε μέγα προύβη, κτέ.

Prooemium suum postquam sic adumbravit Thucydides, quam brevem ac simplicem formulam utrum litteris consignaverit necne incertum, illa τεκμήρια τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθενείας quae in τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ . . . οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα sibi praesto esse indicaverat proponere instituit idque ordine qui dicitur chiastico; nam primum τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα et τὰ ἄλλα, deinde τὰ Τρωϊκὰ et τοὺς πολέμους exponit. Ea omnia capitibus 2-12 continentur, quibus capitibus quae profertur artissime sunt inter se connexa. Liquet igitur, admirabili sane sagacitate Bekkerum post duodecimum demum capitulum spatio vacuo relicto maiorem disputationis divisionem finitam indicasse.

Capitibus 13-19 quae continentur neque cum capitibus 2-12 universam prooemii rationem si spectes, cohaerent neque hercle cum capite 20. Satis manifestum esse debet caput 20 una cum maiore parte capitis 21 post conscripta capita 2-12 adiectum esse, ut caput 23 longissimo iam intervallo a capite 1 disiunctum apte introduceretur. In secunda igitur quam statuo prooemii formula caput 12 capite 20 exceptum fuisse credo. Secundae prooemii formae ratio per numeros sic potest indicari: 1-12+20-21. 1+23.

Quod 21. 2 cum 22 seclusi, id ea de causa feci quod ista verba cum proxime praecedentibus nullo vinculo sunt connexa. Additamentum videntur esse ipsius Thucydidis quod cum reliquo prooemio numquam rite copulavit. Melius omnino se haberet haec particula inter 23. 3 et 23. 4 inserta, sed ne tum quidem prorsus idoneum eam locum inventuram fuisse persuasum habeo.

De tertia quam nunc habemus prooemii forma in universum quidem quod dicam nil habeo praeter ista quae aliud agens iam protuli. Hic erat vero fortasse locus aliquid iniciendi quod in superiore mea disputatione neglexi. Nam significare me oportuit ex collocatione capitum 1 et 23 vel apertius apparere quanto iure Herbstius Τρωϊκὰ pro πρὸ αὐτῶν introduxerit. Neque enim necessario sequeretur ut magnum fuisset Bellum Pelopon-

nesiacum, si quaecunque id praecessissent, ea omnia οὐ μεγάλα fuissent οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. Coniuncto demum cum antiquioribus bellis Persico illo atque utrisque cum Peloponnesiaco comparatis evadit id quod Thucydides demonstrare studebat. Addendum fortasse erat desiderare me in Herbstii vel potius Thucydidis τὰ γὰρ Τρωϊκὰ inter τὰ et γὰρ illud μὲν quo inserto oppositionem quam ego indicavi planius appareret; sed particulam desideratam dubito tamen inserere. Nunc ad capita 2-12 et in universum et particulatim excutienda me accingam.

Ac primum quidem illud attendendum est, in capitibus 2 et 3 antiquarum rerum Graecarum imbecillitatis duas adferri causas, quarum altera migrationes (μεταναστάσεις), altera civitatum inter sese commercii defectus (ἀμειξία) fuit. In fine capitis tertii summatim indicat Thucydides etiam Bellum Troianum ex maiore maris usu pependisse, cuius sententiae e demonstratione quae in capitibus 4-8 continetur initium capiunt, quibus capitibus rei navalis Graecorum qui fuerit ante Bellum Troianum status luculenter exponitur. Nunc ad minutiora animum adpellamus.

In capite 2 igitur suspectum aliquantum mihi est illud τὰ πρότερα, quippe quo post πάλαι non opus sit. In commentario Classeno-Steupiano post οὔσαι desideratur ἐκούσiai. Id minus verum mihi videtur, qui integritatem huius loci hoc pacto restitutam velim: ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι καὶ βαιδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες <ἐκόντες τε καὶ> βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ πλειόνων. Cur αἱ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν ac non potius αἱ . . . μείζους γιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν scripserit Thucydides, si re vera sic scripsit, equidem dispicere nequeo. Verba quae sunt τὴν γοῦν . . . αὐξήθηαι insulso interpretamento deturpata esse puto. Integrum locum sic se habuisse arbitror:

τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι δίκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ καὶ παράδειγμα (exemplum) τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου (i. e. eorum quae in proxime praecedente enuntiatio dicta sunt) οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι (sc. ἡ Ἀττικὴ)· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλίδος κτί.

In capite 3 pro τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθίνειαν fortasse rescribendum <τὴν> τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθίνειαν. In insequentibus ξύμπασά πω ἔχειν correxit Reiske, πολλοῦ γε χρόνου καὶ ἀπασιν ἐκινήσαι van der Mey, recte uterque. 3. 3 sic fortasse scribendum: πολλῶι γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας <Ἑλλήνας> (suppl. Matthiae) ὠνόμασεν οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλείῳ ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ . . . ἀνακαλεῖ (si sana

scriptura in verbo ultimo). Quae ista excipiunt praestat fortasse hunc ad modum scribere: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Βαρβάρους εἴρηκεν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ μὴδ' Ἑλληνάς πω ἀντίπαλον εἰς ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι· οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμειξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν. In verbis οἱ δ' οὖν . . . κληθέντες quae omisi, ea adeo sensum impediunt, vix ut vera esse possint.

Initio capitis quarti γάρ particula valde elliptice, ut saepe, usurpatur. Subauditur huius modi quid: τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης εἰς χρῆσιν κατέστησαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. In insequentibus recte Cobetus ἐκάθηρεν pro tradito καθήρει reposuit.

In capitis quinti initio scribendum est, nisi fallor, hunc ad modum: οἱ γάρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων <τινές>, οἱ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, κτέ. Qua causa adductus sic corrigendum esse existimem, planius apparebit ex eis quae de ἐλμίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπείρον κτέ. infra sum disputaturus. In insequentibus inclino ad faciendum cum Herwerdeno illud ναυσὶν quod est inter περαιουῖσθαι et ἐπ' ἀλλήλους damnante. Perperam in editionibus quas curaverunt Classenus et Steupius virgula omittitur inter ἀδυνατωτάτων et κέρδους; nam verba quae sunt κέρδους . . . τροφῆς quam artissime cum ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληιστείαν coniungenda sunt, cum illud ἡγουμένων . . . ἀδυνατωτάτων per medium, quod aiunt, sit. 5. 2 vix dubium esse potest quin cum Reiskio οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν pro tradito ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἷς reponendum sit. In οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι, ubi optativus vix ac ne vix quidem intellegi potest, omittendum censeo εἶη.

In c. 6. 3 et cc. 7–8 de re piratica fusius agitur, i. e. quae in c. 5. 1 summatim significata sunt, ea hic enucleatius exponuntur. Attentiore animo haec legenti aut apparebit aut apparere debebit ea quae c. 5. 3 legimus cum c. 8. 1 artissime cohaerere ita ut καὶ κατ' ἡπείρον et καὶ οὐχ ἡσσαν ληισταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται sese invicem excipiant. Apparebit autem c. 8. 1 in falsam nunc sedem detrusum esse, cum ea verba inter cc. 6 et 7 reponenda sint. Veram eam, ut credo, consecutionem in sequenti disputatione observabo. Nunc ad c. 6 redeamus.

Totum hoc capitulum ab extremis capitis 5 verbis initium capit, quae verba sunt τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληιστείας ἐμμεμένηκε. Sed hic quoque in γάρ particula ellipsin offendimus; cogitando enim suppleamus oportet post verba quae modo laudavi vel οὐδὲ τοῖς μόνον τὸ σιδηροφορεῖσθαι ξύνηθες ἦν τὸ πάλαι vel tale quid. Facto demum supplemento sine salebra procedet disputatio. Atque initio capitis recte

fortasse Hude pro *ἰσιδηροφόρει*, quam scripturam praebent codices Thucydidei, *ἰσιδηροφόρουν* substituit, quam scripturam aliunde cognitam habemus. Eadem huius capitis sectione suo iure videtur Herwerdenus *τὴν ξυνήθη διαίταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο* pro tralaticio illo *ξυνήθη τὴν δ. μ. δ. ε.* Per eius correctionis occasionem animadverto *ἐποιήσαντο* aoristum non alia de causa usurpatum videri nisi quod cum *ξυνήθη* cogitatione coniunctus idem valet atque *εἰώθεσαν ποιέσθαι* aut, id quod simplicius etiam est, *ἐποιούντο*. Neque tamen inde recte concludas *ξυνήθη* adiectivum in praedicativa quae dicitur sede recte hoc loco collocari posse. In insequentibus cum Reiskio omnino faciendum *σημείον δ' ἐστὶ τὰ (pro ταῦτα) τῆς Ἑλλάδος κτέ.*

In c. 6. 3 transitus fit ab armis militaribus ad vestitum, unde c. 6. 5 facillimo descensu ad nuditatem devenimus. Hac in sectione verum vidit Reiskius, qui pro *πέπανται* reposuit *πέπανται*; neque falsus videtur fuisse Cobetus verba quae sunt *περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα* excludens. Eadem sectione equidem minime intellegere possum quae continuo insecuntur, nisi hoc pacto rescribuntur: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τῶν Βαρβάρων ἔστιν οἷς—καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιαροῖς—πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται κτέ.* Tralaticia verba quam perversissima sunt. Absoluto iam excursu de armis et vestitu ad *δεύτερον πλοῦν* de re piratica redeamus.

In priore igitur parte capitis octavi (*καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν . . . ἔτι θάπτονται*), quam summo, ut persuasum habeo, iure huc transtuli, de insulanis agitur latronibus. Hac in particula extrema subditivum mihi videtur *ξυντεθαμμένῃ* (v. l. *ξυντεθαμμένοι*) participium. Certe non necessarium est participium sententiamque magis impedit quam expedit. In insequentibus melius sane rem suam gessisset Thucydides, si plenius scripsisset *καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ταφῆς* (vel *καὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῷ τρόπῳ*) *ὡς κτέ.*

Caput 7 cur hic collocaverit Thucydides, ex c. 5. 1 apparebit, ubi praedones *πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις* diripiendis operam dedisse certiores fimus. Hoc in capite singula si spectes, haec digna videntur quae notentur. In *τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ὠκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων* vix verum potest esse illud *νεώτατα* quippe quod nil aliud significet nisi *καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων*, quae verba interpretationis instar usitatissimo modo per *καὶ* particulam subiunguntur. Reponendum censeo *νεώτερον*. In insequentibus praestat fortasse *τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται* (non *ἕκαστοι*) *ἰσχύος* scribere. *Μοχ εἴφερον γὰρ <καὶ ἦγον> ἀλλήλους* rescriptum usitatam atque, ut videtur, unice veram scribendi rationem reducat.

Extremo capitulo *ἄνω* *ᾠκισμένοι*, quam scripturam Reiskii acumen restituit, non fuit iterum relegandum.

C. 8. 2 partim reditus fit ad ea quae c. 4 continentur, partim initium capitis 7 respicitur; nam hic et c. 8. 3 ea iterantur quae priore dimidio capitis 7 continentur. Atque comparatis duobus eis locis haec apparent: primum c. 7 perperam Herwerdenum *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* in *ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τείχεσιν τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* mutatum voluisse. Nam inter sese respondent c. 7 *ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων* et c. 8. 2 *πλωϊμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους*, c. 7 *περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων* et c. 8. 3 *μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι*, c. 7 *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο* et c. 8. 3 *τείχη περιεβάλλοντο*. Huc accedit quod c. 7 verba quae sunt *ἐμπορίας τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται ἰσχύος* chiasmice praecedentia excipiunt, ita ut ex una parte *τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας ἔνεκα* (cf. 6. 2. 6 *ᾠκοῦν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια ἐμπορίας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς*, unde etiam apparet minus diligenter Thucydidem *τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον* scripsisse), ex altera autem parte *τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκασται ἰσχύος* (sc. *ἔνεκα*) coniungere oporteat. Hinc discimus etiam—nam manus, ut aiunt, manum lavat—quo modo ea quae c. 8. 3 *τείχη περιεβάλλοντο* excipiunt et intelligenda sint et emendanda. Ac primum quidem verba quae sunt *ὥς πλουσιώτεροι αὐτῶν γιγνόμενοι*, quae idem valent atque *μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι* atque in quibus offendit non modo *αὐτοὶ* ante *αὐτῶν* omissum sed etiam importunissimum illud *ὥς*, haec verba Thucydidi abiudicanda censeo. At quorsum pertinet illud *ἐφίεμενοι γὰρ κτέ.*? atque qua tandem de causa sunt adiecta haec verba? Responsum nobis reddet, nisi fallor, c. 7, unde discimus haec verba eidem notioni exprimendae inservire atque *ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἰσχύος*. Ut planius quid dicere velim significem, rationem reddunt ea verba cur *τινὲς* etiam *τείχη περιεβάλισθαι* dicantur, videlicet quod *προσ-εποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις*. Comparet nunc verba quae sunt *περιουσίας ἔχοντες* perversum esse interpretamentum a quopiam antiquitus ad *δυνατώτεροι* appositum, Thucydidem autem non nisi *οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις* scripsisse. Ad finem iam delati sumus capitis octavi, ubi per *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἰστράτευσαν* ea verba et respiciuntur et iterantur quibus c. 3 clauditur atque ad Bellum Troianum, quod ibi in eo erat ut tractaretur, fit tandem reditus.

Capitibus 9-12 ita de Bello Troiano agitur ut capite 9 Agamemnonis potentia ostendatur, capite 10 demonstretur τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, capite 11 causa adducatur pecuniae inopia (ἡ ἀχρηματία), capite 12 quasi quodam epilogo etiam post Bellum Troianum migrationes (μεταναστάσεις) tales quales capite 2 erant descriptae diu factas esse dicatur unde evenerit ut multae coloniae deducerentur. Huius capituli in fine, quasi sese excuset quod fines disputationis de antiquo Graeciae statu antiquorumque Graecorum rebus gestis transgressus sit, haec addit Thucydides: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐκτίσθη. Nunc ad caput 9 redeamus.

Capitis 9 initium mendo parvo quidem sed haud ita levi laborare mihi videtur, neque recte processuram arbitror orationem nisi hunc ad modum repurgetur: Ἀγαμέμνων γάρ μοι δοκεῖ κτέ. Sectione secunda verissime, nisi fallor, pro οἱ τὰ σαφίστατα Πελοποννησίῳ . . . δεδωγμένοι Hude coniecit οἱ σαφίστατα τὰ Π. . . δ. In insequentibus pro πλήθει χρημάτων ἃ ἤλθεν . . . ἔχων equidem reposuerim πλήθει χρημάτων ὃ ἤλθεν . . . ἔχων. Post ξυνενηχῆσθαι quae constructio ex simplici genetivo absoluto acta est, ea in formam vere portentosam evasit quasi vires acquirens eundo. Simplicior ea forma haec fere sit: Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρείως δὲ τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὧν Εὐρυσθέως ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήσαντος (nam quin pro καταστήναι reponendum sit καταστήσαι vix dubium esse existimo). Impeditior vero quam nunc apud Thucydidem legimus participialis huius clausulae forma sic videtur scribenda ac distinguenda: Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρείως δέ, μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευσεν, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκίον Ἀτρεΐ—τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον—καί, ὥς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθέως, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα θυνάτων <αὐτὸν> δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὧν Εὐρυσθέως ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεία παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήσαι. Hac in formula illud Ἀτρείως prorsus pendet, constructio autem e participiali fit infinitivalis. In sectione tertia legendum videtur τὴν στρατείαν, οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλείον <τὸν στόλον> ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγών, ποιήσασθαι. In insequentibus autem πρὸς παρασχών cum Scholiasta et Herwerdeno legendum. Haec verba in codicibus sequitur clausula hunc ad modum leviter reficienda: ὥς Ὁμηρος τοῦτό <τε> δεδήλωκεν, εἰ τῷ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριώσαι,

καὶ ἐν τοῦ Σκῆπτρου ἄμα τῇ Παραδόσει εἴρηκεν κτέ. Priusquam ad decimum caput pergam addendum esse censeo cum eis me facere qui pro καὶ ναυτικῶι τε ἄμα veram scripturam καὶ ναυτικῶι γε ἄμα reposuerunt.

In capitis 10 sectionibus 1–2 praecavere studet Thucydides, ne ex Mycenarum aliarumve antiquarum urbium fama nobilium parvitate imbecillas eas fuisse falso concludamus. Comparatione igitur instituta praesentis condicionis Spartaе Athenarumque et eius quae esset, si utraque urbs diruta esset, sic concludit (sect. 3) οὐκ οὖν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς θῦεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν—τῇ Ὀμήρου αὐ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεῦσαι (ubi aperte respicit 9. 3, ubi legimus ὡς Ὀμηρος τοῦτό <τε> δεδήλωκεν εἴ τῷ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, 'si cui idoneus est testis', ubi fortasse legendum εἴ τῷ ἱκανὸς <ἐκείνος> τεκμηριῶσαι, 'si cui idoneus ille testis'). Haec omnia pendent ex εἰκάδειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείῃ οἶα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς (9. 4) atque, ex parte certe, ideo addita vel potius inserta sunt, ut demonstretur incorrupti Thucydidem iudicis munere fungi. Nunc ad minutiora animum adpellamus. Ac primum quidem haud equidem dispicere possum in καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι κτέ. quid opus sit μὲν, quae particula mea quidem opinione multo melius abesset. Infra recte videtur Hude Λακεδαιμονίων <μὲν> γὰρ scripsisse. Neque minus bene idem vir doctus cum aliis ξυνοικισθείσης <τῆς> πόλεως corrigendum censet. Sectione 3 quae πιστεύειν secuntur equidem sic scripserim: ὃν (sic Cobetus) εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν <αὐτὴν> ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι. Sectione 4 in transcurso notandum est τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας negligentius dictum pro τὰς πλείστους καὶ ἐλαχίστους ἐχούσας. Idem valet de eisdem verbis sect. 5 iteratis. Infra aut pessime scripsit Thucydides aut sic est corrigendum: ἄλλως τε καὶ μελλόντων πέλαιος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφαρκα ἐχόντων. Nam non de περίνεωι hic sermo, sed de universo Graecorum exercitu. De quo loco vide quae adnotavit Poppo.

Capite 11 recte cum aliis Cobetus μάχη ἐκρατῆ<θη>σαν . . . φαίνονται οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα infraque aequè recte idem vir doctus ραιδίως ἂν μάχη κρατοῦντες, οἳ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι (debuit οὐχ ἀθρόοι) ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰεὶ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον, πολιορκίαι δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ (= εἰ δὲ πολιορκίαι προσεκαθέζοντο, ἐν ἐλάσσονί τ' ἂν χρόνῳ) καὶ ἀπὸ νώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἰλον—ubi vix opus est animadvertere ἐλάσσονι idem valere atque ἐλάσσονι τοῦ τῷ ὄντι γενομένου, ἀπὸ νώτερον autem

idem atque ελάσσονι πόνει ἢ ὅσον ἔσχον. Recte inquam sic scribendum censuit Cobetus, nisi forte praestat, id quod minus obscurum intellectu locum redderet, post ραιδίως inserere μὲν atque pro Τροίαν scribere πόλιν.

Capiti 12, cui cum praecedentibus quae ratio intercedat supra demonstravi, μετανίστατο καὶ κατοικίζετο mihi quidem tralaticiae scripturae videtur praestare. Neque dubium esse debet quin ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξήθῃναι falso sit scriptum pro ἡσυχάσασα αὐξήθῃναι. Sect. 2 cum eis facio qui pro τὰς πόλεις reposuerunt ἄλλας πόλεις. Sect. 3 γὰρ perperam damnavit Steupius, cum recte se habeat particula modo ne ad proxime praecedentia referatur. Nam non cum sect. 2 cohaeret sect. 3 sed cum sect. 1, ut suspicio mihi orta sit secundam illam sectionem (ἥ τε γὰρ . . . ἐκτιζον) serius demum a Thucydide additam esse. Utut res se habet, sublatis eis verbis multo melius in unum coalescunt reliqua. Eadem sect. 3 comparato sequente illo Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον praestat τὴν νῦν μὲν . . . ὥκησαν quam ὥκισαν scribere. At ecce oblitus sum de ἐπεὶ particula quae hoc caput aperit aliquid dicere: oportebat autem; nam cum eadem ellipsi ea particula hic usurpatur quam saepius in γὰρ animadvertimus. Subauditur οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μόνον ἀσθενῇ ἦν vel eius modi quid. Atque antequam cetera excutere pergo, haud absurdum erit indicare quam apte in disputatione quae capitibus 2-12 continetur cum initio cohaereat finis. Quam clara enim voce hoc μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι <μετ>ανισταμένη (ut equidem scriptum velim) memoriam redintegrat illius φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις οἶσαι.

Capitum 13-19 post capita 2-12 una cum 20-21.1 dudum absoluta, quam longo vero temporis intervallo incertum, conscriptorum id est consilium, ut quos profectus fecerint quasque res gesserint cum universi Graeci tum praecipue Lacedaemonii Atheniensesque inter confectas iam migrationes et coortum Bellum Peloponnesiacum summatim ostendatur. Haec disputatio in partes divisa est duas, quarum prior τὰ Τυραννικά, posterior autem τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τυραννικά complectitur. Illa capitibus 13-17, haec 18-19 continetur. Atque initio capitis 13 duae res factae narrantur postquam aliquid aucta sit Graecia potentia et pecunia, primum ut in plerisque ex civitatibus tyrannides instituerentur, deinde ut ad rem navalem magis Graeci animum adtenderent. Quae sic ab ipso Thucydide proferuntur: Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν τι (Krueger pro ἔτι) μᾶλλον

ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καθίσταντο—πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥήτοισι γέραςι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι—ναυτικά τε ἐξηγρύνετο ἢ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχετο (quae verba ex Herwerdeni sententia correcta exhibui). Hinc usque ad finem capitis 14 de re navali Graecorum quae tyrannis imperantibus fuit disputatur. Capite 15 terrestri re bellica eiusdem aetatis summatim tractata tandem per occasionem causarum commemorandarum quae obstabant quominus consociatis viribus fortiores evaderent maiores civitates, quae commemoratio adlatis exempli causa Ionibus capite 16 fit, ad tyrannos redit narratio, quorum de maligno plerumque imperio capite 17 exponitur. Haec est in universum distributio satis perversa illa quidem eorum quae capitibus 13–17 narrantur. Ad minutiora nunc redeamus.

Atque de 13.1 quomodo codicum scripturam emendemus oportere arbitrer supra demonstravi, nunc sectiones 2 et 3 quattuor locis a me ad pristinam, ut opinor, integritatem revocatas exhibebo : πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύς (codd. ἐγγύτατα, quod idoneum quidem sensum hic praebet nullum) τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτη (codd. πρῶτον) ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (= πρῶτη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Κορίνθῳ) ναυπηγηθῆναι φαίνεται τε (codd. δὲ) καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς (codd. ναῦς hic inserunt) ποιήσας τέσσαρας, ἣτη δ' ἐστὶ κτέ. Sectione 5 quo modo distinguenda—vel potius non distinguenda—essent verba quae sunt τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . ἐπιμισγόντων vidit Camperus : ea verba ideo potissimum infra exscripta exhibebo ut menda tollam duo. Ecce locus repurgatus : τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω τῶν τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔξω διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων (= τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων τῶν τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔξω διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων τοῦτο ποιοούντων). In fine eiusdem sectionis sic rescriptum velim : ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἔπλωιζον, τὰς ναῦς κησάμενοι καὶ <τὸ> ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσδοῶν τὴν πόλιν. In sectione 6 quod traditum habemus καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, id sic scribendum censeo : καὶ Ῥ. ἐ. ἀνῆκε (Herwerdenus) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι (omisso τῷ Δηλίῳ tanquam interpretamento illius τῷ articuli qui illi Ἀπόλλωνι praefixus est).

Quae c. 13. 2–6 continentur ad τὰ παλαιὰ ναυτικά τῶν Ἑλλήνων pertinent insequente vero capite ad τὰ ὕστερον γεγόμενα ναυτικά transitur. Caput 14 saepe numero satis graviter corruptum emendare sum conatus ad hunc modum : Δυνατώτατα ταῦτα τῶν

<παλαιῶν> ναυτικῶν ἦν· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον γεγόμενα τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, τριήρεις μὲν ὀλίγα (sic Cobetus pro ὀλίγαις) χρώμενα, πεντηκοντήρεις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς (f. μικροῖς: v. Kruegerum) ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα· ὀλίγοις γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, δε μετὰ Καμβύσην Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περὶ τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις. Ταῦτα τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικά ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη· Αἰγινήται γὰρ (quasi praecesserit εἰκότως δὲ ἀξιόλογα εἶπον vel tale quid) καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντήρεις· ὅψ' ἂν ἀφ' οὗ (haec duo vocabula melius fortasse cum Kruegero secluseris) Ἀθηναῖους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν, Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, <αἱ> καὶ αὐταὶ οὕτω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.

C. 15. 1 scribendum cum Valckenaerio et Cobeto οἱ προβόχοντες αὐτοῖς et μοχ ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ ταῖς νήσοις (cf. 6. 1. 1 ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι) κατεστρέφοντο μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ κτέ. (nisi forte post ταῖς inserendum ἐπικειμέναις: v. commentarium Steupio-Clas-senianum). C. 15. 2 legendum ὅθεν <γέ> τις καὶ δύναμις περιεγέμετο (quod verbum pro παρεγέμετο summo iure restituebat cum aliis Tournier: cf. supra active ἰσχὸν περιεποιήσαντο). Hic infelici-sima Siesbyei coniectura (v. Hudei ed. mai.) pro καὶ δύναμις re-ponentis κἀν δύναμις monuit me principii Platonis Phaedonis, ubi in simili verborum contextu ἀν particula falso traditur. Atque operae pretium me facturum arbitror, si locum illum emendatum hic exscriperim. Sic igitur Plato scripsisse videtur—nisi forte primae iam chartae ita obdormivit ut graece iam non sciret: καὶ γὰρ οὐτε τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς πάννυ τι ἐπιχωριάζει τὰ νῦν Ἀθήναζε οὐτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται ἐκείθεν ὅστις ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἶός τ' ἦν περὶ τούτων πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι φαρμάκου πιὼν ἀποθάνοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἶχον φράζειν. (57 A-B). At tempus ad Thucydidem redeundi. Reliquo igitur capite 15 nil aliud habeo quod moneam nisi me cum Herwerdeno facere πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν secludente.

In sexto decimo autem capitulo ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία vix minus falsa mihi quidem videtur scriptura quam ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία. Verum habeo ἡ Περσικὴ δύναμις. In insequentibus πρὸς θάλασσαν Thucy-didi abiudicandum videtur.

In capite 17 legendum conicio τὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν <ἕκαστοι> μόνον προορώμενοι. In insequentibus verissime mihi videtur Cobetus reposuisse ὑπ' αὐτῶν pro ἀπ' αὐτῶν, neque dubito quin non εἰ μὴ τι sed εἰ μὴ εἴ τι, 'nisi si quid', verum sit. Atque verba quae sunt

οἱ γὰρ . . . δυνάμεις recte a compluribus damnata existimo, quippe quae ex additamento marginali profecta videantur ab aliquo adscripta qui memoria teneret supra (c. 14. 2) a Thucydide relatum esse *τρίρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις*—nisi forte proprius veritatem Cobetus contigit, qui *μόνοι γὰρ οἱ ἐν Σικελίαι ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεις* rescribere iussit.

Capitibus 18 et 19, uti supra demonstratum est, τὰ μετὰ τὰ *Τυραννικὰ* comprehenduntur: at illa τὰ μετὰ τὰ *Τυραννικὰ* nihil aliud revera sunt nisi historiola maxime summatim adumbrata magnarum illarum duarum societatum a Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensibus utrimque factarum. His in capitibus haud ita multa apparent quae manum emendatricem desiderent; nam ἡ *Μαραθῶνι μάχη* (18. 1) pro ἡ ἐν *Μαραθῶνι μάχη* alii iam reposuerunt atque Herwerdenus in fine capitis 18 *πολεμικὰ* pro *πολέμια* revocavit. Recte autem Stephanus 18. 2 δὴ *ἐφάνη* reducebat. Quibus correctionibus nil habeo quod addam nisi initio capitis 18 pro καὶ *πρὶν τυραννευθείσης* me rescribendum censere καὶ <αὐτῆς> *τυραννευθείσης*. Ad δ *Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείαι χρῶνται* quod attinet, quam scripturam pro ἀφ' οὗ . . . χρῶνται codex M et Hermogenes praebent, non dubium est quin verum esse oporteat, quod tamen magis Graecum quam Thucydideum ne sit equidem vereor. Inter caput 20 una cum capitis 21 sectione 1 et capita 2–12 quae ratio intercedat satis iam est supra demonstratum. Hac in particula prooemii nil habeo quod novi afferam nisi levissimam correctionem illius τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, pro quo paene efflagitur <τού> του μὲν ἀπέσχοντο. Ex alienis hic coniecturis haec accipio: 20. 1 πᾶν τι (Krueger) ἐξῆς τεκμηρίω πιστῶσαι (Reiske); ibid. *δμως* pro *ὁμοίως* (Cobet); 20. 2 τῶν Πεισιστράτου . . . αὐτοῦ omittendum (Cobet); 21. 1 <οἱ> α διήλθον (Weil); ibid. αὐτῶν secludendum (Herwerdenus).

De 21. 2 et 22 satis iam in universum disputavi. Minutiora vero adnotabo haec. 22. 1 sic scribendum esse conicio: *Χαλεπὸν <μὲν> τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν διαμνημονεύσαι* et *ἄλλοθεν ποθὲν μοι*. 22. 2 καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ (Ullrich) τῶν ἄλλων *δοσι δυνάτον ἀκριβείαι κτέ*. 22. 4 et ipse post *ἴσσεσθαι* sententiam hiare arbitror. De supplemento vide commentarium Classeno-Steupianum. Ceterum in fine capitis 22 Cobetus *ἀκούειν* damnavit neque id iniuria ut mihi videtur. Quid si notissimum illud enuntiatum sic ab initio est perscriptum: *κτῆμα γὰρ ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἐύγκειται*?

De capite 23 in universum satis iam supra disputavi neque praeter iteratam commendationem illius ὕστερον quod in τῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἔργων pro πρότερον a Thucydide scriptum esse persuasissimum equidem habeo atque in medium prolatam suspicionem 23. 6 rescribendum esse τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γεγενημένους· φόβον <γάρ> παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ne verbum quidem amplius addam, sed longae finis chartae hic erit.¹

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

NECROLOGY.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

October 14, 1864—September 26, 1905.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE, Professor of Classical Philology in Columbia University, died very unexpectedly on September 26 of typhoid fever, contracted in Sicily after a summer spent in Dalmatia, Greece and Crete.

Professor Earle was born in New York City on October 14, 1864. He was prepared for college chiefly at the Ashland Public School in East Orange, New Jersey, and entered Columbia in 1882. At the very beginning of his course he showed a marked predilection for linguistic and literary studies. His chief love was for Greek and Latin, but he acquired also an unusually good knowledge of French, German and Italian, and gained considerable proficiency in Sanskrit during his last year as an undergraduate and his first as a graduate student. The thoroughness so characteristic of him in later years made itself manifest in various ways while he was still an undergraduate, and the writer, then in his first years as a college instructor, remembers

¹ Sero intellexi II. 2 hunc ad modum scribendum esse: περιουσίαν δ' εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνευ ληιστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, βαδίως δὲ (δὴ?) μάχῃ κρατοῦντες—οἱ γε καὶ οὐχ ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ἀντίχον (ἀντέσχον?)—πολιορκίαι δὲ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλλάσσονι τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν (τὴν πόλιν?) εἶλον, i. e. abundantia autem si venissent instructi commeatus et coniuncti sine latrocinio et agricultura perpetuo id bellum gessissent, facile proelio superiores facti—quippe qui etiam non coniuncti sed cum parte <tantum> aliqua semper praesentes <tamen> restiterint—obsidione instituta et breviori temporis spatio et minore cum labore Troiam cepissent. εἶλον quod fuit post κρατοῦντες et δ' post πολιορκίαι primus, quod sciam, damnavit Krueger; τῶν αἰεὶ indefinitum praebet scholion; παρόντων ipse detexi. Loco eminente positum et cum intentione vocis proferendum illud βαδίως.

many a discussion over points of interpretation with the keen-minded Freshman who would not take anything on the dictum of his teacher, but demanded proof of all assertions. Graduating in 1886, with high honors, Mr. Earle was awarded the fellowship in letters, tenable for three years. At that time a certain amount of teaching was demanded of the fellows, and Mr. Earle served a thorough apprenticeship in 1886-7 and in 1888-9. The intervening year he spent in Greece, as a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, which was for that year under the directorship of Professor Augustus C. Merriam. Mr. Earle's later studies had been under the special guidance of Professor Merriam, and it was a great satisfaction to both of them that the relations formed here could be continued in Greece. The School undertook during that year excavations near Marathon, to determine the site of the ancient Icaria, and at Sicyon on the Gulf of Corinth. Mr. Earle participated in both of these, and was in actual charge of the latter, having the good fortune to uncover an interesting theatre and to find in the orchestra a statue of Dionysos, now preserved in the Museum at Athens. Incidentally, during his stay in Greece, he gained a knowledge of the modern language, in several dialects, such as very few foreigners, even among those who spend many years in Greece, ever acquire.

He received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Columbia in 1889. In that year Barnard College was opened, and the instruction in Greek to be given there was entrusted to him. No selection more fortunate for Barnard College could have been made. Though young in years and in temperament, he was so mature in steadiness of purpose and in persistence of devotion to an ideal that he inspired his students with his own enthusiasm for honesty and thoroughness of work. It was an example for which Barnard College could not be too thankful. His scrupulous exactness, his unsparing condemnation of superficiality and showiness, were invaluable in those early days when it would have been so easy to make of the new college a sort of higher "academy for young ladies".

In 1895 Mr. Earle accepted a call to Bryn Mawr College as associate professor of Greek and Latin, where he remained for three years. Returning to Barnard in 1898, on an appointment as lecturer, which was universally felt to be only a means of holding him until a chair could be established for him, he was made professor of classical philology in 1899, when Barnard entered into closer relations with the University, and a seat in the Faculty of Philosophy was assigned to him. From that time until his death he gave instruction to graduate students at Columbia as well as to undergraduates at Barnard; in particular, the conduct of the Greek seminar was often in his hands. The enrichment of the opportunities offered to our graduate students by his co-operation was inestimably great, and the University as a whole is a loser by his death no less than Barnard College.

As a scholar, Professor Earle occupied a position almost unique among living Americans. While a well-rounded classicist, with actual achievement in archaeological work to look back upon, his chosen field was discussion and interpretation of the text of Greek and Latin authors. With the palaeography of Greek and Latin manuscripts and with the labors of earlier scholars in editing and interpretation he had an extraordinary acquaintance, perhaps unmatched in this country. He was in constant correspondence with classical scholars here and abroad, who delighted to ask his opinions on disputed points. He was a voracious reader, and his memory was unusually retentive. His independence of judgment often led him, particularly in his earlier years, to propose emendations and interpretations which gained little acceptance, and which often did not approve themselves to his later and riper judgment; but he had no more severe critic than himself, and his real contributions to the better understanding of Greek and Latin literature were very many. A long list of such has come from his pen, and they have been published in many learned periodicals in America and in Europe. His larger works are three: an edition of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, published in 1894; one of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, in 1901; and one of Euripides' *Medea*, in 1904. The dramatists were perhaps Professor Earle's favorites among Greek authors, though he had made extensive special studies in Plato and Aristotle, and the last work of his pen was an elaborate study of the composition of Book I of Thucydides' History, which is published in this number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

With such an equipment, and such a promise of future achievement, Professor Earle was taken from us at the early age of forty. The journey from which he had expected so much pleasure and profit was destined to be his undoing. Truly one must say with the poet whom he loved exceedingly and to whose words he had often given clearer interpretation than had his predecessors:

λείπομαι ἐν τε τύχαις θνατῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργοισι λείψων.

But his friendship and his example we who knew him and loved him will ever hold as a precious memory.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

E. D. PERRY.

NOTE.—The foregoing obituary notice is repeated with some changes from that written for the *Columbia University Quarterly* and printed in the number for December, 1905.

E. D. P.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Argive Heraeum. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN, with the co-operation of G. H. CHASE, H. F. DE COU, T. W. HEERMANCE, J. C. HOPPIN, A. M. LYTHGOE, R. NORTON, R. B. RICHARDSON, E. L. TILTON, H. S. WASHINGTON, J. R. WHEELER. Vol. I, 1902. Pp. xxii, 231. Vol. II, 1905. Pp. xxix, 389. 144 plates. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

In the element of delayed publication the second volume of the Argive Heraeum is consistent with the first. The first appeared ten years after the Preliminary Report and seven years after the excavations themselves were completed; the second, which was promised "within a few months", has now come out, nearly three years later still. Notwithstanding this lapse of time the excavations have not been considered in the light of the important discoveries in Phylakopi, Thera, Troy, etc., though the results attained at Cnossus are briefly touched upon in the Prefatory Note to the second volume, where Professor Waldstein maintains that there was a local development in pottery at the Heraeum, that the Mycenaean style arose in the Argolid, and that Mr. MacKenzie's theory that the Mycenaean style developed in Crete from the Kamares Ware through the Early Minoan, is erroneous. Nor are such books taken into account as Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, or Hall's *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, despite the fact that for many the finds at the Heraeum have more than a merely archaeological interest.

Misprints,¹ too, are fairly continuous and mar the beauty of this superb work. This criticism of the letterpress might be extended to the plates. It hurts one's sense of accuracy to see the interesting restoration of the West Building on pl. XXVI drawn with

¹ Vol. I, p. 4¹ read *τό τε* for *τότε*, cf. p. 10¹⁰; p. 4⁸ *Ἡρας*; p. 5⁸ Apuleius for Appuleius; p. 6⁴ insert bracket after 273; p. 6¹ read Sen. for Sem.; p. 14¹ read *ταβρυ*; p. 15 superior 3 for note 3 omitted; p. 20¹ read Ceryneia for Cynneia; p. 30¹ Rohde for Rhode; p. 47 note for Delos omitted; for Delos² read Delos³, since note 2 goes with Samos²; p. 58³ read *Φειδιαν τὸν* for *Φειδιαν τοῦ*; p. 61¹ Ridgeway for Ridegway; p. 65¹ Paus. II. 17. 6 for III. 17. 6; p. 85. l. 12 "to mention" for "the mention"; p. 108, l. 2 Alpheus for Nepheus; p. 109¹ read pp. 27-29 for p. 2; p. 111³ superior 3 for note 3 omitted; p. 120¹ in all nine cases in last three columns move decimal point one place to left; p. 142 read II. 17. 3 for II. 16. 5; p. 144¹ in quotation from Pausanias read *ἐς τόδε* for *ἐς τοὺς*; Ceryneia for Cerynea; p. 164⁸ read pp. 209, 210 for 211, 212; p. 167 *in fine* read Canephori for Canephora, p. 168¹ and in index same mistake; p. 184, l. 22 read XXXII, no. 4 for XXXIII, no. 4; p. 203 after

five columns on the north side of the peristyle and four on the south. Of course the number of columns on the opposite sides was the same. Mr. Tilton gives five on p. 132, l. 6. Against five, however, is the restored plan on pl. V, giving four columns on both north and south but pls. IV, XXIV, and fig. 2, giving the actual state of the ruins, show clearly that five is right. We build up our mental pictures of an old sanctuary by dwelling upon the details until the imagination at last fills out the completed structure, and for those who cannot visit the ruins themselves, mechanical errors like these often introduce not a little confusion and uncertainty into the process. Other instances of discrepancy in the number of columns assigned by different plates to the same building are Building II, front row, to which pl. V gives 16 columns and pl. IX 21; Building VI, to which pls. V and XXI give 19, and pl. VI only 17 columns. Perhaps it is not fair to mention the instance of Building IV (pls. V, VI, XI), for the architect himself has anticipated us in stating (p. 117) that there should be seven columns in place of the three he has drawn.

It is matter for regret that the system of classifying the various finds was not more thorough. Such expressions as "I can give no note as to the exact spot where this inscription was found", "though the places where they were found is not specified in any note of the excavation", "no more definite information is preserved", "it is now impossible to decide from which layer they came", "There is no record of provenience", "provenience unknown" (very frequent in section on Bronzes), "found probably in", recur far too often. They become so monotonous that the critic who intended to enumerate them stops counting. Archaeology has a latitude and longitude of its own reckoned in vertical

words "Here our copies give the form——." form omitted; p. 206, l. 22 read *φύλαν* for *φύλαν*; Vol. II, p. IX, l. 2 read Troja und Ilion; p. XV² read Troja for Troya; p. 10³ read Heraion for Heraeum; p. 16 no numeral for note 3 and references in notes 3 and 4 should be interchanged; p. 28, l. 1 read left for right; p. 83, fig. 13 form for from; p. 91, last line read were for was; p. 93, l. 4 read (Fig. 22) for (Fig. 29); p. 97, l. 3 reference to Fig. 32a omitted; p. 134 for LXIV read LXVI, for LXIV, No. 5 read LXVI, No. 5; for LXIV, No. 3. LXVI, No. 3; p. 135 for LXV read LXIV; p. 145, fig. 86 for LXIV, 11 read LXVI, 11; p. 147 for LXIV, 12 read LXVI, 12; p. 148 for LXIV bis read LXVI; p. 150 for LXV, 2 a-c read LXIV, 2 a-c; p. 150, l. 40 read suggest for suggests; p. 153 for LXV, 3 read LXIV, 3; p. 153 for LXVI, 3 read LXV, 3; p. 154 for LXVI, 3 read LXV, 3; p. 156 for LI, 7, p. 13 read LI, 7, p. 73; p. 157 for LXVI read LXV; p. 158 for LXV, 4 read LXIV, 4; p. 162, l. 14 for 2 read 4; p. 163, l. 29 for Roscher's Lex. II, p. 2194 read I, 2, p. 2194; p. 165, l. 11 for LXVI read LXV; p. 166, l. 41 for "to established" read "to establish"; p. 172 for 23 a and b read 24 a and b, no reference given to fig. 97; p. 175, l. 12 for *ἐπιχωρίων* read *ἐπιχωρίων*; p. 180 no reference in text to note 4; p. 186, 11 read 'Αἰνῶν[ας]; p. 195, l. 18 and also note 4 for Orchemenos read Orchemenos; p. 235⁴ for example read examples; p. 265, no. 1566 for ithyphallic read ithyphallic; plate IV, XI read Phylakeion for Phylakeion; pl. LV, no. 47 omitted; pl. LIX, no. 14a omitted; pl. LXIV, 1 b omitted; pl. LXIX for 23 in next to last line read 28; pl. LXXX, the first 367 should be 357; pl. CXII, 1981 should be 1901; pl. CXXIII, lower left-hand corner no. 2219 omitted; pl. CXXXIII, nos. 2710, 2711 omitted.

as well as horizontal directions. In what layer as well as in what exact position the object or deposit of objects is found, is often of critical importance. The phrases just quoted and disagreements between Professor Waldstein and the labels (Vol. II, pp. 61, 84) and failure to mention place of finding indicate rather convincingly that in the work of excavation accurate labeling, identifying description, keeping of classifying journals, and inventories were too much neglected.

Note-book English is to be expected in some sections. But often Professor Waldstein is not even grammatical. On a single page (Vol. II, p. x) we find "a chronology reaching back well into the third and even the fourth *millennia*", "It is now some years *ago since* I expressed the view".

The General Introduction might better have come at the end of Vol. II as a general conclusion. This would have saved much needless repetition both of subject-matter and of illustrations. As it is, there is even repetition in the same volume. In Vol. I, for example, fig. 2 is the same as pl. IV; fig. 3 as pl. II; fig. 4 as pl. X; fig. 5 as pl. VII; fig. 15 as fig. 70; fig. 45 as pl. XXV, etc. After showing that all other cults of Hera were derived from the Argive cult and that Hera, as herself the Queen, guarded the land of the people who spread about the foot of the fortified stronghold, long before she was known as the spouse of Zeus, Professor Waldstein takes up the topography of the temple precinct and gives a valuable discussion of the passages in Pausanias and Strabo bearing on this district. Then follows the early history of the Heraeum. The Old Temple is associated with Proetus of Tiryns and by means of Penrose's principle of orientation is dated about 1830 B. C., a date incredible to one accustomed to call the Heraeum at Olympia the oldest temple in Greece and to date that temple with Doerpfeld about 1100 B. C. According to Acusilaus, Phoroneus lived about 1800 B. C., but Professor Waldstein would assign to him a much earlier date, about 2200 B. C., on the ground of the genealogy in Pausanias. He would have him effect the *synoikismos* of the Argive plain and establish the cult of Hera there. He presents in tabular form the two genealogies of Pausanias, calling that which begins with Phoroneus the Heraeum tradition, that which begins with Megapenthes, who is fourteenth in the other, the Argos tradition. He shows how in these literary traditions there is a basis of fact. They accord with the excavations, confirm the chronological sequence, Tiryns, then Mycenae, then Argos, and give evidence of a settlement at the Heraeum even before the Cyclopean temple ascribed to Proetus of Tiryns. The Old Temple faces Tiryns and Midea and only the later buildings are built with reference to Mycenae and Argos. The later history of the Heraeum is sketched and the fact brought out that at the Heraeum there is a continuity in the finds between the pre-Tirynthian, Tirynthian, Mycenaean, and the historical periods. This fact makes the excavations at the

Heraeum perhaps even more important than those at Cnossus and other places, where only a single definite period is represented. Though this continuity exists, there is a paucity of objects of the classical period. The introduction concludes with a general survey of the finds, an account of the previous excavations of General Gordon and Rangabé, and quotations from the yearly reports of the different campaigns.

At the beginning of the general survey of terra-cottas (p. 42) Professor Waldstein says "The first step to the creation of an image was the erection of the pillars or *kiones* which Pausanias still saw there in his time Now, as I ventured to surmise at the time of its discovery, it is highly probable that in the lower fragments of a large limestone pillar we have preserved to us the very *kion* which Pausanias saw, and which symbolizes the first image to Hera on this ancient site". When we look at this "early stone pillar image" (fig. 15, repeated in fig. 70) what do we find? An ordinary hexagonal pillar such as has been found elsewhere. For example, when visiting Aegina in the year 1901, I saw *in situ* four such pillars, octagonal, to be sure, but otherwise similar, serving as supports in the Propylon to the Temple of Aphaia (which Professor Waldstein still calls the temple of Athena, though the Aphaia inscription was published more than a year before the first volume of the Argive Heraeum). It seems to me possible that this "earliest extant symbolical image in stone of a Greek divinity", the place of finding of which is not given, may have been merely a support in the ancient Propylon to the Heraeum (cf. p. 134). But granting that such a pillar could be an image, Pausanias mentions no such thing in II, 17, 5 to which, I suppose, reference is intended. His words are ἐπὶ κίονος ἀγάλμα Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον, which can only mean "an ancient image of Hera on a pillar". On p. 24 Professor Waldstein himself translates so and adds "This statue must not be confused with the earliest symbolical pillar representing Hera mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. I, 24, 151)". Why then does he himself confuse them?

On p. 60 we have a startling table in which circ. 1400 B. C. is given as the date of the Middle Heraeum and Dipylon Terra-Cottas and of the Middle Argive-Linear and Dipylon Vases, circ. 1000 B. C. as the date of the Advanced Argive Terra-Cottas and of the Advanced Argive-Linear (Proto-Corinthian) Vases. Specimens of the Dipylon Ware found on the Acropolis in Athens seem to be later than 700 B. C. One has an inscription which is probably of the seventh century (Athen. Mitt. 1893, p. 223f.). We are still without any means of fixing the upper limit, though Sam Wide thinks the style was of short duration. In any case we cannot go much above 1000 B. C. The date of the Proto-Corinthian Ware is fairly certain. Since it occurs in the graves at Syracuse, founded 734 B. C., 1000 B. C. is too early. The terra-cottas dated 1500 to 1000 B. C. would be dated by others 800 to 600 B. C. (cf.

Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terra-kotten*, p. xxx). 700 B. c. as lower limit for the Corinthian Ware is too early. It is absent from the oldest graves in Syracuse and so belongs in the main to the seventh century B. c. Black-figured vases date before 520 B. c. and early red-figured before 460 B. c. The red-figured style began perhaps as early as 540 B. c. Excavations on the Athenian Acropolis show that the style was well advanced by 480 B. c.

In pp. 91-94 of the section on the Geology of the Heraeum Region Dr. Washington follows Philippon, *Der Peloponnes*. In pp. 94-99 he gives a scientific and interesting discussion of the burial of ancient remains and especially of the Heraeum site. The question is often asked, how ancient ruins are buried, and here is an accurate answer.

In the section on Architecture Mr. Tilton describes with exact measurements and many illustrations and plates the actual state of the ruins of the ten buildings exhumed and attempts restorations. The columns and the entire superstructure of the Old Temple were doubtless originally of wood, and stone columns may have been substituted later for the wooden ones, as at the Olympia Heraeum. The Old Temple was burned in 423 B. c., as Pausanias relates, and replaced by the Second Temple, the architectural elements of which Mr. Tilton describes at length. By means of the unit of measurement, 0.326 m. (the same as at Olympia), Mr. Tilton reconstructs the temple and gives the front elevation in fig. 59 and the side elevation in pl. XVIII. The pediments and metopes are filled with imaginary sculptures, but the acroteria are omitted. The cyma-moulding, carved with an anthemion ornament interspersed with Hera's cuckoo-dove and lion's head gargoyles, is unique. This ornamentation, which forms an appropriate border design for the cover of the two volumes, recurs on coins, on the crown of the head of Hera supposed to be a copy of the statue of Polyclitus. Professor Waldstein cites this as proof that Polyclitus influenced the architectural as well as sculptural decorations. Besides the two temples (the only buildings mentioned by Pausanias) there are four stoa and East, West, Northwest, and Roman Buildings, of which descriptions, plans, elevations, sections, and restorations are given. The restorations are not certain, as Mr. Tilton himself says, and he sometimes gives differing ones. In the South Stoa the projections from the rear wall are not for supporting trusses, as Mr. Tilton thinks, but rather buttresses to strengthen the wall, which serves also as a retaining wall for the terrace of the Second Temple. This is probably why each layer of the rear wall is pushed further back than that next lower. The West Building was rather a dwelling of priests, a prytaneum, or gymnasium than a "hospital for women". Births were not allowed within a sacred precinct. The descriptions of the Northwest Building and of the Lower Stoa are too brief.

Poros is the material mostly used in all the buildings, only the sculpture and carved mouldings and roof-tiles being marble. Mr. Tilton does not tell us whence this *poros* comes. But when I was at the Argive Heraeum some years ago, I noticed the similarity of the *poros* there to that in the quarries near Corinth. Some blocks are hollowed out as if they had been lightened for transportation.

In the colored restoration in perspective (pl. VI) the metopes of the different buildings are red. But there is almost no proof that red was used for unsculptured metopes till Roman times (cf. Fenger, *Dorische Polychromie* p. 12 f.).

Professor Waldstein himself deals with the statuary which is almost exclusively of white Parian marble. It is remarkable that but few fragments of single statues were found. In fig. 72 are shown several fragments of a female figure of the Graeco-Roman period. P. 142 we read "It is not impossible that the statue may have been that of a priestess of Hera in Roman times which, according to Pausanias (II, 16, 5) stood before the temple". Again we have a careless reading of Pausanias. In II, 16, 5 no priestess is mentioned and in II, 17, 3 to which reference is probably intended, Pausanias says ἀνδριάντες τε ἐστήκασι πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ γυναικῶν αἱ γυγνάσιν ἰσθμίοις τῆς Ἡρας. These statues (not a single statue as Professor Waldstein implies) are later than 423 B. C., but not necessarily Roman. The statue of Chryseis mentioned in II, 17, 7 is earlier than 423 B. C. Moreover, it is very likely that the one in question is later than the time of Pausanias. The great mass of statuary is architectural and belongs to the metopes and pediments of the Second Temple, the other buildings having no sculptured decorations. Fragments so large that they must belong to the pediments force us to interpret the phrase ὑπὲρ τοῦς κίονας in Pausanias as referring to both pediments and metopes. The metopes, Professor Waldstein maintains, ran round the whole of the temple. He adopts the view of Curtius that the general representation of the Trojan war is to be assigned to the western pediment and the separate scenes to the metopes below it, the Birth of Zeus to the eastern pediment, and scenes from the Gigantomachia to the eastern metopes. The bulk of the metopes on the north and south sides were decorated with an Amazonomachia and possibly a Centauromachia, which Pausanias omitted to mention. Professor Waldstein devotes a large part of this section to the general style of the Heraeum marbles, showing that they are all of the same workmanship and belong to the school of Polyclitus. *A priori* we should say that Polyclitus ought to have had some influence and that Furtwängler's contention is wrong that "all these sculptures have not the least relation to Polyclitus". The strife is partly idle since it would be strange if there were no Attic influence at all. In fact Argive and Attic art had such reciprocal influence that it is often difficult to distinguish their productions from one another. Professor

Waldstein presents a good discussion of the art of Polyclitus in view of the Heraeum finds. Then follows the detailed description of the plates. He waxes eloquent over the torso of a nude youth (pl. XXXIV). "In the modeling of the nude this torso is among the finest that have come down to us". There are several beautiful heads. The finest is that poorly illustrated on pl. XXXVI. The frontispiece gives a much better view of this "Head of Hera", which is already in all the handbooks of Greek sculpture. For a more detailed criticism of the sculpture I need only refer to Furtwängler's review of the first volume in the Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1904, cols. 811-818. Though too bitter in some of his expressions, he points out the fact that several pieces known long before the American excavations are published as if new.

The inscriptions on stone are republished from the American Journal of Archaeology by Professors Richardson and Wheeler who have profited by suggestions of Professor Fraenkel. From such an important site we should expect more than twenty inscriptions and those of no great value. Several peculiarities of form in the letters, however, are interesting. No. I has $\kappa = \kappa$; No. II has $\square =$ rough breathing, $D = \delta$, $R = \rho$, $V = \upsilon$, $\Phi = \varphi$, the digamma, and the punctuation with three dots, $;$; No. IV has $\beta = \beta$; No. VI has $\xi = \xi$; No. XV has $\epsilon = \sigma$. No. II affords the earliest mention of the names of the four Doric tribes. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}$ (base for a slab) in No. II, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (dedicated offerings) in No. VIII and $\pi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ (possessions) in No. IX are rare words.

The stamped tiles are carefully published by Professor Richardson. No. XI, which has A , E , and $M = \sigma$, dates at least as far back as 500 B. C.

The second volume, though larger in bulk and more carefully executed, is less interesting to the general reader. Being in great part merely a detailed catalogue of the terra-cottas, vases, bronzes, gems, coins, etc., it affords little chance for criticism to one who has not before him the objects themselves. The Terra-Cotta Figurines are well published by Professor Waldstein and Dr. Chase. It is matter for regret, however, that the writers have not availed themselves of Winter's great work on terra-cottas referred to above or of the British Museum Catalogue of Terra-Cottas. Comparisons are odious but, if the German publication of the excavations conducted at Priene in the years 1895-1898, which appeared more than six months before Vol. II of the Argive Heraeum, can refer to Winter, Professor Waldstein and Dr. Chase in publishing the terra-cotta finds of 1892-1895 ought also to be able to refer to his monumental *Corpus* of Terra-Cottas. Out of 2865 terra-cotta figures there are 2557 of pre-archaic type to 308 of archaic and later types. The great bulk dates before the eighth century and yet none were found on the site of the Old Temple. This, to my mind, makes impossible so early a date as the fifteenth or sixteenth century for any of the terra-cottas.

There are nine classes, the second or Tirynthian-Argive containing by far the largest number, 1961 specimens. Eighty-five per cent. are figures of the flat-bodied type with either the "bird-face" or its successor, the archaic head. "Nowhere have they been found in such numbers or exhibiting such a clearly marked development as at Argos. We feel justified, therefore, in giving them the distinctive name of Argive". Professor Waldstein and Dr. Chase proceed to say that "the most striking fact is the great preponderance of female forms" which, they maintain, represent a primitive female goddess or even Hera. But this is the most striking fact about every find in terra-cottas. The draped female form was much preferred by the *coroplastes*. There are few Mycenaean or Geometric figures. Even the Archaic Class is poorly represented and seems to be the product of outside influences. Some show traces of the schools of Rhodes and of Cyprus. There are also numerous specimens of the cheap variety of offerings such as were sold at the entrances to temples. The chief interest, however, is in the "Argive" classes which reveal "The existence of an artistic tradition which began long before the period of the distinctly Mycenaean civilization, and continued unbroken for centuries after it". The detailed catalogue, which follows, is scholarly and careful, though there is a tendency to date the terra-cottas too early. For example, the well-known type of a female figure carrying a dove is classed as early archaic. Heuzey (*Les Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite* du Musée du Louvre pl. XVIII, 2) would assign the type to the fifth century. Terra-cottas are in general less advanced in style than sculpture. Moreover, such figures are called Aphrodites, but it is not at all certain that they represent Aphrodite. In B. C. H. XV, No. 12, p. 32, fig. 4 (Winter, op. cit. I, 97, 4) a similar figure has the dove in the right hand, but carries in the left an object which Lechat did not understand. It is certainly a key and the figure a temple priestess.

The next section deals with ten instructive terra-cotta reliefs, all archaic ex-votos already published in the *Am. J. Arch.*

By far the most interesting part of the second volume is the section on vases by Professor Hoppin, who makes a large selection from the 250,000 fragments, representing some 50,000 vases. Most of the ware is early and there are few vases of beauty or importance. Professor Hoppin adopts a different classification of Mycenaean vases from Furtwängler and Loeschcke, dividing their classes II and III into two divisions each and including under II, 2 a number of vases belonging to their class III. In this way the line between naturalism (Classes I, II) and conventionalism (Classes III, IV) is better emphasized. Much Geometric ware was found and Professor Hoppin attributes this style to foreign influence. The so-called Proto-Corinthian Ware forms the bulk of the vase-fragments and for this reason the term "Argive" is proposed. But it is not safe to draw arguments

from quantity or place of finding. On that argument Attic red-figured ware would be Etruscan. Before the American excavations at Corinth Corinthian *celes* had been found only in Italy (Am. J. Arch. II, 1898, p. 195f.). It is not likely that the Argive Heraeum alone manufactured the Proto-Corinthian ware, which has been found in the American excavations at Corinth itself in equally great quantities. Corinthian colonies (Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea) used it abundantly. In fact, many of the specimens from the Argive Heraeum seem to be of Corinthian clay, though Professor Hoppin does not mention the fact. Mr. Washburn, who has made a special study of this ware, assures me that, wherever the style originated, in its later stages this ware was made by Corinthians. Vases of Proto-Corinthian form have Old Corinthian technique and ornamentation (cf. Athen. Mitth. XXII, p. 296. Many have been dug up at Corinth). The term Proto-Corinthian, then, is as good as "Argive", especially if Mycenaean ware is also Argive, as Professor Waldstein thinks. But by Proto-Corinthian we mean nothing more than that this style is the forerunner of the Corinthian style. Professor Hoppin differs with Professor Waldstein in that he regards the "Argive" style as a direct offshoot of the Mycenaean, being contemporaneous with the Geometric. Professor Waldstein considers it the natural development of the "Argive-Linear" out of the linear decoration as found in Argive vases at the Heraeum from the earliest primitive vases through the Mycenaean periods. The view of Professor Hoppin seems preferable since this "Linear Tradition" is peculiar to all wheel-made vases. Lines do exist in Mycenaean ware but there are also many bands, whereas the purely linear style seems to occur only in the Proto-Corinthian Ware in its earlier stages. Professor Hoppin, citing Her. V, 88, attributes to an embargo on Attic ware the small number of Attic black- and red-figured vases (not more than a basket full of the former and hardly more than fifty fragments of the latter). Two pieces of an Attic polychrome cylix with a satyr and perhaps a Maenad are ascribed to the school of Euphronius and dated about 485-480 B. C. Several pieces of Red and Megarean Ware were also found. On the only vase, which has any mythological importance, dated in the eighth century, Deianeira is represented in a rather singular fashion, clinging to Nessus' body with one hand and stretching out the other as if to call for assistance.

Three pages are devoted to the few inscriptions on vases. These and the inscriptions on bronze, excellently published by Mr. De Cou as an appendix to the Bronzes, might better have been included with the inscriptions on stone and the Stamped Tiles in the first volume, especially since Dr. Heermance omits the only artists' signature. The name is gone but we have the first two letters of *ἑγραφευ* (cf. Vol. II, p. 179, pl. LXVIII). The Sicyonian *e*-sign and the *kopha* are to be noted.

The section on Bronzes (2841 numbers, 149 pages, 67 plates) is the longest, though it contains little of artistic value. The mere cleaning, sorting, and measuring was a tedious process and occupied Mr. De Cou for several years. The classification is first by subject, secondly by style. The detailed, though sometimes wearisome, catalogue of great numbers of pins, rods, wires, rings, mirrors, disks, plates, cauldrons, spits, nails, etc. shows a very conscientious study of the material. But such objects in themselves are of almost no importance. We wish that Mr. De Cou than whom "there is hardly any archaeologist alive who has had more experience in dealing with ancient bronzes" could have given us the benefit of his experience and studied the bronzes in relation to other things. As it is, the section on Bronzes is a good museum catalogue but no one will care to read it. Nevertheless Mr. De Cou, who is said to have done as much real work for the publication as any of the contributors, deserves all credit for giving us the facts with no theories.

Professor Norton's study of the Engraved Stones, Gems, and Ivories is of interest because he distinguishes two classes of engraved stones preceding the Mycenaean and shows that a series of rudely carved steatite stones represents a new local art at the Heraeum. Some Geometric, but few Mycenaean gems were found.

The coins, published by Mr. De Cou, number 155, and of these only about one-fifteenth belong to the period of free Greece. It is remarkable that for the archaic period Corinth alone is represented. This would seem to show the influence of Corinth on Argos, a subject not touched upon in either volume. On certain minute bronze pieces, taken to be coins, occurs an alpha with cross-bar broken which, Mr. De Cou thinks, shows that there was a local coinage after the suppression of the Achaean League.

All the Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian objects Mr. Lythgoe assigns to the twenty-sixth and following dynasties of the Late New Empire when Naucratis was the center of Greek influence. There are also two glass scarabeoids of Phoenician origin.

Despite the delay in publication and certain minor inconsistencies these two magnificent volumes have added immensely to our knowledge of prehistoric archaeology in Greece and are a credit to American research in classical archaeology. Americans may feel proud that the material has been so thoroughly studied and so well presented.

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DAVID M. ROBINSON.

Sexti Properti Opera Omnia, with a Commentary. By H. E. BUTLER, M. A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. London, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1905. 8s. 6d. net.

The editor has aimed "to provide a commentary which should take into account the more recent results of Propertian criticism and should afford English readers a somewhat fuller guide to this difficult author than has hitherto been available". The brief introduction of 15 pages treats of I., Propertius' name; II., the birthplace of Propertius; III., the Life of Propertius; IV., the MSS; V., the division of Propertius into five books (rejected by Mr. Butler); VI., Editions, etc., of Propertius. The last section is extremely disappointing. Of editions but fifteen are listed, and of other works but seven. In this meagre catalogue three dates are incorrectly given, two are omitted, and three titles are misquoted.¹ It is something of a shock, too, in view of the prospectus above cited, to be directed "for full bibliographies" to Teuffel's History of Latin (sic) Literature, Plessis' Études, and the prolegomena of Baehrens. Then comes the text, with a brief, but usually adequate apparatus criticus, occupying pp. 17-123. This is followed by the commentary, pp. 125-401, and the volume is completed by two indexes, the one of names, the other of matters, pp. 403-415.

From the fact of Mr. Butler's having collaborated with Prof. Phillimore in the preparation of the Oxford text of Propertius, (1901), one takes up the present edition expecting to find in it some defense of the many obscure readings which Prof. Phillimore, with a deference for his MSS (especially for N) unparalleled in the field of Propertian criticism, even by Rothstein, has printed in his text. But Mr. Butler has made a radical departure from the attitude evinced in that earlier recension. It would be impossible to discuss, within the limits of a review, all the passages where he characterizes the lections retained by Prof. Phillimore as "meaningless" or "impossible", and substitutes for them conjectural emendations. The following instances will serve as a sample: i. 16. 13 *gravibus . . . querelis* (Phillimore, with O), *gravius . . . querelas* (Butler after Scaliger); ii. 15. 37 *tecum* (Ph. with O), *secum* (Butler with s); iii. 11. 23 *missi* (Ph. with O), *mitti* (B. with Tyrrell); iv. 1. 36 *hac* (Ph. with O), *hinc* (B. with Postgate); iv. 4. 72 *fertur* (Ph. with O), *pectus* (B. with Hertzberg). But though here, and in many other instances, Mr. Butler has done wisely to abandon the tradition, he has occasionally departed from it, where no change was necessary, owing to a failure to understand his author's meaning. Witness iii. 9. 25 *Medorum pugnaces ire per hostes*, where *Medorum* is used in place of an adjective, cf. Columella xi. 2. 59

¹One is surprised to find Lachmann's *second* edition recorded here as being one of the "more important" texts. A somewhat careful study of the new edition has failed to reveal a single reference to this work.

ficorum arbores = fig-trees, (cited by Hoerle), but Mr. Butler follows Markland in reading *hastas*; and ii. 16. 32 *an dolor hic vitiis nescit abesse suis*, where Mr. Butler follows the inferior MSS in reading *tuis* for *suis*, though the latter lection has been vindicated by Otto (Hermes, 1888, p. 32), who takes *dolor hic* = *ego dolens*, and *vitiis* of the poet's weakness in loving Cynthia. So at ii. 17. 15, where Mr. Butler prints his own conjecture *lubet* in place of the *licet* of the MSS. Prof. Housman (Class. Rev. 1905, p. 320) has pointed out that this change is unnecessary—the word *requiescere* being used as at ii. 22. 25 *Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat Arctos*.

Mr. Butler has printed several other conjectures of his own. At i. 21. 9 sq. the MSS give: *et quaecumque* (so NAF. quicunque DV) *super dispersa invenerit ossa / montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea*. Mr. Butler prints *nec* instead of *et*. Whether or not this change be regarded as an improvement, one can hardly accept the editor's interpretation: "Nor let her ever know that whatever bones she may find on the Tuscan hills are mine". A better rendering would be "Nor, whatever bones she may find scattered on the Tuscan hills, let her ever know that these bones here are mine." Thus understood the proposed reading may be defended, but, *a priori*, it would seem far more likely that both here and in v. 6 the person addressed was desired to convey, rather than to withhold, information concerning the death of Gallus. The desire for burial at his sister's hands would better accord with what we know of Roman sentiment in such matters than would the wish that his bones might never be found. I incline, therefore, to accept Prof. Postgate's emendation of v. 5 sq.,¹ leaving v. 9 as it stands above. Mr. Butler should at least have mentioned this ingenious solution of the problem.

ii. 2. 11 sq. *Mercurio Ossaeis fertur Boebeidos undis virgineum primo composuisse latus*. Here *Ossaeis* is a conjecture of Burmann; NFL read *Mercurio satis*; DV have *Mercurioque satis*; Passerat conjectures *Mercurio sacris*; and Mr. Butler proposes *Mercurio et sacris*. The *et* helps the sense (if we agree with Mr. Butler in accepting Turnebus' *Brimo for primo*) and, assuming that *sacris* was changed to *satis*, *et* may have been altered to *que*, metri gratia (cf. *ibid.* below), thus accounting for DV. But how was the connective lost in NFL? From these MSS we can more easily derive *Mercurio Ossaeis*. Mr. Butler objects that the distich is thus left without a connective. But if we keep *primo* (as Prof. Postgate does) and take the distich as referring, like the preceding one, to Ischomache, this difficulty vanishes, and the only objection is that we have no other source connecting Ischomache with Mercury. *Ossaeis* is appropriate enough, besides being, diplomatically, a little preferable to *Mercurio et sacris*.

iii. 6. 9 sq. The vulgate runs: *sicine eam incompitis vidisti flere capillis? / illius ex oculis multa cadebat aqua?* FLDV have

¹ *Sic te servato possint gaudere parentes, / ut soror acta tuis sentiet e lacrimis.*

sicut, N has *si cā*. The new edition has *sic, ut*. But, as Prof. Housman says (*ibid.*), *ut vidisti* means 'as soon as you set eyes on her'—not, as Mr. Butler would have it, 'when you beheld her (weep),' which would be *cum videres*.

At iv. 1. 65 Mr. Butler, improving upon a suggestion of Mr. O. L. Richmond's, has been more happy, and his reading will doubtless meet with a fair share of acceptance. The MSS give *scandentes quasvis* (so FL; NDV having *quisquis*) *cernit* (*cernet* F) *de vallibus arces / ingenio muros aestimet ille meo*. Mr. Richmond, observing that *quasvis* could hardly be explained as a corruption of *quisquis*, proposed *scandentesque* *Asis cernit qui vallibus arces*. The editor's contribution consists in the substitution of *qui* for *que*, which enables him to retain the *de* of the MSS. *quisquis* will then be explained as an attempt at correcting the meaningless *quasvis*.

Lastly, at iv. 11. 53 the editor reads *cui, iuratos* for *cuius rasos* of the MSS. But *iuratos ignes* can scarcely mean, as Mr. Butler thinks, 'the sacred fires which she had sworn to keep.'

In his treatment of the problem of transpositions Mr. Butler manifests a wise conservatism. While frankly admitting that transposition is probably the true remedy for obscurity in the sequence of the thought in not a few passages, he yet finds it a "serious and almost unanswerable objection" to the copious employment of such methods, that it is extremely hard to frame any reasonable hypothesis to account for the wholesale mutilation of the text thus assumed (see p. 13). Accordingly, while ready to discuss such proposed transpositions in his notes, where he often confesses the improvement thus brought about, he seldom ventures upon the alteration in his text. In some few places, however, the displacement is so slight and the gain so obvious that the change is made, as being practically a certain correction. Thus in i. 15, vv. 15 sq. are placed after v. 20; in ii. 30, vv. 19–22 are placed at the beginning; in ii. 31, vv. 5–8 are postponed to the end; in iii. 7, vv. 21–24 are inserted between vv. 38 and 39; in iii. 9, vv. 51 and 49 are made to exchange places; in iii. 11, vv. 57 sq. are printed after v. 46 (the editor's own conjecture); and similar slight changes are made in a few other places.

In ii. 6 Mr. Butler suggests a transposition but refrains from printing it, candidly confessing that "it is not necessary for the present passage and is incapable of proof." His readers will perhaps go farther and pronounce it capable of disproof. Propertius is here drawing upon his mythological lore for parallels to the infidelity of Cynthia. Lines 15 sqq. run thus: *his olim ut fama est vitiis ad proelia ventum est, / his Troiana vides funera principiis; / aspera Centauros eadem dementia iussit / frangere in adversum pocula Pirithoum*. Mr. Butler thinks it "not improbable" that we should insert between 16 and 17 a distich from another elegy (iii. 18. 29 sq.), *hic olim ignaros luctus populavit Achivos, / Atridae magno cum stetit alter amor*, which he renders:

"such sorrow once afflicted the Achivi, when Atrides' new passion cost them so dear." But there is here no question of mourning (the proper meaning of *luctus*) and, moreover, the words *hic luctus*, commencing a line which comes immediately after lines beginning, respectively, with *his . . . vitis* (i. e. such infidelity as Cynthia's) and *his . . . principiis* ('such beginnings as have led up to my own misery') are unintelligible, unless they, too, refer back to the infidelity against which the poet is protesting. But, instead of this, they must be understood of the *result* of such infidelity. The reader then is led on by the striking anaphora in *his . . . his . . . hic*, only to find, when he comes to the end of the sentence, that a highly rhetorical device has been employed not to emphasize the author's meaning, but to befuddle it.

But there is another cure for obstinate cases of disjunctiveness which Mr. Butler has employed more boldly. This is a redivision of poems. Here the MSS are no very certain guides, and an editor who chooses to disregard their indications, where the sense appears to demand it, may justly claim to be doing the tradition no great violence. Whether such corrections are in fact any more susceptible of proof than are transpositions, may perhaps be doubted. At all events the errors they imply are more easily accounted for, and they possess this unquestionable advantage, that the reader may readily disregard them, if he see fit, which is more than can be said for the transpositions. Mr. Butler, acting upon a suggestion of Lipsius, divides i. 8, making a new elegy begin with v. 27 *Hic erat! hic iurata manet!* Other poems thus divided are ii. 13; ii. 18; ii. 22; ii. 24; ii. 26; ii. 28; ii. 29; iii. 8; and iv. 1. The only such change original with him is in ii. 8, where a new poem is made to commence with v. 13—not a convincing innovation, as it seems to the present reviewer.

Turning now to the commentary, I will discuss a few passages where I find myself unable to accept the editor's conclusions. And, first, i. 13, 35 sq. *quae tibi sit felix, quoniam novus incidit error; / et quodcumque voles, una sit ista tibi.* With this friendly wish Propertius concludes a generous panegyric upon the mistress of his friend Gallus. It seems to mean, not 'may she, and nobody else, bring you whatsoever you desire', but 'may she, in her one person, bring you all conceivable joys'. See Prof. Postgate's suggestive note on "A Propertian use of *unus*" in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 21, pp. 66 sqq. Mr. Butler misses the peculiar charm which *una* lends the line, and rendering it "may she and she alone be all your heart's desire" rejects the *quodcumque* of the vulgate in favor of Fruter's grotesque *quolcumque*. "'and, however, widely your desires may range, may she alone be thine'". That is, 'however many women you may love, may you succeed with none but her'! There is a further consideration which confirms me in my belief that *quodcumque voles* is what P. wrote. At i. 15. 32 we read *sis quodcumque voles, non aliena*

tamen, and Prof. Postgate has shown how P. will repeat a phrase, often when, as here, the new context lends it quite a new meaning.

ii. 1. 47 laus in amore mori, laus altera si datur uno / posse frui: fruar o solus amore meo! Mr. Butler comments: "*uno* O sc. *amore*. The sense is excellent. 'Yet further glory to enjoy but one love only (cf. ii. 13a. 36 unius hic quondam servus amoris erat), and may I never have a rival in my love!'" Observe that Mr. Butler ignores the word *posse*. Supplying this omission we get: 'yet further glory to be able to enjoy but one love only'—surely a singular glory, and by no means illustrated by the citation from ii. 13a. *uno* is best regarded as a dative.

ii. 7. 15 sq. quod si vera meae comitarem castra puellae, / non mihi sat magnus Castoris iret equus. "The sense is 'If I were to follow the camp, that is the only true camp for me, where my mistress commands, the war horse of Castor would not be spirited enough for me'. *Castra vera* are the *castra amoris*". But P. is following the *castra amoris*, and always *has*. Why then 'If I were to follow'? And to make him say 'If love were my warfare not even Cyllarus would be a good enough horse for me' is yet more absurd. How is a horse to be used in love's campaign? P. means si castra meae puellae comitans comitarem castra vera, etc.

In constituting his text at ii. 9. 17, Mr. Butler is guilty of a fallacy. NF give us tunc igitur viris gaudebat Graecia natis. For *viris* DV give *castis*; the Itali correct to *veris*. Mr. Butler accepts *veris*, as being indicated by the *viris* of NF, explaining away *castis* as a gloss on *veris*. But if the scribe had had before him the reading *veris . . . natis*, which could hardly mean anything but 'true-born children,' as Mr. Butler tells us it does, where could he have hit upon the idea that *veris* meant *castis*? The gloss theory of the origin of the reading *castis* is based upon the assumption that Baehrens was right in conjecturing that the archetype read *nuptis*. 'True brides' would mean, as the scribe in question saw, 'brides true to their husbands', hence the gloss *castis*; but *veris natis* could hardly be understood by even the most imaginative of copyists to signify 'children true to their marriage vows'.

ii. 33. 21 sq. at tu, quae nostro nimium placata dolore es, / noctibus his vacui ter faciamus iter. P. is vexed by Cynthia's observance of the period of continence enjoined, at fixed times, upon the votaries of Isis. He has been bitterly inveighing against the goddess and her cult, and, with the words quoted, turns to Cynthia, in the hope that his remonstrance may have overcome her obduracy. They may be translated (taking *nimium*, as Hertzberg suggests, with *dolore*) 'But thou, who art softened by my too great anguish,—free from these nights let us thrice make love's journey'. Mr. Butler comments: "Two interpretations are possible. (1) *noctibus his* = in the nights that now are ours; the nights subsequent to the *decem noctes* of v. 2. *vacui* = free

from care, light hearted. (2) *noctibus his* are to be identified with the *decem noctes*: 'let us who have been idle during these nights thrice make love's journey'. Against (1) may be urged that *noctibus his* cannot naturally be referred to any but the *decem noctes* of v. 2., which were the occasion of the poem, and that *ter* is absurd if *noctibus his* be understood of an indefinite 'time within which'; against both (1) and (2) that the ten nights were not yet past. Cf. v. 1 sq. *Tristia iam redeunt iterum sollemnia nobis*: / *Cynthia iam noctes est operata decem*, with the note of Rothstein ad loc., and Prof. Postgate's on Tib. ii. i. 9, where it is held that 'the best Latin writers appear to use *operatus* only of present time'. The phrase in question can have here but one meaning—*noctium harum religione vacui* 'free from observance of these nights'.

iv. 8. 47 sq. *cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco*: / *Lanuvii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram*. P. is giving a little dinner to two ladies of undoubted affability, in the endeavor to solace himself for his desertion by Cynthia, who has driven off to Lanuvium, in company with his rival. His fair guests are doing their best to engage his admiration, by all the arts at their command, but all in vain. 'I was deaf to their singing and blind to their charming, for, alas! I stood alone [tho' to outward seeming here in Rome, and abundantly provided with companions] by Lanuvium's gates'. What could better express the poet's pre-occupied state of mind? Yet Mr. Butler tells us, and an able scholar has commended his sagacity in making the observation, that "*totus* (Cuypers) is a necessary correction for *solus*. *Solus eram* could only mean 'I was alone (solitary) at Lanuvium'. It could not mean 'I was at Lanuvium, and Lanuvium only.' For that we should require *solum*"!

iv. 9. 5 sqq. *Amphytrioniades qua tempestate invencos / egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis, / venit ad invictos pecorosa Palatia montes, / et statuit fessos, fessus et ipse, boves, / qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumina quaque / nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas*. Mr. Butler follows O, reading *quoque* in preference to the vulgar *quaque*. But may one say 'A. halted his cattle *whither* the sailor cruised'?

It is perhaps truer of Propertius than of any other Latin poet that every reader must be his own editor, for there is here no hard and fast line of demarcation between the defensible and the indefensible. Where the MSS are so untrustworthy there can be no consensus of opinion as to what is or is not Propertian usage. It is, therefore, inevitable that every one who uses this book should take issue more or less often with the judgment of the editor. But his work will be, none the less, a convenient and useful auxiliary to Propertian study, for Mr. Butler is always a candid critic, and has found space in his admirably clear and compact notes for the presentation of such suggestions as seem to him worthy of consideration, even though he may himself reject

them. Thus his commentary forms a sort of compendium of recent, especially English, Propertian criticism, such as is extant nowhere else.

Externally the new edition is comely and attractive. The print is rather small, but very clear. Paper and binding are well chosen. It is perhaps questionable taste to employ uncut edges for a manual intended for ready cross-reference, and the reader would have been grateful had the number of the elegy, as well as that of the book, been printed at the top of the page, in the commentary. The misprints are not more numerous than was to be expected in the first impression of so large a book. On p. 24 e. g. the numbers of the lines have got misplaced; on p. 34 v. 33 *Pege*, and not *Pegae*, should be read (cf. the comment); on p. 208 (note on v. 15) 'casual' should be 'causal'; on p. 211 (note on v. 22) *comminus* is four times misspelt *cominus*. Some errors there are, hardly to be laid at the door of the scapegoat printer. On i. 3. 16 we read "He passes one arm beneath her neck with a gentle caress". This is what '*Amor*' and '*Liber*' bade him do, but he tells us himself, and we are bound to believe him rather than Mr. Butler, that he did not dare to do it. An amusing slip is made at ii. 34. 91, where Prof. Postgate is taken to task for a reading of which an inspection of that gentleman's edition proves him innocent. Upon ii. 4. 19 sq. *tranquillo tuta descendis flumine cumba* : / *quid tibi tam parvi litoris unda nocet* ? Mr. Butler gravely argues that *litus* means the bank of a river. "The epithet *tam parvi* precludes any reference to the sea, and *descendis* points to a river". So, perhaps, does *flumine* !

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REPORTS.

HERMES XXXIX.

Fascicle 3.

Die römische Provinzialautonomie, Ein Fragment (Th. Mommsen). The principles of government of the Roman empire have to be inferred, in general, from fragmentary evidence, and so the important, but difficult subject of provincial autonomy needs further investigation. According to Marquardt (Röm. Staatsverw. I¹ p. 503-16), federations of cities existed in every province; but, according to Mommsen, it is probable that, in the majority of cases, the cities endowed with the Roman franchise were excluded from such federations, also communities lacking a city organization, and he concludes that Sicily had no *commune* under the empire and that such Roman cities as Narbo, Lugdunum and Tarraco, though mentioned in connection with the *concilia*, had themselves no part in the federations of their respective territories.

Lex Tappula (A. v. Premerstein). P. starting with the restoration of cis[tiber in the second line of this inscription, a facsimile of which is given, discusses it in all its relations. The law of Tappo is perhaps the oldest specimen of the sportive and satirical literature that grew out of the *libertas Decembris* of the Roman Saturnalia. It appears that at the close of the second century B. C. on a 21st day of December, before one of the temples of Hercules in Rome, the worshippers of Hercules and Ceres had extended their banquet into the small hours of the following day, when Valerius Valentinus added to the gaiety by reading a legal parody, in which the *quinqueviri cis Tiberim*, officers whose duty it was to quell all nightly disturbances, are represented as summoning the people to pass a *lex convivalis*. The spokesman's name, Tappo, typified the fool, his associates' names corresponded. The joke evidently succeeded, for Valerius' contemporary Lucilius wrote: *Tappulam rident legem congerrae Opimi* (cf. Festus p. 363, 20). About 100 A. D., when it had become fashionable to inscribe bronze tablets with such *leges conviviales*, to be set up in the *triclinium* or elsewhere, our *lex Tappula* was thus inscribed and set up at Vercelli, where, in 1882 A. D., a fragment of it containing the preamble was discovered in a Roman house.

Beobachtungen zur Technik des Antiphon (A. Reuter). In Hermes XXXVIII pp. 481-497 (see A. J. P. XXV p. 470) R. discussed the structure of Antiphon's speeches and the charac-

ter of his arguments, here he concludes with the use made of the pathetic elements and the catchword (Stichwort), showing that his pathos, often artificial, harmonizes with the sophistical character of his arguments, while the repeated word (in VI 28-32 *μάπτω* occurs 17 times and its verbs 5 times) gives the semblance of logical consistency where none exists. Antiphon's efforts to awaken feelings of pity and anger and his use of *διαβάλλειν* make it likely that he followed the rules of Thrasymachus (Phaedr. 267 C. D., 272 A.).

Das Auftreten der Götter in den Büchern ι-μ der Odyssee (O. Jörgensen). K. L. Kayser (disputatio de diversa Homerorum carminum origine, 1835), observing the absence of Athena from books ι-μ, concluded that these stories, independently composed, had been incorporated in the Odyssey by a redactor; while Kirchhoff (1859, 1861) set up a theory, based chiefly on μ 374 f. and κ 277 f., that κ and μ had originally been narrated in the third person, the present form being due to a redactor, who took the story of the Lotophagi as a model. After a review of the discussions of this theory, Jörgensen, following Nitzsch ('Vom Zorn des Poseidon' 1840), makes clear the stylistic principle of the Homeric poems, according to which the poet's narrative, in the third person, invariably names the individual gods, whereas the Homeric characters, speaking in the first person, are, in general, supposed to be in a state of ignorance as regards the special manifestations of divine power, and therefore usually mention the gods in an impersonal way as *δαίμων*, *θεός*, *θεοί* and *Ζεύς*. For this reason Odysseus does not mention Athena's aid in ι-μ, and it becomes evident that Kirchhoff's theory is untenable, for the above principle would demand in a third-person-narrative so much detailed information of divine plans, besides the names of particular gods, as to make a far greater change necessary than his theory postulates. Jörgensen shows the reasonableness of the introduction of Hermes (κ 277 f.); but argues against the genuineness of the Helios passage (μ 374 f.). The discussion includes interesting details.

Untersuchungen zu den Briefen Ciceros ad Quintum fratrem II 1-6 (W. Sternkopf). The first of these letters was written shortly before Quintus' departure for Sardinia, as Pompey's legate, the last shortly before his return; but as the fourth letter really represents two and as, moreover, two were lost, we must reckon with nine in all; while Quintus, in turn, wrote only two: the first on his arrival in Sardinia and the second announcing his return. Sternkopf discusses interestingly the circumstances of this correspondence, interprets passages, suggests emendations and supports certain others, operating largely with the disarrangement of the MS leaves, which Mommsen pointed out in his famous essay 'Ueber eine Blätterversetzung im zweiten Buch der Briefe Ciceros ad Quintum fratrem' (Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumsw.

1844 p. 593 ff.). He finds occasion to defend Cicero against Drumann and others.

Die Schriftstellerei des Anaximenes von Lampsakos (P. Wendland). That the pseudo-Demosthenean oration XI *πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου* was modeled on various Demosthenean passages by a rhetorician is well known. Now we learn from the new Didymus-scholia (Didym. Commentar zu Dem., bearb. v. Diels u. Schubart, Berl. 1904) that Anaximenes of Lampsacus composed it for his Philippica. It appears, moreover, that the letter itself (Dem. XII), the common origin of which with XI was asserted by Boeckh and Schäfer, is a companion piece, having been modeled on the original letter by the same Anaximenes. Both XI and XII must have been included in the corpus of Demosthenean works at an early date, perhaps even by the Athenian editors. Wendland reviews the whole question and points out correspondences with the *ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* (see below). That XI and XII should have been adopted from an historical work suggests the possibility of a similar origin for other spurious speeches.

Zu *Ἡρωδιανῷ περὶ σχημάτων* (R. Müller). The authenticity of this collection of figures (Walz VIII p. 579 ff., Spengel III p. 85 ff.) has not been discussed since the attack made by Lehrs (Rhein. Mus. 1843 p. 120 f.) and Foltz (Quaestiones Herodianeae, Bonn, 1844). The editor of Herodian's fragments, A. Lentz (Herodiani reliquiae, Leipzig, 1867-70 p. XV), simply accepted Lehrs' results. Müller, while restating the arguments for the spuriousness of Herodian's authorship, objects to a number of positions taken by Foltz, and finds especially that this collection of *σχήματα* was made long after the time of Herodian, the son of Apollonius Dyscolus; but from excellent sources.

Zur Familiengeschichte Seians (C. Cichorius). An inscription from Volsinii in Etruria, published by Gabrici in the *Notizie degli scavi*, 1903 p. 366 is made the basis of a prosopographical study, interesting both as to results and method. Starting with the plausible conjecture: L. Seius Strabo, the name of Sejanus' father, Cichorius shows the high family connections of Tiberius' famous minister of state, whose suit for the hand of Drusus' widow may therefore not be regarded as a piece of effrontery as Tacitus led us to suppose.

Miscellen.—Hiller v. Gaertringen proposes for *χολοροδ|χεστε*, the correct, but unintelligible reading that Dunham gives in the inscription of Archedamus of Thera (Am. Journ. of Arch. VII 1903 p. 297) *χολδ(ε) δ(ρ)χεστε[ε]*. Though lame, the *νυμφόληπτος* became a dancer, and prided himself on the art that was admired in Thera.—C. Robert points out an error in Wiegand's work on the Poros-Architecture of the Acropolis, who following a suggestion of Brückner takes a horse's tail for a flame of fire. *ΓΥΡΟΣ* is the name of the centaur lying dead under Melanchaites to the

right. Further, the new centaur name read by Milani (Atene e Roma V 711) should doubtless be *Θέρραυδος*.—Karl Praechter supports Robert (Hermes XXI p. 161 f.), who, finding weighty reasons for placing the festival of the Delia in Anthesterion, concluded that the death of Socrates must have occurred some three months earlier than usually believed.—Karl Hude presents more examples of the weakened *γάρ* (scilicet) (cf. Hermes XXXVI p. 313 f.).—C. Robert thinks the mythological scene on the silver rhyton from Tarentum (cf. Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Instit. V p. 116 f. and VI p. 6 f.) represents a love scene between Zeus and Hera with Athena and Poseidon looking on, being suggested by the Iliad.

Fascicle 4.

Die Hypothesis zu Kratinos' Dionysalexandros (A. Körte). Most important for the history of Greek literature is this recent publication of Grenfell and Hunt (The Oxyrhynchus Pap., Part IV, Lond. 1904 p. 69 f.), for not only is this comedy the oldest of which we have detailed information (cf. Hermes XXX 74); but it enables us to form an idea of the mythological parodies of the comic poets. Parabasis and political-personal satire were indeed included; but the mythological travesty, probably derived from Epicharmus and the Doric farce, was the main thing, the ludicrous Dionysus appearing to have been a stock character, created by Epicharmus (cf. Arist. Frogs and Eupolis' Taxiarchs). The need of four actors in this play emphasizes the fact that the oldest comedy, composed of amusing scenes loosely strung together, made slight demands upon the actors, and so did not restrict itself to three (cf. Acharnians); the influence of tragedy being comparatively late. Unfortunately only a few of the fragments fit into the outline; but it is interesting to note in regard to frgm. 43 (Kock), that all possible doubt as to *βῆ βῆ* representing the cry of a sheep is removed (cf. A. J. P. XVI 46). The MS dates from about 200 A. D. and as there is a close correspondence with the longer hypotheses of Aristophanes' comedies, Körte makes it probable that this class originated with Symmachus 100 A. D. (cf. Rh. Mus. XXXIII 405 f. and Gröbl, die ältesten Hypothesen zu Arist. Progr. d. Kgl. Studienanst. zu Dillingen 1889-90).

Die Schriftstellerei des Anaximenes von Lampsakos (continued) (Paul Wendland). That the *ρήτορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* is not by Aristotle, as represented in the introductory letter, was recognized by Erasmus. Spengel, following Petrus Victorius, ascribed it to Anaximenes, a theory that has recently been assailed on various grounds. Wendland presents an elaborate defense of Spengel's view, with special refutation of Ipfelkofer's arguments (die Rhet. des. Anax., Würzburg, 1889). The key to the problem lies in the forged letter, which must be dated after Andronicus (I century B. C.); but only the parts referring to Alexander are

late. The encomium on the λόγος, on the contrary, as shown by style and content, belongs to a much earlier period. It formed, indeed, part of the original preface, which referred to the inclusion of doctrines of Corax and Theodectes. This explains the relation of this rhetoric to Aristotle: both depend on Theodectes and the older doctrines. Now as chapters 1-5 contain, in the main, the teaching of Anaximenes and as the whole work is clearly the product of one mind, and must have originated before Aristotle's great work, we may justly conclude with Spengel that Anaximenes was the author.

Der Mauerbau in Athen und die List des Themistokles (E. von Stern). Thucydides' story (I 89-93) how Themistocles through deceit kept the Lacedaemonians from interfering with the rebuilding of the walls of Athens 479-8 B. C., has been accepted by ancient and modern historians, excepting Beloch (Gr. Gesch. I 458 A. 2), with various modifications or explanations. Stern finds it incredible from many points of view, and concludes that it was invented at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war to explain the hastily constructed Themistoclean wall, and is of a piece with the numerous other anecdotes told of Themistocles' diplomatic cunning.

Σχήμα und τρόπος in den Homer-Scholien. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte beider Wörter (H. Schrader). S. discusses the meanings of these words in a large number of scholia and rhetorical and grammatical treatises and finds Cicero the first to clearly give the well-known technical distinction between them, although it is evident that even then an extensive literature on the subject existed. In scholia, therefore, and in earlier rhetoricians and grammarians we must reckon with their general sense, which continued in use even after the technical meanings had developed. S. shows how in combination with such adjectives as Ἀττικόν, Ἰωνικόν, or Πινδαρικόν, Ἰβύκειον, etc., the general meaning of σχῆμα is usually probable. The Γοργία σχήματα were recognized and discussed long before this term became technical; neither Timaeus (cf. Norden Ant. Kunstpr. I p. 15) nor Theophrastus (cf. Hugo Rabe de Theophr. libris περὶ λέξεως p. 45) giving currency to the expression, although the latter seems to have treated of these figures especially. As τρόπος and σχῆμα in their general meanings were frequently interchanged, and as abbreviated scholia often look like technical definitions, much confusion has resulted in the writings of later rhetoricians and grammarians. For the purpose of tracing the sources of scholia the lack of correspondence in the employment of τρόπος and σχῆμα should be disregarded.

Gesetz von Samos über Getreideankauf und -vertheilung (Th. Thalheim). This law with a partial record of its financial operation, inscribed on stone and dating from about 200 B. C., has been published in the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy by

Wiegand and v. Wilamowitz. It provided for the conversion of the yearly tribute of one twentieth of the harvest, given by the city of Anaea to the Samian goddess Hera, into money, and the distribution of the grain among the citizens. The purchase was made with the interest yielded by a sum of money, contributed by the *χιλιαστές*, Samian elective bodies, which were subdivisions of their two *φυλαί*. Mortgages and sureties were required, subject to the yearly scrutiny of the *χιλιαστές*, although the business of placing the loan and collecting the interest was in charge of a *μελεθωνός*. The interest collected was handed over to two annually elected officers, who purchased the temple-grain at not less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ dr. a measure and made the distribution. If there was a balance, this either remained in charge of the grain distributors, or was turned over to a *σιτώνης*, who purchased more grain, but on the most advantageous terms, of the Anaeans or elsewhere. Thalheim presents only the well-preserved text of the law, of which he gives an analysis with comments on the interesting details.

Zu den griechischen Sacralalterthümern (P. Stengel). The following words are discussed and interpreted largely with the aid of inscriptions: 1. *δερά* (*δραρά*, *δαρά*) meant *hostiae pelle spoliandae*, not *spoliatae* (cf. Prott Leg. Sacr. p. 19 and Rohde *Psyche* I p. 206) and was used of sheep, goats and cattle, although, undefined, it was restricted to sheep. *Δαρά* was specially used in contrast with *μη δαρά*, which was applied to holocaustic sacrifices, and also in contrast with *ἐνδора* (cf. *Hermes* XXXVI p. 328 f.) to indicate a special manner of hiding.—2. *θυγλαί* is not identical with *θυλήματα* (cf. v. Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1904, p. 633 f.); but meant meat offerings, whereas the latter corresponded to the *ἀλφίτα* in which, as dough, the sacrificial meat was wrapped (cf. *Hermes* XXXVI 327).—3. *Ἀναλίσκειν* does not mean to 'remove' by means of burning or burying (cf. *Jahresh. d. österr. Inst.* VI 124), but to 'devour.'—4. *ἱερέων* in Theophr. *Char.* 22, should be *ιεῶν* as Casaubonus conjectured. The *ιερά* were the lean pieces offered to the gods. At the close of *Char.* 22, Studniczka (p. 182) explains the situation described by the words *παραστρέψαι τὸν τρίβωνα* correctly; but the motive was not impoliteness, but the penurious desire of the miser to save his old cloak.

Patriciat und Quästur in der römischen Kaiserzeit (St. Brassehoff). The political privileges of the patricians and the office of quaestor are here discussed in the light of inscriptions. Their dispensation from an aedile-tribunitial office was legally enacted under Augustus, which remained a privilege even after Severus Alexander extended it to all quaestores candidati; for this extension did not include those who attained to the quaestorship without imperial recommendation as Mommsen thought (cf. *Röm. St. R.* p. 559).

Zu Bakchylides (E. Schwartz). S. presents a number of emendations and interpretations of the text of Bacchylides. Not only must gaps be filled out; but the extant text itself is not free from copyists' errors and mistaken conjectures. We see the former in 5, 64 (editio princeps), where ΕΔΑΗ should be ΕΔΑΕΝ, and in v. 142, with greater change, ἐγκλαύσασα should be ἐγλαβούσα; the latter, in 17, 61 f., where σῶμα is contrary to sense and meter; perhaps σὺ should be read.

Zur Chronologie des Verresprocesses (C. Bardt). Largely in agreement with Kübler (Philol. 1895 p. 464 f.) against Zielinski (id. 1893 p. 248 f.), Bardt reaches the following conclusions: The suit against Verres was instituted at the beginning of the year (70 B. C.), so that the 110 days granted Cicero to visit Sicily (who used, however, only the latter half for the trip) terminated about April 24. Further the sham suit against the governor of Achaea, instituted to cause delay, was filed a day later, which, with an allowance of 108 days, was thus docketed to just precede the Verres trial, which it delayed until July, the month of elections, and these in turn caused a further postponement until Aug. 5.

Zu delphischen Rechnungsurkunden (B. Keil). With high praise for E. Bourguet, the editor of the Delphic inscriptions, Keil offers two corrections of a recent publication (BCH 1903, XXVII 1 f.): 1. In E p. 26, the denomination to be supplied with Φωκaiίδες is ἔκται not δραχμαί; and so, as 3 Aeginetan dr.=4 Attic dr., the inscription shows that a Phocian ἡμίεκτον = 8 Attic ob., which coincides with Hultsch's understanding of a verse of Crates (Metrol.³ 186. 226, 1).—2. In the fragment H p. 31, Bourguet finds the νόμος Ἰταλιωτικός = 2 Attic dr. But the inscription's proportion of 2 Aeg. dr.=3 Attic dr. was only a convenient, and probably profitable, method of computation, like the original Delphic 7 = 10 valuation (cf. Hermes 37 p. 520 f.), whereas the actual relation of Aeginetan to Attic money (350 B. C.) was 3 = 4. Consequently the νόμος of this inscription falls short of the Attic didrachmon, and differed from the νόμος that was usually so rated. On the other hand it seems to have been equivalent to the oldest Tarentine νόμος (cf. Mommsen Röm. Münzw. 102).

HERMAN L. EBELING.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXXII (1903).

Janvier.

Death of Gaston Paris announced as having occurred at Cannes, Mar. 5, 1903.

F. Lot. La Chanson de Landri. 17 pages. Pierre le Chantre makes mention in a Latin satire written at the close of the twelfth century of a "cantilenam de Landrico". This seems to refer to an old French epic whose text has not come down to us.

P. Meyer. *Les Manuscrits français de Cambridge*. III. Trinity College. 101 pages. The first and second of the articles in this important series appeared in volumes VIII and XV. In the present article there are some ten manuscripts described in detail, while eleven others are summarily mentioned. Trinity College has one of the richest collections of manuscripts in Cambridge, and many of them are in French. Mr. Montague Rhodes James has carefully described them with a minute exactness in his catalogue, of which two volumes have been already published. M. Meyer treats them from the literary standpoint in his turn, and adds numerous references to cognate literature. Most of the pieces contained in these manuscripts are didactic in character, and they are written chiefly in the Anglo-Norman dialect.

Mélanges. Joseph Popovici, *Les Noms des Roumains de l'Istrie*. J. Cornu, *Disette = Decepta*. J. Cornu, *Tant mieux, Tant pis, Tant plus, Tant moins*. J. Cornu, *Poche "Cuiller à pot"*.

Comptes rendus. A. Tobler, *Etymologisches* (G. Paris). P. Andraud, *La Vie et l'œuvre du troubadour Raimon de Miraval* (A. Jeanroy). Mary Vance Young, *Les Enseignements de Robert de Ho, dits Enseignements Trebor* (G. Paris). Karl Sachrow, *Ueber die Vengeance d'Alexandre von Jean le Venelais* (E. Walberg). Schultz-Gora, *Die Vengeance Alixandre von Jehan le Nevelon* (E. Walberg).

Périodiques. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV. 4, XVI. 1 (Mario Roques). *Studi glottologici italiani*, II (Mario Roques). *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CII-CVII (S. D. G.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of A. Gasté and Joseph Couraye du Parc. Notes on various publications. Prof. John E. Matzke's memoir on the versions of the Legend of St. George in Greek, Latin and French, as well as on those in certain Oriental languages. M. Paul Meyer adds certain notes on the French manuscripts containing this legend.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 14 titles. The Troubadours of Dante, being selections from the works of the Provençal Poets quoted by Dante, with introduction, notes, concise grammar and glossary, by A. J. Chayton. *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla Letteratura spagnuola*, di Remando Sanvisenti. *Les Quinze joyes de mariage: texte de l'édition princeps du XV^e siècle, première réimpression par Ferdinand Heuckencamp*. *Die Triumphe Francesco Petrarca in kritischem Texte herausgegeben von Carl Appel*.

Avril.

A. Thomas. *Le Suffixe -aricius en Français et en Provençal*. 27 pages. Explanation of the piling-up of suffixes, and citation of several hundred words which belong to this category, together with their derivations.

Pio Rajna. *Le Origini della Novella narrata dal "Frankeleyne"* nei *Canterbury Tales* del Chaucer. 64 pages. The origin of the Frankeleyne's Tale has long been the subject of earnest discussion among scholars. Only in 1901 Prof. Schofield, of Harvard University, presented to the public a long article on this subject in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. Prof. Schofield attributed its origin to an old Celtic lay, which Chaucer must have known in a French form due possibly to the pen of Marie de France. Prof. Rajna, on the contrary, thinks it much more probable that Chaucer was well acquainted with the works of Boccaccio, especially with the *Decameron*. Although the same story occurs in this work, he thinks that Chaucer drew on the version of it which is found in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, but that he endeavored to conceal his real source from his readers.

P. Meyer. *Recettes médicales en Provençal d'après le ms. R. 14. 30 de Trinity College (Cambridge)*. 32 pages. This manuscript contains a number of medical treatises, and in this article extracts from only two of them are published. Their lexicographical interest is considerable, but from a medical point of view their history is unfortunately obscure.

Mélanges. A. Jeanroy, *Fr. Semillant*. G. L. Kittredge, *The Chanson du Comte Herniquin*.

Comptes rendus. Jules Pirson, *La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule* (Mario Roques). Alb. Carnoy, *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions* (Mario Roques). Isak Collijn, *Les suffixes toponymiques dans les langues française et provençale* (G. Paris). R. Zenker, *Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne kritisch herausgegeben mit Einleitung, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar* (A. Jeanroy). Johanna Maria Nassau Noordewier, *Bijdrage tot de Bevordeeling van den Willehalm* (M. J. Minckwitz). Félix Guillon, *Jean Clopinel dit de Meung: le Roman de la Rose considéré comme document historique du règne de Philippe le Bel* (E. Langlois). A. Byhan, *Istrorumanisches Glossar* (Joseph Popovici).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Gaston Paris, with the funeral addresses of Paul Meyer, A. Thomas, A. Morel-Fatio, and L. Havet. Obituary notice of George Doncieux.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 29 titles. L'abbé Reure, *Simple conjecture sur les origines paternelles de François Villon*. E. Bourciez, *Les mots espagnols comparés aux mots gascons (époque ancienne)*. Mélanges Léonce Couture: *Études d'histoire méridionale dédiées à la mémoire de Léonce Couture (1832-1902)*. Francesco D'Ovidio, *Reliquie probabili o possibili degli antichi dialetti italici nei moderni dialetti italiani e negl' idiomi romanzi in genere*. Giulio Bertoni, *La Biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*.

Juillet.

H. Suchier. *Recherches sur les Chansons de Guillaume d'Orange*. 31 pages. The question of the formation of the epic cycle of Guillaume d'Orange is one of the most obscure in all literary history. No new theory is here advanced, but the attempt is merely made to fix certain definite points in the tradition: 1. Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube; 2. Monglane; 3. les trois Girards; 4. Aïmer le Chaitif; 5. les trois gestes d'après la Mort Aimeri de Narbonne; 6. Ragnar Lodbrók.

Ernest Langlois. *Notes sur le Jeu de la Feuillée d'Adam le Bossu*. 10 pages. The authorship question is discussed, the nature of the satire pointed out, its presentation on the stage described, and finally a seeming interpolation is investigated.

J. A. Herbert. *A New Manuscript of Adgar's Mary-Legends*. 28 pages. A careful description is here given of a new and important manuscript of a well-known collection of Mediæval tales. This is accompanied by the publication of the old French text itself, accompanied by a facsimile of a page of the manuscript.

Ferdinand Lot. *La Mesnie Hellequin et le Comte Ernequin de Boulogne*. 20 pages. The real historical basis of the legend mentioned by Sir Walter Scott and others is investigated. The name itself is held to be a German diminutive, and its etymology is discussed at considerable length.

Mélanges. G. Paris, *Or est Venus qui aunera*. A. Thomas, *Sur un vers du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. E.-S. Sheldon, *Dehé, dehait*. A. Delboulle, *Beltrer*. A. Delboulle, *Loure*, *Loerre*. A. Delboulle, *Origine du mot Sabrenas ou Sabrenaud*. A. Thomas, *Franç. Geline*. P. Meyer, *Avoir son Olivier Courant*. P. Meyer, *Chanjon, Enfant changé en nourrice*. P. Meyer, *Charme en vers français*.

Comptes rendus. E. Oder, *Mulomedicina Chironis* (O. Densusianu). Raymond Weeks, *Aïmer le Chétif* (Ernest Langlois). Julien Fiersot, *Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises* (P. Meyer).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVI, 5 (G. Paris). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVI, 6, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). *Studi glottologici italiani*, III (Mario Roques). *Studi di Filologia romanza*, IX (P. Meyer). *L'Année linguistique*, I (Mario Roques). *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1902. *Journal des Savants*, 1903, no. 6.

Chronique. *Index to Romania*, vols. I-XXX, of 300 pages announced. Obituary notices of Alexandre Kirpitchnikof, Baron Bollati de Saint-Pierre, Jakob Stürzinger, and Ch. Loizeau de Grandmaison. Notes and corrections to various articles previously published.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. J. A. Candréa-Hecht, *Les éléments latins de la langue roumaine : le consonantisme*. Fr. J. Furnivall, Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne". Octobre.

Gaston Paris. *Le Cycle de la Gageure*. 70 pages. At the time of his death G. Paris had in preparation a series of articles on the romans d'aventure, which he intended publishing ultimately in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*. J. Bédier has prepared the present article from the notes left behind at the author's death. The article is a carefully conducted study in comparative literature, in which more than a score of versions of Shakespeare's story of *Cymbeline* are investigated. These are divided into three main groups and comprise variants from most of the languages of Europe. The internal evidence indicates that the most primitive form of the story is that preserved in a Greek version of late date.

Pietro Toldo. *Pel Fableau di Constant du Hamel*. 13 pages. In this article again we have a study in comparative literature, whose point of departure is a well-known old French fableau. The stories here considered are related more or less closely to the group studied in the preceding article.

Paget Toynbee. *Dante's Uses of the Word Trattato in the Convivio and Vita Nuova*. The word in question is used by Dante in four distinct senses, which are here illustrated by means of numerous quotations from Dante and his commentators.

Mélanges. F. Lot, *Conjectures sur Girart de Roussillon*: 1. *Boson d'Escarpion*; 2. *Odilon*; 3. *Les Desertois*. F. Lot, *Orson de Beauvais*. P. Meyer, *Wauchier de Denain*. G. Raynaud, *Le Dit du Hardi Cheval*. Ernest Langlois, *Traité mis à l'Index au XIII^e Siècle*. Ernest Langlois, *Integrum > entre*. John Taggart Clark, *Les Explosives sourdes entre voyelles en Italien*.

Comptes rendus. P. Meyer, *La Chançon de Willame* (review of an anonymous edition). Leo Jordan, *Girartstudien* (Gédéon Huet). H. Pirenne, *Chronique rimée des troubles de Flandre en 1379-1380* (M. Wilmette).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVII, 1-2, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). *Revue de Philologie française et de Littérature*, XV, 1-4; XVI, 1-4 (P. Meyer). *Le Moyen-Âge*, XIII, 137-173. *Achter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig* (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Oddone Zenatti, W. Borsdorf, and Ulysse Robert.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 13 titles. J.-J. Stürzinger, *Le Pèlerinage Jesucrist de Guillaume de Deguilleville*. F. J.

Furnivall, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* englisht by John Lydgate. Herbert A. Strong and L. D. Barnett, *Historical Reader of Early French*. Marius Sepet, *Le Drame religieux au Moyen-Âge*. S. Arthur Strong, *A Catalogue of Letters and other Historical Documents exhibited in the Library at Welbeck*. L. E. Kastner, *A History of French Versification*. Richard Thayer Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

In Jules Claretie's delightful *La Vie à Paris*, 1904, he tells us of two *chefs*, the famous Carême, who said that his duty was to flatter the appetite, not to regulate it, and the more scientific Gouffé, who boasted that he could feed up his guests like fowls without exposing them to the least indigestion. To the reader who scanned the list of *Books Received* in the last number, it must have been evident that Carême furnished the bill of fare and not Gouffé. The items are attractive in quality, bewildering in quantity, and the danger to a man of catholic appetite who had been fasting for four months from philological literature was appalling, to say nothing of the admonitions of the more impatient contributors to the feast, who would ask from time to time how this and that dish was relished. Even if such and such a book lay beyond the bounds of my special studies the very bulk would sometimes impose respect; and so it must be a matter of pride to every American scholar that the land that furnished Fay's Concordance of Dante's Divina Commedia has produced two devoted Dantophilists, E. S. SHELDON and A. C. WHITE, to whom we owe the *Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del canzoniere di Dante Alighieri* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press).

It is not a little remarkable that so restless a nation as we are supposed to be should have done so much and so important lexicographical work in so many directions. The preface is written in Italian, and in Italian is another bulky volume, ATTILIO PROFUMO's *Le fonti ed i tempi dello incendio romano* (Rome, Forzani), a quarto volume of 748 pp., which treats of the author of the conflagration, the persecution of the Christians, with a critical discussion of the problems of the conflagration, critical notes on the documents and a brief general epilogue in which the author protests against the hypercriticism of modern historical methods. The theme is a matter of extreme interest, especially to one who lives in a town that is emerging from one of the greatest conflagrations of modern times; and the temptation is strong to construct a myth or myths that shall explain to future generations the origin and the spread of the Baltimore fire.

Another Italian work deals, if not with the conflagration of Rome, at least with a burning question in the camp of Latin grammar, and we are invited by DON MAURIZIO CHICCO to consider *La congiunzione CUM. Studio storico-critico* (Turin, Loescher). Needless to say, I have studied the question in my time—'ancor men duol purch' io me ne rimembri'—and DON

MAURIZIO CHICCO does not offer any such tempting generalization as DITTMAR has done (A. J. P. XIX 112, XXIII 231). He is a peaceable man; the subjunctive does not 'raise a tumult in his breast', as Ambrose Phillips says, a long way after Sappho; and there is no 'seelische Depression' about him as he offers what he calls his approximations to the truth. Here, then, are the things that he considers established,—the gradual development of the subjunctive construction, the origin of the change partly in the slow but continuous development of the language, partly in the various phases in the spiritual life of the nation, the importance of logic, but not to the exclusion of the progressive and organic development of primitive tendencies, the tendencies being on the one hand toward expressing the simple and essential relations by the indicative and the logical shadings (*sfumature*) by the subjunctive, the influence of Greek which hastened the development and extended and enlarged the function and the reach of certain constructions beyond the primitive sphere of their action and their etymological values. Surely these are 'corollaries' enough, perhaps too many. 'Tendencies', 'continuous development', 'spiritual life' are consecrated phrases which we are all tempted to use when we cannot formulate more exactly. Each grammarian picks out the 'corollary' that suits him best, and as a Hellenist I have doubtless been too prone to exaggerate the effect of the Roman wrestle with the Greek idiom (A. J. P. XVII 520). The so-called *cum* iterative with the subjunctive may be explained by implicit *oratio obliqua*—though that leaves the *oratio obliqua* itself to be explained—but it was reinforced by the Greek *ὅτε* with the optative, and the Greek participle is responsible for much that is metaphysicized to death. If the Latin future participle has been seduced by the Greek future participle and the Greek participle with *ἄν* to break its temperance pledge, why may not the Roman have tried to fashion finite constructions that should rival the multisignificance of the Greek participle? But the whole subject is forbidden ground to me, and I will only add that to me the most attractive part of DON MAURIZIO CHICCO's book is the long array of examples historically arranged. WRIGHT'S *English Dialect Grammar* has for its motto, 'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht, Vieles Reden thut es nicht'. It is a good motto (A. J. P. XXII 109).—Yet another Italian book, another evidence of the remarkable renaissance of classical studies in Italy, to which I have called attention more than once, is *Graecia Capta*, the title prefixed by the well-known scholar, CARLO PASCAL (A. J. P. XXIV 330) to a collection of essays (Florence, Le Monnier), in which he has traced the obligations of Roman literature to Greek. All the subtitles are attractive, and one of the essays was discussed in the last number of the *Journal* (A. J. P. XXVI 362), but I have space only for a brief mention of the last, which deals with a probable Greek source of Rutilius Namatianus. There is a strange fascination

about the last adherents of a lost cause. Queen Victoria had a passion for the Stuarts, and almost every one has a weakness for the belated heathen. Mr. Mivart used to maintain that we are all Aryan-pagans at heart and restless under the Semitic yoke, and perhaps that is the reason why I read Rutilius at an age when I might have been better employed than in rebelling against the Sabbatarian strictness of my boyhood. But for all that I remember the thrill with which I read the lines:

Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno
Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei.

The probable source of Rutilius Namatianus pointed out by PASCAL is Aelius Aristides' Oration on Rome, itself inspired, as the Italian scholar seems to think, by the famous poem in Stobaeus, which prosaic souls for so many generations took to be a poem on Strength. The suggestion seems to be a novel one. At least I find no mention of it in a stately volume by J. VESSEREAU, *Cl. Rutilius Namatianus* (Paris, Fontemoing), which must be reserved for further study, as well as JUDEICH'S *Topographie von Athen* in the *Handbuch* series (Munich, Oskar Beck). And yet I could not keep from cutting the leaves to see what position the author has taken on the ἐννεάκρονος controversy, which pivots, as so many topographical problems pivot, on a despised preposition. The classical passage is Thuk. II 15: πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως—'fronting this part of the acropolis', that is, if Thukydides uses πόλις here for ἀκρόπολις, and πρὸς strictly for 'fronting'. Then the theory of Dörpfeld, to which JUDEICH adheres, could be maintained and the spade be fortified by syntax (A. J. P. XVIII 120). But here is LAMBERTON with his *Second and Third Books*, and MARCHANT with his *First* and STREUP with his new edition of *Classen's Sixth Book*, all tempting the childlike grammarian that is in me to make a few desultory remarks, but I forbear. Only I wish that STREUP, who seems to have studied MARCHANT and consulted the Journal from time to time (see his Appendix to Thuk. IV p. 289), had noticed my remark on Thuk. VI 81, 5: τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχθραν μὴ ἀν βραχεῖαν γενομένην, in my review of MARCHANT'S Sixth Book (A. J. P. XVIII 244). Of course I am glad to see that in his note on Thuk. I 27, Mr. MARCHANT has vailed his proud stomach to the extent of admitting the possibility of *oratio obliqua* opt. for *or. obl. ind.* (A. J. P. XIII 258), and acknowledges the cogency of the example which I advanced from Thuk. VIII 92, 3. On the notorious I 18, 2 ὅσας μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως, he has nothing more satisfactory to offer than an interpretation of Croiset's note. 'It is as if he had said ὡς εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως ὄντας'. But this utterly fails to explain the genesis of the construction. See my note on Justin Martyr, Apol. I 9, 4: 'As μή is the regular negative with the articular participle, so when

the participle is predicative and the article omitted $\mu\eta$ is often retained in later Greek, sometimes in classical'. Cf. Plato, Soph. 254 D, 258 C, Legg. 733 B, and for the later time A. J. P. I 56. If we are to re-write the passage in order to understand it $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\eta \tau\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\nu$ would be more simple and satisfactory.

In his very creditable paper *Temporal Sentences in Herodotus* (Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for July, 1905), Mr. BRACKETT, a young scholar for whom Professor WEIR SMYTH stands sponsor, has shown up some more of Fuchs's delinquencies and has attacked some of my positions in my review of Fuchs, A. J. P. XXIV 400-402. Fuchs is easy game. As Ritschl said once of Madvig's assault on Zumpt, 'Es ist sehr leicht an Zumpt Ritter zu werden', and no one will be surprised to learn that Fuchs has omitted this and that (A. J. P. XXV 109, 231, 347). As for my share, perhaps if it were not for my brachylogy, or as Mr. BRACKETT prefers to call it, my brachy-ology, I might have escaped his censure, but 'Yo me despecho', as Sancho says. 'Der Teufel der ist alt. So werdet alt ihn zu verstehen'. My observations on the negative with the historical tenses were publicly formulated not in 1881 as Mr. BRACKETT supposes, but in 1867, the date of the first edition of my Latin Grammar, and at the same time stress was laid on the overlapping of the imperfect in temporal sentences of antecedence—a matter that has been too much neglected (A. J. P. XXIV 400). I am glad that Mr. BRACKETT has watched it so closely, even if we are not in accord about all the special applications. As $\sigma\upsilon \pi\pi\iota\nu = \dot{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, see A. J. P. II 480. Two specimens of Mr. BRACKETT's uniformitarianism and I pass on. In IV, 42 he gets rid of $\dot{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ — $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ by taking $\dot{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ *is* as *usque ad*, a view in which he has been anticipated by Helbing. To be sure, there is no warrant for $\dot{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ *is, usque ad* until long after Herodotos, and to escape a syntactical difficulty Mr. BRACKETT has foisted a neologism on Herodotos, and so in I 165 he makes a violent change in the text to save Herodotos from a perfectly innocent $\pi\pi\iota\nu$ η c. inf., which, it seems, Herodotos happens not to have used elsewhere after a negative in *oratio obliqua*. The optative would be the mechanical *oratio obliqua* equivalent of the *oratio recta* subjunctive here, but the Greeks have no great love for the optative in temporal sentences of limit—why I cannot say—and the congenial infinitive is used by preference instead. Herodotos has a strong leaning to *repraesentatio*, as we all know, but there is no reason to me discernible, why he should not have deviated into the infinitive. See my article on $\pi\pi\iota\nu$, A. J. P. II 476, which Sturm, on whom Mr. BRACKETT relies mainly, would have done well to consult before preparing his useful monograph.

In the advertisement to the second edition of Lewis's Translation of Juvenal I read that 'George Long somewhere says that the greatest scholar in Europe will occasionally be guilty of mistakes, which a schoolboy will be able to point out'. This is a saying of great comfort to a *primesautier* nature such as mine is, and when I think of the additions I myself have made to what Flaubert calls 'Le dossier de la bêtise humaine' I overflow with charity toward all my fellow-blunderers. But it is asking too much to ask that I suppress all the amusement that comes from the wisdom of 'irresponsible reviewers'. A journal like this is a manner of Kronion beset with thorns and beaten by the fierce light of criticism. If I sin here, I must make confession here. But the 'irresponsible reviewer' is quite safe under the shelter of his anonymity, and I might fill pages of *Brief Mention* with choice specimens of 'literary' reviews of philological works. The *Spectator* seems to be a quarry of such things, and if I did not owe the *Spectator* an ancient grudge (A. J. P. XXVI 115), I might draw on its pages more freely. But one thing I cannot keep back. When MAHAFFY's Hellenism came out, *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire* (University of Chicago Press), I said to myself: 'This is evidently a slight performance made up mainly of reminiscences of what the author has already written on the subject (A. J. P. IX 255) and of advertisements of what he is going to write. True, in his most careless moods, Mr. MAHAFFY is usually amusing and suggestive. This time, he is hardly up to his own standard, and at all events the Journal is not the place in which to discuss his thesis that Xenophon the runaway of Athens is the forerunner of Hellenism'. Now, very much to the same effect is a review of MAHAFFY's *Hellenism* in the *Spectator* for Sept. 9, 1905. But, as often happens, MAHAFFY's volume only served as an excuse to the reviewer for airing his own views of Hellenism, and as he warms up to his subject he becomes delightful. 'Then', he says, 'there are the two Dions, Chrysostom and the Halicarnassian, each admirable in his own way' but not so admirable, I venture to say, as the reviewer himself. Two explanations of Dion the Halicarnassian present themselves to my mind. Either the reviewer was so familiar with Dion. Hal. that he could venture to call him by his 'Kosenname', or—the thing belongs to the category of Porphyr(y), for Porphyr(io), Herod(otos) for Herod.(ian), Maximus Tyr(annus) for Max. Tyr.(ius), all documented blunders.

RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB.

Born August 27, 1841, died December 9, 1905.

ΑΡΕΤΑΔ' ΕΠΙΜΟΧΘΟΟ

μὲν τε]ΛΕΥΤΑΘΕΙΪΑΔ' ΟΡΘΩ

ἀνδρὶ κ]ΑΙΕΥΤΕΘΑΝΗΙΑΙ

παι πο]ΛΥΖΗΛΩΤΟΝΕΥΚΛΕΪΑΚΑΓΑΛΜΑ

The arrival of JEBB'S *Bacchylides* interrupted my work on *Brief Mention*, and every moment I could spare from the exacting engagements of the opening session was given to the loving study, the lingering enjoyment of a book, which I little thought was to be the last of the great Hellenist's achievements. Bacchylides is the inevitable foil of Pindar, so that JEBB'S commentary on the younger poet is a manner of commentary on the older, and almost every page has its lesson for one who has long been under the spell of the haughty genius whom JEBB understood so well. Indeed, if JEBB had fulfilled the promise that lay implicit in his essay on Pindar and had done for the Theban what he has done for the Ceian, I should have been content to learn instead of undertaking to teach. Grammarians, it is true, do not spare grammarians,—such is the savagery of our tribe,—but I am literary man enough not to invite a disastrous comparison with such spiritual insight, such artistic faculty, such unerring taste. These are qualities that I recognized at once in the firstlings of JEBB'S work, his *Electra of Sophocles* (1867), his *Ajax* (1869), published in the *Calena Classicorum*, both editions destined to be eclipsed, but only by himself; and when a Cis-Atlantic professor undertook to adapt the English scholar's work to the use of American college boys, I remonstrated against the liberties he had taken in language much less urbane than that of *Brief Mention*. From that day to this each advance in my own studies has brought with it enhanced appreciation of the Hellenist, the humanist; and the interest I felt in the successive stages of his brilliant career was heightened by personal intercourse, begun during his visit to Baltimore in 1892 and renewed in the last two summers. This is not the time nor this scant page the place for a calm survey of the work of such a life. To speak of that work hastily in view of its volume, in view of its literary finish, would exhibit a flagrant disregard of the example he himself has set, but these few words, which I have stopped the press to insert, may serve to shew that England's loss is America's loss in a more intimate sense than that in which it has affected the wider world of Hellenic letters.

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CORRECTION.—For ἀνακατάστασις, p. 362, l. 32, read ἀπὸ ἀνακατάστασις. There is no such ἀνω κάτω compound in Greek as *ἀνακατάστασις.

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